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OF

WESTERN HISTORY

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VOL. VII

NOVEMBER, 1887—APRIL, 1888

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HISTORY OF OHIO.

XI.

THE ENGLISH GAIN THE OHIO COUNTRY.

Upon one point, on the return of Major Washington to Virginia from his visit to Fort Le Bœuf, the governor of the province could not possibly be mistaken—the firm determination of the French to take possession of the Ohio valley and hold it, if necessary, throughout its whole extent, by force of arms. There was, therefore, no more time to be wasted in remonstrating. There must be immediate action, or the Alleghanies would become the western limit of English possessions.

Washington and Gist, when homeward bound and just before reaching Wills creek, met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores "for a fort at the forks of Ohio," and afterwards some families going out to settle. From this it will be seen that the Ohio company was not idle. However, these employés and colonists went no farther than the mouth of Redstone (now Brownsville, Pennsylvania,) in their progress toward locating and building the proposed fort for the protection of their own and the company's interests. With the opening of spring, they would descend the Monongahela.

The first action taken by Dinwiddie toward an aggressive movement to repel the French was the issuing of instructions to Major Washington to take charge of one hundred men from the militia of Augusta and Frederick counties, and one to William Trent to enlist a like number among the traders and others of the province. To Major Washington and Captain Trent the governor looked, therefore, to protect the Ohio company in building a fort at the

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mouth of the Monongahela, as well as to assist in the prosecution of the work. "As I have called the assembly to meet on the fourteenth of February," wrote Dinwiddie towards the last of January, 1754, "I hope they will enable me to raise four hundred men more to go out early in the spring; and I shall write to the neighboring provinces to assist us, which, if they do with a spirit, these forces, with the conjunction of our friendly Indians, I hope will make a good appearance on the Ohio, and be able to defeat the designs of the French."

Captain Trent speedily raised what force he could and marched to the westward, reaching the mouth of Redstone creek, where, for a brief time, he was detained in building a store-house for the Ohio company; then moving with what men he had of his own company and with such as he could there obtain and on the way, to the site of the present city of Pittsburgh (which he reached on the seventeenth of February), he began the erection of a fort with his command, as the Ohio company had not made a commencement in that direction. The work continued on uninterruptedly until the seventeenth of April. This was the beginning of war-like operations on part of Virginia, in the Ohio valley.

Meanwhile Dinwiddie's assembly had voted ten thousand pounds for the emergency, and two independent companies, maintained by the king in New York, and one in South Carolina, had received orders from England to march to the scene of action. The governor (Dinwiddie) was now busy in raising more troops to form a Virginia regiment, of which Joshua Fry was made colonel and Washington lieutenant-colonel. Fry was at Alexandria with half this so-called regiment, when Washington, with two companies, was ordered to march to the Ohio to assist Captain Trent. On his way up the Potomac, he was joined by a few men, so that, upon arriving at Wills creek, his whole force numbered about one hundred and fifty.

Let us now see what was going on to the northward—at Presquisle and upon the waters of French creek. At the first-mentioned fort, Pierre Claude Pecaudy de Contrecœur, the successor of Saint-Pierre, had landed with a strong force of regulars and Canadians. With over five hundred men he left the new fort at Venango (just then completed and named Machault), and dropped down the Alleghany in canoes and bateaux to the mouth of that river, where a small number of men were toiling at their fort, in "the forks of Ohio," under the command of Ensign Edward Ward, Captain Trent having gone to Wills creek. This was on the seventeenth of April, and the ensign was, as soon as Contrecœur had landed and planted his cannon, summoned to surrender. Of course, resistance was out of the question, and he complied with the demand; he was allowed to depart with his men. Ward retraced his steps up the Monongahela and over the mountains to Wills creek, reporting his mishap to Washington, while Contrecœur demolished the incipient stockade and began a large fort, which was subsequently named Fort Duquesne. The first success in this covert war was at Pickawillany; the second, at "the forks of Ohio," now Pittsburgh: both on the side of the French.

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Colonel Washington, at Wills creek, held a council of war on the twenty-third of April as to the proper course to be pursued. It was determined that an advance should be make to Redstone creek; that a fortification should there be erected; and that in going there a road should be cleared broad enough to pass with all the artillery and baggage. Word was sent to the Half King, who was with Ensign Ward at the surrender, to meet the advancing troops. The Great Meadows, in what is now Fayette county, Pennsylvania, were reached on the twenty-fourth of May, and here entrenchments were thrown up, for it was evident there had been a forward movement of French troops from Fort Duquesne. The latter force consisted of "one officer, three cadets, one volunteer, one English interpreter and twenty-eight men," under command of an ensign, Coulon de Jumonville, who had been sent to make what discoveries he could, Contrecœur having learned of the advance of Washington. On the morning of the twenty-eighth the French camp was attacked by Washington at the head of thirty-three of his men, assisted by the Half King and a few warriors. The French commander and nine others were killed, and twenty-two captured. Jumonville had been provided with a written summons to be delivered to any English he might find, requiring them to withdraw from the domain of the king of France; but this summons, it seems, was only to be shown if the bearer was threatened by a superior force. The force attacking was greater than his, but the summons was not read, nor was it, so far as seen by Washington, attempted to be read by Jumonville when the firing began. The war was now an open one; thenceforth, there was no pretense of peace, at least, none in America.

Washington now erected a frail fort at the Great Meadows (it was afterward named Fort Necessity), and sent for reinforcements to Colonel Fry at Wills creek. These were ordered forward, but the death of Fry put Washington in command of the regiment, which now numbered three hundred men. Besides these, there were a few Indians present under the Half King, and soon an independent company from South Carolina reached the fort, so, also, a company of regulars under Captain Mackay. From the Great Meadows to Gist's, on the road to the mouth of Redstone, it was thirteen miles. Washington now resolved that, as there was no French force in his vicinity, to move on toward the latter place. Gist's was reached on the twenty-ninth of June; but, once there, and Washington learned that a strong French force was advancing toward him from Fort Duquesne; he thereupon retraced his steps to the Great Meadows.

When word reached Montreal of the death of Jumonville, his brother, Coulon de Villiers, was dispatched to Fort Duquesne with a body of Indians, arriving there on the twenty-sixth of June, when he found that five hundred Frenchmen and a few Ohio Indians were just ready to march against the English at the Great Meadows. De Villiers took the command (it was an increased force; it included his savages) and moved up the Monongahela in canoes, to the mouth of Redstone creek. On the third of July he sat down before Fort Necessity. Washington, having offered

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battle outside the fort, which was declined, withdrew his men inside the fortification. There were swivels mounted on the ramparts of the fort, but they did little execution. The fight lasted nine hours, when Washington was summoned to surrender. He could hold out no longer. Articles were signed about midnight. The English were allowed to retire, carrying with them all that belonged to them except the artillery, allowing them "one swivel-gun." They were to be protected from insult that might be offered by either French or Indians. The prisoners taken when Jumonville was killed were to be set free, two officers remaining as hostages for their safe return to Fort Duquesne. Not less than twelve Virginians had been killed and forty-three wounded. The casualties among the regulars were not reported. Villiers returned his loss at twenty in all.

The march of Washington back to Wills creek, a distance of fifty-two miles, with his sick and wounded, two of the latter being killed and scalped by the savages, began on the morning of the fourth of July, and was effected without further loss. DeVilliers, the French commander, after demolishing Fort Necessity, commenced his return march to Fort Duquesne, destroying all the houses at Gist's and "round about," also the store-house at the mouth of Redstone, and such incipient settlements as could be found down the Monongahela, until the mouth of that river was reached, which was on the seventh of July. It was a short but very successful expedition for DeVilliers. Besides, there was now a general alienation on part of the Ohio Indians from English interests. The Ohio valley was, in fact, in keeping of the French. Did they hold possession without effort for any length of time? and, in the end, did they retain it? We shall see.

The lords of trade and plantations had already directed the several provincial governors to urge on their assemblies the propriety of sending to Albany commissioners to make a joint treaty with the wavering tribes of Indians; especially was this important with the Six Nations. The four New England colonies, also New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, acceded to the plan. The result was, the Iroquois were soothed but not satisfied. The commissioners, led by Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, in view of the apparent necessity of some sort of union between the provinces to resist the encroachments of the French, brought forward a project for it, which was rejected by the crown because it gave too much power to the colonies; by the colonies, because it gave too much power to the crown. However, England prepared in earnest for war, deciding to send over two regiments, each of five hundred men, Major-General Edward Braddock being appointed to the chief command. France, to meet this activity on part of the English, got ready to send to Canada six battalions, numbering in all three thousand men. But, before describing operations on a large scale, induced by these preparations, let us see what was being done by the provinces to recover the lost ground and to wipe out the disgrace of Washington's defeat at the Great Meadows.

The news of the success of DeVilliers reached Annapolis, Maryland, on the eighteenth of July, the day after the meet-

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ing of the assembly, creating great surprise and alarm. A week after, six thousand pounds were appropriated "for his Majesty's use towards the defence of the colony of Virginia, attacked by the French and Indians, and for the relief and support of the wives and children of the Indian allies that put themselves under the protection of this government." Governor Horatio Sharpe immediately notified Dinwiddie, who received the announcement with great satisfaction. A commission was issued by the former to Captain Thomas Cresap, who had "behaved himself on all occasions as a good servant to the government," to raise a company of riflemen to serve beyond the Alleghany mountains. In August Sharpe gave orders that two additional companies should be raised. Governor Hamilton, on receiving the news of the Great Meadows' disaster, convened the Pennsylvania assembly. But unpleasant altercations followed, and "their labors were nugatory." Hamilton's successor, Robert Hunter Morris, succeeded no better with a new assembly in December. Dinwiddie met with better success. The burgesses voted him, finally, twenty thousand pounds. New York, however, was stubborn to an offensive degree at first; but the defeat of Washington brought the assembly to its senses and five thousand pounds were voted.

After the affair at the Great Meadows, what troops could be collected at the mouth of Wills creek were put to work upon a fortification, which was finished in November, and named Fort Cumberland. Meanwhile, because of an order from the king "settling the rank of the officers of his Majesty's forces when serving with the provincials in North America," Colonel Washington resigned his commission, and the Maryland governor, Horatio Sharpe, was appointed "commander-in-chief of all the forces that are or may be raised to defend the frontiers of Virginia and the neighboring colonies, and to repel the unjustifiable invasion and encroachments of the French on the River Ohio." Sharpe visited Fort Cumberland and carried on with vigor preparations for a spring campaign; but his appointment was only a measure of temporary expediency. Before the ending of winter he was superseded by General Braddock.

The transports bringing the two English regiments to America arrived safely at Hampton and were ordered up to Alexandria, where a camp was to be formed. General Braddock had preceded his men in the ship *Centurion*. At Alexandria, the provincial governors met the general at his request. It was decided to attack the French at four points. The two British regiments were to advance on Fort Duquesne. Two provincial regiments just raised and taken into the king's pay were to reduce Niagara. Crown Point was to be seized by provincials from New England, New York and New Jersey. Beauséjour was to be captured and Acadia subjected by another body of New England men. Braddock was to lead the Fort Duquesne expedition. Such were the formidable projects against a power that was outwardly at peace with Great Britain. And we may here premise that the expedition planned against Niagara was a failure; that there was a barren victory at Lake George, and that three forts were cap-

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tured in Acadia. But what of the expedition against Fort Duquesne? The story has often been told.

The march from Alexandria to Fort Cumberland occupied twenty-seven days. At this post at least two thousand effective men were assembled.* Here Washington joined the expedition as one of Braddock's aids. There were about six hundred baggage horses, besides those of the artillery. On the last day of May, five hundred men were sent forward to open the road and store provisions at Little Meadows. It was the tenth of June before the army was well on its march, and Little Meadows was not reached until the eighteenth—only thirty miles from Fort Cumberland. The army was here separated into two divisions; the advance, consisting of something over twelve hundred men, moved on with Braddock in immediate command; while the rear division was put under the orders of Colonel Thomas Dunbar, to follow as best he could. Braddock reached the confluence of the Youghiogheny with the Monongahela on the eighth of July, only twelve miles from Fort Duquesne, which was garrisoned by a few companies of regular troops; with them were a considerable number of Canadians; also eight hundred Indian warriors had their wigwams surrounding the post. They were Caughnewagas, Abenakis, Hurons, Pottawattamies, Chippewas, Shawanese, Mingoes and Ottawas. Under Contrecœur were three other captains: Beaujeu, Dumas and Ligneris.

Just below the mouth of Turtle creek the Monongahela was forded the second time by the force under Braddock, when a clearing and a deserted house was reached; it was the cabin formerly occupied by the trader, Fraser. It was about eight miles thence to Fort Duquesne. A detachment of three hundred and fifty men, closely attended by a working party of two hundred and fifty, now advanced cautiously along a path but twelve feet wide, the main body following, when of a sudden there was a heavy and quick fire in front.

The French had notice of the coming of the English, and six hundred and thirty-seven savages went forth to ambuscade them. With the Indians were thirty-six French officers and cadets, seventy-two regular soldiers and a hundred and forty-six Canadians. This motley force was under under the command of Beaujeu, Dumas and Ligneris, ranking in the order named, and it was this force that now attacked, on the ninth of July, Braddock's advance. Soon the battle became general. The English were defeated. Of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or disabled, while out of thirteen hundred and seventy-three non-commissioned officers and privates, only four hundred and fifty-nine came off the battle-field unharmed. "The loss of the French was slight, but fell chiefly on the officers, three of whom were killed and four wounded. Of the regular soldiers, all but four escaped untouched. The Canadians suffered still less in proportion to their numbers, only five of them being hurt. The Indians, who won the victory, bore the principal loss. Of those from

* About twenty-two hundred, including regulars, provincials and sailors, made up the entire force.

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Canada twenty-seven were killed and wounded, while the casualties among the western tribes are not reported."

It was a retreat full of terror for the remnant of the army back to Fort Cumberland. Braddock was wounded on the field of battle. He died about eight o'clock on the evening of Sunday, the thirteenth. The next day he was buried in the road, and the retreating force passed over his grave so as to obliterate all signs of it, as it was feared the Indians might find it and mutilate the body.*

With the defeat of the army under Braddock, there disappeared nearly every trace of English interest, for the time, west of the Alleghany mountains. The Senecas and Monseys upon the upper waters of the Alleghany river and the Delawares at Kittanning and farther down; the Shawanese at Logstown and at the mouth of the Scioto; the Wyandots at Muskingum and Sandusky; the Hurons, Ottawas and Pottawattamies near Detroit; the Miamis proper, with the Weas and Piankeshaws, on the Maumee and Wabash; the Indians of the Illinois; the Chippewas of the upper lakes—all were now French Indians; they could all be relied upon as enemies to the English. The French fort on the Sandusky, near the site of what is now Fremont, Sandusky county, had been given up and the small garrison had gone back to Detroit.† The Wyandots thereupon moved down to the south side of the bay where they established their village upon a small stream called the "Rockfish," (in their language, "Sunyendeand,") not far from the present Sandusky, in Erie county. This was in 1754. Here was erected a store-house by French traders.‡

In the interior portions of the present Ohio, there had been, since the journey of Gist to Pickawillany, considerable change as to location of Indian villages. At the confluence of what is now known as the Vernon river (formerly Owl creek) with the Mohican, there was located, in 1755, a small Indian town occupied by Delawares, Mohicans and Caughnewagas. The name of this village was "Tullihas." Some Mohawks also were among the residents of the place. To the northward, on the Cuyahoga river, at a point a considerable distance up that stream from its mouth, there had been a small Ottawa village on the east side, and on the west side dwelt a few Mohicans; there was also a "French house" near by, a depot for French goods belonging to traders. However, before the close of 1756 all these had disappeared.‖ At Hockhocking, in

* The history of Braddock's defeat has often been given to the public, more or less in detail. It is only necessary to refer the general reader to 'The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1755,' by Winthrop Sargeant, M. A. In connection with this, Parkman's 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' Vol. I, pp. 199–233, should be consulted.

† The exact date of the evacuation of this post is unknown. It is certain that the French had no fort on Sandusky river or Sandusky bay in 1754, nor later.

‡ This is dignified as a fort upon Lewis Evans' map of 1755, and named "Junundot," evidently intended for "Wyandot."

‖ The fact of the existence of these two villages and the "French house" is evident by a reference to Lewis Evans' map of 1755, where they are distinctly noted; but it is equally evident, from a narrative

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the immediate vicinity of what is now the city of Lancaster, county-seat of Fairfield county, where Gist, in 1750, found only four or five Delaware families, there was, in 1755, a village (sometimes, at that period, called "French Margaret's") of considerable size. Maguck, which, it will be remembered, was a Delaware town of about ten families at the time of Gist's visit, and was located on the Scioto on the north side of the Pickaway plains, had now disappeared, and a village of the same tribe, but considerably larger, was located further up that stream, at a point on its west side within the present limits of the city of Columbus. These were all the changes known to history upon Ohio's soil during the first five years of the last half of the eighteenth century. There had been, on the whole, a considerable increase in the Indian population during that time. Roving bands, in various parts, hunted and trapped for skins and furs, in the proper season, disposing of their stock either at Sunyendeand (Sandusky) or Detroit.

The consternation upon the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, upon the news being received of the defeat of Braddock, was very great. There was nowhere any protection from the inroads of the savages, who now began their appalling ravages. The most wanton cruelties were continued throughout the year by war-parties, which were frequently led by Frenchmen. They came not only from the Ohio, but from the wilderness beyond. A young prisoner—a lad of eighteen years—who had been taken to Tullihas, afterward remembered that a Mohawk warrior called "Pluggy" was there, who, with a party, was preparing to go to war upon the frontiers of Virginia. But, before starting, it was necessary to perform the war-dance. At this dance they had both vocal and instrumental music. "They had a short, hollow gum, closed in one end, with water in it, and parchment stretched over the open end thereof, which they beat with one stick and made a sound nearly like a muffled drum. All those who were going on this expedition collected together and formed. An old Indian then began to sing, and timed the music by beating on the drum, as the ancients formerly timed their music by beating the tabor. On this, the warriors began to advance or move forward, in concert, like well-disciplined troops would march to the fife and drum. Each warrior had a tomahawk, spear or war-mallet in his hand, and they all moved regularly towards the east, or the way they intended to go to war. At length they all stretched their tomahawks toward the Potomac, and giving a hideous shout or yell, they wheeled quick about, and danced in the same manner back."

"The next," continues the narrator, "was the war-song. In performing this, only one sung at a time, in a moving posture, with a tomahawk in his hand, while all the other warriors were engaged in calling aloud, '*he-uh, he-uh,*' which they con-

entitled, "An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith," that they had disappeared before the close of 1756. Smith's narrative has been re-printed as number five of the 'Ohio Valley Historical Series,' by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati: 1870. (See p. 56, of the re-print for Smith's account of his going up the Cuyahoga, in the fall of 1756.)

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stantly repeated while the war-song was going on. When the warrior that was singing had ended his song, he struck a war-post with his tomahawk, and with a loud voice told what war-like exploits he had done, and what he now intended to do, which was answered by the other warriors with loud shouts of applause. Some who had not before intended to go to war, at this time were so animated by this performance, that they took up the tomahawk and sung the war song, which was answered with shouts of joy, as they were then initiated into the present marching company."

"The next morning," the narrator adds, "this company all collected at one place, with their heads and faces painted with various colors, and packs upon their backs; they marched off all silent, except the commander, who, in the front, sang the traveling song, which began in this manner: '*hoo caughtainte heegana.*' Just as the rear passed the end of the town, they began to fire in their slow manner, from the front to the rear, which was accompanied with shouts and yells from all quarters."* Such is a description of the setting out of the first war-party known to history, from what is now Ohio, to war against the frontier of Virginia. On the return of Pluggy and his party, they brought with them, a considerable number of scalps and prisoners from the south branch of the Potomac. "They also brought with them," says the writer before quoted from, "an English bible, which they gave to a Dutch [German] woman who was a prisoner; but as she could not read English, she made a present of it to me, which was very acceptable."

Before the ending of the year 1755, the young captive was with some hunters on Rocky river, a stream well known as rising in Medina county, Ohio, and flowing into Lake Erie, in Cuyahoga county, about seven miles west of Cleveland. The savages concluded they must have horses to carry their loads and they determined to go to war, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, to obtain them. "They then began," says the account already mentioned, "to go through their common ceremony. They sung their war-songs, danced their war-dances, etc. And when they were equipped, they went off singing their marching songs and firing their guns. Our camp appeared to be rejoicing; but I was grieved to think that some innocent persons would be murdered not thinking of danger." There were four of the warriors who went out upon the war-path. Some time in February, 1756, they returned with two scalps and six horses, from the frontier of Pennsylvania.†

The year 1756 brought no relief to the western borders of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Each of these provinces had made a chain of block houses and wooden forts to cover its frontier; but the savages preferred to ravage the lonely and unprotected farms rather than attack even the weakest of these stockades. However, a war party led by a French officer laid siege to a Virginia fortification but was repulsed; though another force attacked Fort Granville, on the Juniata, in Pennsylvania, killing or carry-

*Smith's Narrative (Cincinnati re-print), pp. 17-19. This incident took place in the western part of what is now Coshocton county.

†Smith's Narrative (Cincinnati re-print), pp. 32, 36.

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ing into captivity its defenders and occupants. But a retaliatory expedition under Colonel John Armstrong, soon after destroyed the Delaware Indian town of Kittanning, called "Attiqué," by the French, located, it will be remembered, on the Alleghany river. At this time, Dumas was in command of Fort Duquesne.

Let us now turn our attention to the Ohio wilderness. At Sunyendeand, in June, the Wyandots were all engaged in preparing to go to war against the frontiers of Virginia. James Smith—the young captive, whose narrative, subsequently written, we have before freely quoted from—was there then. In speaking of the warriors who were going upon the war-path into the settlements of Virginia, he says: "They all marched off, from fifteen to sixty years old; and some boys only twelve years of age were equipped with their bows and arrows and went to war; so that none were left in town but squaws and children, except myself, one very old man, and another about fifty years of age, who was lame."

"The two old Indians asked me," continues Smith, "if I did not think that the Indians and French would subdue all America, except New England, which they said they had tried in old times. I told them I thought not. They said they had already driven them all out of the mountains, and had chiefly laid waste the great valley betwixt the north and south mountain from Potomac to James river, which is a considerable part of the best land in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, and that the white people appeared to them like fools; they could neither guard against surprise, run or fight. These, they said, were their reasons for saying that they would subdue the whites. They asked me to offer my reasons for my opinion, and told me to speak my mind freely. I told them that the white people to the east were very numerous, like the trees, and though they appeared to them to be fools, as they were not acquainted with their way of war, yet they were not fools; therefore, after some time, they will learn your mode of war and turn upon you, or at least defend themselves. I found that the old men themselves did not believe they could conquer America, yet they were willing to propagate the idea in order to encourage the young men to go to war."

The warriors divided into different parties, and all struck at different places in what is now West Virginia. When they came back they brought with them a considerable number of scalps, prisoners, horses and other plunder. One of the prisoners was a lad, apparently sixteen or seventeen years of age, named Arthur Campbell. About three years afterward, he escaped from the Indians and returned by way of what is now Pittsburgh, to Virginia. In after years, he became distinguished in civil and military life, particularly as commander in a successful expedition against the Cherokees, in 1781. He died in Kentucky in 1816. "As the Wyandots at Sunyendeand," says Smith, "and those at Detroit were connected, Mr. Campbell was taken there; but he remained sometime with me in this town. His company was very agreeable, and I was sorry when he left me. During his stay at Sunyendeand, he borrowed my bible, and made some pertinent remarks on what he had read. One passage was

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where it said, 'It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.' He said we ought to be resigned to the will of Providence, as we were now bearing the yoke in our youth."

"There was," continues the narrator, "a number of prisoners brought in by these parties, and when they were to run the gauntlet I went and told them how they were to act. One John Savage was brought in, a middle-aged man, or about forty years old. He was to run the gauntlet. I told him what he had to do; and after this I fell into one of the ranks with the Indians, shouting and yelling like them; and as they were not very severe on him, as he passed me, I hit him with a piece of pumpkin, which pleased the Indians much, but hurt my feelings."*

Throughout the whole of the year 1757, scalping parties of savages from the trans-Alleghany wilderness continued their work of devastation and death upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. In the last-mentioned province, Washington, stationed at Winchester with a force of seven hundred men, was called upon to defend the western border of more than three hundred and fifty miles in extent. The noble valley of the Shenandoah was almost deserted of its inhabitants, and fast relapsing into a wilderness. In Pennsylvania very little was done to protect the western frontiers: so, also, in Maryland; and, as a consequence, the settlements west of the Blue Ridge were well-nigh deserted; there was a general flight of settlers from the upper waters of the Potomac. About the first of June, in the Wyandot, Pottawattamie and Ottawa towns near Detroit, a number of warriors were preparing to go to war. Joined to these were a great many Chippewas who had come down from the upper lakes. After singing their war songs and going through their common ceremonies, they all marched off against the frontiers of the three provinces just mentioned. Sometime in August the warriors returned, and brought in with them a great many scalps, prisoners, horses, and much plunder. The common report among the young warriors was that they would entirely subdue Tulhasaga—that is, the Morning Light inhabitants, meaning the English. The suffering upon the borders was indeed awful. The end of the year saw Fort Duquesne, the principal source of all this trouble, left undisturbed by the British.

When, in 1758, William Pitt assumed control of the British government, there was soon a change in American affairs. His policy, bold, liberal and enlightened, greatly animated the colonists and inspired them all with new hopes. "His first aim was to take Louisbourg, as a step towards taking Quebec; then Ticonderoga, that thorn in the side of the northern colonies; and lastly, Fort Duquesne, the key of the Great West." We shall only refer to the last. The expedition was placed under the command of General John Forbes. His army consisted of between six and seven thousand men, British regulars and provincials. Early in July, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Bouquet was encamped with the advance-guard at Raystown, now Bedford, Pennsylvania. It was determined to cut a road thence to Fort Duquesne direct. Having built a fort at

* Smith's Narrative (Cincinnati re-print), pp. 46, 47-50.

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Raystown named Fort Bedford, Bouquet marched to the Loyalhanna, scarcely fifty miles from the objective point of the expedition. In an evil hour, he sent out a part of his force under Major Grant, to reconnoitre. The detachment, in sight of the fort, was defeated. This was on the twenty-first of September. The French now assumed, for a time, the aggressive. A large party hovered about Bouquet; but, after succeeding in driving back a detachment sent against them, they were themselves obliged to retreat. Notwithstanding all their courageous energy, the condition of the French in Fort Duquesne was now desperate. "The militia of Louisiana and the Illinois left the fort and went home; the Indians of Detroit and the Wabash would stay no longer, and, worse yet, the supplies destined for Fort Duquesne had been destroyed by Bradstreet at Fort Frontenac. Hence Ligneris was compelled by prospective starvation to dismiss the greater part of his force, and await the approach of his enemy with those that remained." *

The first of November Forbes was upon the Loyalhanna. On the twenty-fourth, Indian scouts saw smoke rising from the barracks of Fort Duquesne. The fortifications had been blown up by the French and then abandoned; some of the garrison going up the Alleghany, with Ligneris their commander, some over-land towards Presquisle, and others down the Ohio. On the twenty-sixth, General Forbes, with the main body of the army, reached the ruined works. A stockade was planted around a cluster of traders' cabins and soldiers' huts. This was named Pittsburgh by Forbes. Two hundred provincials remained to guard the place, and early in December the residue of the troops began their march to re-cross the mountains. The great valley of the Ohio had passed into the possession of the English—at least at one point, and that point the best located to command the whole.

Meanwhile incidents had occurred beyond the Ohio worthy of being made a note of. "Some time in May," says Smith, who was then in Detroit, "we heard that General Forbes, with seven thousand men, was preparing to carry on a campaign against Fort Duquesne. . . . Upon receiving this news, a number of runners were sent off by the French commander at Detroit to urge the different Indian warriors to repair to Fort Duquesne. Some time in July the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies and Wyandots rendezvoused at Detroit and marched off to Fort Duquesne to prepare for the encounter of General Forbes. The common report was that they would serve him as they did General Braddock, and obtain much plunder. From this time until fall we had frequent account of Forbes' army by Indian runners that were sent out to watch their motion. They spied them frequently from the mountains, even after they left Fort Loudon. Notwithstanding their vigilance, Colonel Grant with his Highlanders stole a march upon them, and in the night took possession of a hill about eighty rods from Fort Duquesne. This hill is, on that account, called Grant's hill to this day.

*Parkman's 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' Vol. II., p. 155.

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The French and Indians knew not that Grant and his men were there until they beat the drum and played upon the bag-pipes, just at daylight. They then flew to arms, and the Indians ran up under covert of the banks of the Alleghany and Monongahela for some distance, and then sallied out from the banks of the rivers and took possession of the hill above Grant. As he was on the point of it in sight of the fort, they immediately surrounded him, and as he had his Highlanders in ranks and very close order, and the Indians scattered and concealed behind trees, they defeated him with the loss only of a few warriors; most of the Highlanders were killed or taken prisoners."

"After this defeat," continues Smith, "the Indians held a council, but were divided in their opinions. Some said that General Forbes would now turn back and go home the way he came, as Dunbar had done when General Braddock was defeated; others supposed he would come on. The French urged the Indians to stay and see the event; but, as it was hard for the Indians to be absent from their squaws and children at this season of the year, a great many of them returned home to their hunting. After this the remainder of the Indians, some French regulars and a number of Canadians marched off in quest of General Forbes. They met his army near [what was named] Fort Ligonier and attacked them, but were frustrated in their design. They said that Forbes' men were beginning to learn the art of war, and that there were a great number of American riflemen along with the red-coats, who scattered out, took trees, and were good marksmen; therefore, they found they could not accomplish their design, and were obliged to retreat. When they returned from the battle to Fort Duquesne, the Indians concluded they would go to their hunting."*

There were other causes operating to drive the Indians home. "[There is] mutiny," wrote a French officer high in command in Canada, "among the Canadians, who want to come home; the officers [are] busy with making money and stealing like mandarins. Their commander sets the example, and will come back with three or four hundred thousand francs; the pettiest ensign, who does not gamble, will have ten, twelve or fifteen thousand. The Indians do not like Ligneris, who is drunk every day."†

The marching of Forbes westward with a large army was soon known to the Indians beyond the Alleghanies, and they began to waver; especially was this the case with the Delawares and Shawanese. The French could not make them as many presents as formerly. The Susquehanna Delawares had, the summer previous, made peace with the English. It was determined to get as many of the two nations as possible to withdraw from the French interests; but how were the Ohio Indians to be approached? who so bold as to go among them, taking with him a mes-

* 'Smith's Narrative' (Cincinnati re-print), pp. 102-104.

† Parkman's 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' Vol. II., pp. 168, 169.

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sage from the Pennsylvania governor? Fortunately, a person was found equal to the occasion. It was Christian Frederick Post, a member of the Moravian brotherhood. He made his way to Kuskuskee, a Delaware town (not far away from the site of one of the same name which had been deserted) on Beaver river, Pennsylvania, and which now consisted of ninety houses and had two hundred able warriors. Here he was kindly received and conducted to Sakunk, a Delaware Indian town a mile below the mouth of Beaver river.* Here, he nearly lost his life; but he finally induced his fierce auditors to listen to his message. They were mollified, but they took him to Fort Duquesne—that is to say, just across the Alleghany, from that fort—that the savages there assembled might also hear his message. The French demanded him; they set a great price upon his head; but the Delawares protected him. As a final result, three tribes of those Indians agreed to renew the old peace chain, provided all the British provinces would join in sending them a belt of peace. Post returned in safety with their reply. A treaty in October, was held at Easton, Pennsylvania, with the Six Nations and Delawares of the Susquehanna, and with the Mohicans and several kindred bands. The chain of friendship was brightened. All present agreed in sending a message of peace to the Ohio Indians, although the one from the Six Nations to the Shawanese and Miamis was mandatory. It was taken by the courageous Post. He crossed the river from the smouldering ruins of Fort Duquesne the day after General Forbes' arrival, having Montour with him, on his way to the mouth of Beaver creek, where all the Delawares in the vicinity were to meet him. Upon arriving at Logstown, he found the place deserted by its late inhabitants. It was situated on a hill. On the east end was a great piece of low land where the old Logstown used to stand. In the new Logstown, the French had built about thirty houses for the Indians. They had a large corn-field on the south side of the Ohio river, where the corn stood ungathered. On inquiring the reason, of some Delawares, of the speedy flight of the Shawanese, Post was informed that the inhabitants of the Lower Shawanese town at the mouth of the Scioto, had deserted that place and gone up the river to the Pickaway plains; that they had sent for the Shawanese at Logstown to go there and live with them and quit the French; and that deputies of the Six Nations sent from Easton ahead of Post, had hastened their departure. There were at Logstown, before the removal, about one hundred and twenty warriors.†

*In Post's Journals, this town is variously spelled Sakunk, Sawcunk, Sankonk, Sawcung, etc. That the town is correctly located in the text above, see Post's Journal of 1762, in 'Pennsylvania Archives,' (O. S.), Vol. IV. p. 93. Compare, also Schweinitz 'Zeisberger,' p. 712; and Post's Second Journal of 1758, under date of November 25; also, Loudon's 'Indian Wars,' Vol. I, p. 330.

†See letter of Post to General Forbes, as to his visit to the Delawares, beginning November 27, 1758, in 'Pennsylvania Archives' (O. S.), Vol. III, p. 560. It is improperly there given as a "Journal of Frederick Post." This letter should be consulted in connection with his "Second Journal." The

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Post and Montour arrived at the Delaware town at the mouth of Beaver, on the twenty-ninth, where there were thirty-eight houses, "all built by the French for the Indians, some with stone chimneys." When all their men were at home they could send out one hundred warriors. Post had not only a message from the governor of Pennsylvania, but one from General Forbes to deliver to the Delawares, which was done on the thirtieth. After their delivery, Post was informed by an Indian just arrived from Fort Presquisle, that that fortification was much out of repair; that it had a garrison of only two officers and thirty-five men, and that not above ten Indians were with them, and these kept "constantly hunting for the support of the garrison." Fort Le Bœuf, the Indian declared, was much in the same condition, with only one officer and thirty men. A few hunting Indians were with them, "who said they would leave them in a few days." Fort Michault, at Venango, had but one officer and twenty-five men, and was much distressed for want of provisions. When the Indian left, the late commanding officer of Fort Duquesne had not arrived. This second visit of Post to the Delawares supplemented the arrival of General Forbes at the Ohio, and English interest again became paramount along that river among the various Indian tribes. The destruction of Fort Duquesne and the occupation of the head of the Ohio by the English opened the Great West to the provinces, took from France a large portion of her Indian allies, and ended the Indian war upon the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

Pittsburgh, in 1759, was in great danger. All that had been gained by General Forbes was on the point of being lost. "The French population of the Illinois, Detroit and other distant posts, joined with troops of western Indians, had come down the lakes to recover Pittsburgh, undo the work of Forbes and restore French ascendancy on the Ohio." The enemy was assembled at Presquisle, Le Bœuf and Venango. However, to save Niagara all were ordered to that post. There they were defeated. On their retreat westward they burned Presquisle, Le Bœuf and Venango, and, joined by the garrisons of these posts, made their way to Detroit. The upper half of the great valley of the Ohio was now in the possession of the English, and a regular fortified work at Pittsburgh, named Fort Pitt, was commenced to perpetuate it. Meanwhile Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Quebec yielded to the British; and conferences with the Ohio Indians cemented the friendship of these savages to the colonies.

The appointment of George Croghan as deputy Indian agent at Pittsburgh, by Sir William Johnson, was followed by excellent results. On the sixth of April, 1760, he held a conference with the western Indians at Fort Pitt. There seemed to be no doubt that most,

Indian name for the Pickaway plains was "Moguck." "The lower Shanoes had removed off the river up Sihotta, to a great Plain Call'd Moguck:" *Post's letter to Forbes before cited.* It will be remembered the Delaware town, on the north side of the plains, visited by Gist in 1750, was known by the same name.

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if not all these savages would join the armies of the English. Following this, a noted Delaware chief sent by the governor of Pennsylvania to the Ohio Indians, met the latter upon the waters of Beaver river, in a grand council. "It took me three weeks to collect them together," said the chief, upon his return. "I concealed nothing from them," adds the Delaware, "and when they heard all, they were right glad; it gave joy to their very hearts." He gave upon that, and other occasions before his return, advice and counsel to the Hurons, Wyandots, Miamis, Shawanese, Chippewas and all the tribes of the Delawares and others, "to the number of ten nations;" all signifying their determination not to "quarrel any more with the English."

On the seventh of September, 1760, the English before Montreal, were in a position to say authoritatively: "The whole garrison and all other French troops in Canada must lay down their arms." It was the fiat of fate. The next day, Vaudreuil, the governor, signed a capitulation, when Canada and all its dependencies passed to the British Crown. "Half the continent had changed hands at the scratch of a pen." The whole territory now constituting the state of Ohio was given into the hands of the English, and much more; and that possession was made perpetual by the definitive treaty of Paris, of the tenth of February, 1763—so far as such an agreement could make it perpetual.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

[*To be continued.*]

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THE LAST FRENCH POST IN THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

LAKE PEPIN, MINNESOTA.

THE recent discovery of two cannon balls, one of six-pound and the other of four-pound calibre, at Frontenac station, near Lake Pepin, Minnesota, renders desirable a notice of the last French establishment in the valley of the upper Mississippi river.

The department of trade called "La Baye" included all the French posts between Green Bay and the Falls of Saint Anthony. Bellin, the distinguished geographer in '*Remarques sur la carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale*,' published in 1755, at Paris, refers to those on the shores of the River Mississippi and its tributaries, and mentions "Fort St. Nicholas at the mouth of the Wisconsin;" a small fort at the entrance of Lake Pepin; one above, on the opposite side of the lake; and another on the largest isle just above the lake, built in 1695, by Le Sueur. Nicholas Perrot, when commandant of the "La Baye" district, in the autumn of 1685, ascended the Mississippi and passed the winter at "*Montagne qui tremps dans l'eau*," just beyond Black river, according to Franquelin's map, and subsequently built the fort on the east side of the lake, on the same map marked "Fort St. Antoine." In 1689 Le Sueur was one of his associates at Lake Pepin, and Boisguillot, for a time in charge at Mackinaw, then at the post on the Mississippi just above the mouth of the Wisconsin.

The first calling of the lake as Pepin appears in the journal of Le Sueur in 1700, and was perhaps given to the sheet of water in compliment to Monsieur Pepin* who, in 1679, was with Du Luth on the shores of Lake Superior, or some other member of that Canadian family.

After the year 1703, owing to the hostility of the Renards (Fox Indians), the French abandoned all their existing posts in the "La Baye" district of the upper Mississippi, and, with the exception of a few lawless *voyageurs* left the country. By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, France yielded to Great Britain all the country around Hudson's bay, and after this the former power turned its attention to the region west of Lake Superior and the discovery of a route to the Western ocean. In July, 1717, Lieutenant La Noue† was ordered to establish a post at the extremity of Lake Superior, and to explore the chain of lakes westward, and Captain Paul Saint Pierre,‡ in 1718, was ordered to Chagouamigon bay and Lake Superior. Pachot, an ensign, was at the same time

* Stephen Pepin, the Sieur de la Fond, married Marie Boucher, the aunt of the Sieur de la Perriere.

† Killed in 1734 by a band of Iroquois.

‡ Captain Paul Legardeur Saint Pierre was the son of J. Baptiste Legardeur, who, on the eleventh day of July, 1656, married Marguerite, the daughter of the brave explorer, Jean Nicolet, the first white man who, in 1634-5, visited Green Bay and vicinity in Wisconsin.

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sent to the Sioux to persuade them to make peace with the Christinaux. Soon after Pachot's return to Saint Pierre's post at Chagouamigon, the Sioux attacked the Indians near Kamanistigouya* and killed seventeen, which so alarmed the Saulteurs (Ojibways) of Chagouamigon bay that they began to prepare to go to war against the Sioux. Saint Pierre directed the officers, Pachot and Linctot, to visit the Sioux and censure them for their hostility to the Christinaux, but they found that they had formed an alliance with the Renards (Foxes) and were implacable.

Pachot, in a letter to the French government, dated Quebec, October 27, 1722, suggested that as the Sioux were hostile to the Lake Superior tribes, a trading post for their benefit should be established near the Falls of St. Anthony, and that the officer of the post with the traders' canoes should first proceed to Chagouamigon bay, and then to the Neouissakouete (Bois Brulé) river. At that period the "Outabatonha," or "Scioux of the Rivers," dwelt in the valley of the Saint Croix river, fifteen leagues below Snake river. Charlevoix, a learned Jesuit, in 1721, under the auspices of the French government, visited Canada and Louisiana, and upon his return urged the establishment of a trading post, and sending two missionaries among the Sioux to learn the language, in the belief that through their country a route to the Pacific ocean could be discovered. His suggestions were favorably considered, but delay ensued in carrying out the project, by the hostility of the Renards, who had killed several Frenchmen, and also refused to allow traders to pass to the Sioux through their country. De Lignery was therefore dispatched, in 1726, to confer with the tribes near Green Bay, and on the seventh of June made a treaty with the chiefs of the Renards (Foxes), Sakis (Sauks) and Puans (Winnebagoes).

The way now being opened, a company to trade with the Sioux was formed, and among the associates were Jean Baptiste Boucher, the Sieur de Montbrun, Francois Boucher de Montbrun and Francois Campeau. Campeau was a blacksmith and armorer, and in the articles of agreement it was provided that upon the payment of four hundred livres in coin or peltries he could work for any who might wish his services.

The commandant appointed to conduct the expedition was René Boucher, the Sieur de la Perriere,† and a relative of two of the trading company. The chaplains attached were the Jesuits Louis Ignatius Guignas and De Gonor. They left Montreal on the sixteenth of June, 1727, and on the seventeenth of September reached the enlargement of the Mississippi, the

* Also written Gamanetygoya and Kamanistigoya. Baraga, in his Ojibway dictionary, defines Ningitawitigweiag as the place where a river divides into several branches.

† The Boucher family was one of the most distinguished in Canada.

Children of Gaspard, the immigrant: Pierre, governor of Three Rivers; Marie, wife of Stephen Pepin.

Children of Pierre of Three Rivers: Pierre, born A. D. 1653; Marie, born A. D. 1655, married Rene Gaultier Varennes; Jean, born A. D. 1667, Sieur Montbrun; Rene, born A. D. 1668, Sieur de la Perriere; J. Baptiste, born A. D. 1673, Sieur de Niverville.

Children of Rene: Tanguay gives as children of Rene: Rene, born January 10, 1699; Jean Baptiste, born August 10, 1700; Francois, born July 14, 1704.

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picturesque Lake Pepin. Immediately René Boucher, the Sieur de la Perriere, selected a site upon a low point, about the middle of the lake shore, opposite Maiden's Rock, and ordered the erection of a stockade of pickets, each twelve feet in length, forming a square of one hundred feet, with two bastions. Within the enclosure was a log house for the commandant, a residence for the missionaries, and a storehouse,* all of which by the last of October was completed. The fort was named "Beauharnois," in compliment to the governor of Canada; and the missionaries called their mission "St. Michael the Archangel." Father Guignas in a letter from the fort writes:†

> The fourth of the month of November we did not forget that it was the Saint's Day of the general. The holy mass was said for him in the morning, and they were well prepared to celebrate in the evening; but the slowness of the pyrotechnists and the variableness of the weather led to the postponement of the celebration to the fourteenth of the same month, when they shot off some very beautiful rockets, and made the air resound with a hundred shouts of "Vive le Roy" and of "Vive Charles de Beauharnois."... That which contributed a great deal to the merry making was the fright of some Indians. When these poor people saw the fire-works in the air, and the stars fall from the sky, the women and children fled and the more courageous of the men cried for mercy and earnestly begged that we would stop the astonishing play of that terrible medicine (medecin).

On the fifteenth of April, 1728, the water rose so high in the lake that for several weeks it was necessary to abandon the fort. During the spring the commandant ascended the Mississippi for sixty leagues, but found no Sioux, as they had gone to war against the Mahas toward the Missouri. The missionary De Gonor left at this time, and when he reached Mackinaw on his way to Montreal, found there Pierre Gualtier Varennes,‡ the Sieur Verendrye (Verandrie), who had been in command at Lake Nepigon and desired to seek for the western ocean by way of Lake Winnipeg.

A year after the expedition of Sieur de la Perriere, on the fifth of June, 1728, the Sieur de Lignery left Montreal with a force to punish the Renards (Foxes), who continued to molest traders. During the night of the seventeenth of August he reached Green Bay, and the next day at midnight arrived at the mouth of Fox river, where Fort St. Francis|| was situated. The Renards fled at the approach of the army, abandoning everything in their villages, and retreating to the country of the Aioues (Ioway), beyond the Mississippi. On the twenty-fourth of the month he reached the village of the Puans (Winnebagoes), who had also run away. Upon his return he burned Fort St. Francis, lest the Renards should return, take possession and make war upon the Folles Avoines, who were allies of the French. De Beaujeu was the second in command of this expedition, and was not satisfied with De Lignery's conduct.

* The houses were all sixteen feet in width. One was twenty-five feet, one thirty feet, and the third thirty-eight feet long.

† 'Margry,' Vol. VI.

‡ His mother was a sister of Boucher de la Perriere. He was a cadet in 1697, and in 1704 served in an expedition to New England, and the next year was in New Foundland. Desirous of distinction, he went to France and was connected with a Bretagne regiment. He attracted attention by his bravery at Malplaquet, in September, 1709, where the Duke of Marlborough defeated the French. After he returned to Canada he had the rank of ensign.

|| Fort St. Francis is the name given in Crespel's 'Voyages.'

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On account of the hostility of the Indians, the post on Lake Pepin, in October, 1728, was left in charge of a youth twenty years old, Christopher Dufrost,* the Sieur de la Jemeraye; and twelve persons, among whom were the Sieur de Boucherville, Jean Baptiste Boucher, the Sieur Montbrun, and the Jesuit Guignas, embarked with their goods, in canoes, for Montreal, by way of the Illinois river, as the hostility of the Foxes prevented the route by the Wisconsin. On the twelfth of the month, twenty-two leagues above the Illinois river, they were captured by the Mascoutens and Kickapoos, who were allies of the Foxes.

Among the manuscript in the Parliament library of Canada, at Ottawa, there is a communication of De Tilly, dated April 29, 1729, which mentions that "eleven Frenchmen and Father Guignase having left the Fort Pepin to descend the river Mississippi as far as the Illinois, and to go from thence to Canada, were captured by the Mascoutens and Quicapous, and brought to the Riviere au Bœuf, with the intention to deliver them to the Renards, and that the Sieur de Montbrun and his brother, with another Frenchman, escaped from their hands the night before they were to be surrendered to these Indians. The Sieu de Montbrun left his brother sick among the Tamaroides,† and brought the intelligence to M. le General, avoiding certain posts on the way to escape the Mascoutens and Quicapous."

Governor Beauharnois, on the twenty-ninth of October, wrote to the French government:

I have the honor to report upon what has passed upon the part of the Kickapoos and Mascoutens who arrested the French coming from the post of the Sioux, and the enterprise of Sieur de Montbrun, after his escape from the village of the savages to bring us the news of the affair. He is a person zealous in the service of his majesty, and I cannot refuse the request he has made to write to you to procure his promotion. He is cadet of the troop and a most excellent officer.

The Sieur de la Jemeraye, who remained among the Sioux with some Frenchmen, left Lake Pepin and brought the Renards' chief‡ to the River St. Joseph,§ also deserves your protection.

Boucherville and Guignas remained prisoners for several months, and the former did not reach Detroit until June, 1729. The account of expenditures made during his captivity is interesting as showing the value of merchandise at that time. It reads as follows:

Memorandum of the goods that Monsieur de Boucherville was obliged to furnish in the service of the king, from the time of his detention among the Kickapoos, on the twelfth of October, 1728, until his return to Detroit, in the year 1729, in the month of June. On arriving at the Kickapoo village he made a present to the young men to secure their opposition to some evil-minded old warriors—

Two barrels of powder, each fifty pounds at Montreal price, valued at the sum of....150 liv.
One hundred pounds of lead and balls making the sum of..... 50 liv.
Four pounds of vermilion, at 12 francs the pound..... 48 fr.
Four coats, braided, at twenty francs..... 80 fr.
Six dozen knives at four francs the dozen.. 24 fr.

* He was the son of a naval officer who in 1698 was in command at Fort Frontenac. His mother's maiden name was Marie Gualtier, and on December 7, 1707, he was born.

† The Tamárois were a band of the Illinois Indians.

‡ Governor Beauharnois, in a communication dated May 6, 1730, alludes to the defeat of the Renards by the allied Menomonees, Ojibways and Winnebagoes, and writes: "It is also confirmed by the journey taken since this last adventure by the great chief of the Renards to the River St. Joseph."

§ In Michigan.

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Four hundred flints, one hundred gun-worms, two hundred ramrods and one hundred and fifty files, the total at the maker's prices..... 90 liv.

After the Kickapoos refused to deliver them to the Renards (Foxes) they wished some favors, and I was obliged to give them the following which would allow them to weep over and cover their dead:

Two braided coats at 20 fr. each..... 40 fr.
Two woolen blankets at 15 fr..... 30 fr.
One hundred pounds of powder at 30 sous 75
One hundred pounds of lead at 10 sous.... 25
Two pounds of vermilion at 12 fr..... 24
Moreover, given to the Renards to cover their dead and prepare them for peace, fifty pounds of powder, making..... 75 fr.
One hundred pounds of lead at 10 sous.... 50
Two pounds of vermilion at 12 fr..... 24

During the winter a considerable party was sent to strike hands with the Illinois. Given at that time:

Two blue blankets at 15 fr..... 30
Four men's shirts at 6 fr..... 24
Four pairs of long-necked bottles at 6 fr... 24
Four dozen of knives at 4 fr..... 16
Gun-worms, files, ramrods and flints, estimated..... 40

Given to engage the Kickapoos to establish themselves upon a neighboring isle, to protect from the treachery of the Renards—

Four blankets at 15 fr..... 60f.
Two pairs of bottles, 6 fr..... 24
Two pounds of vermilion, 12 fr..... 24
Four dozen butcher knives, 6 fr..... 24
Two woolen blankets at 15 fr..... 30
Four pairs of bottles at 6 fr..... 24
Four shirts at 6 fr..... 24
Four dozen of knives at 4 fr..... 16

The Renards having betrayed and killed their brothers, the Kickapoos, I seized the favorable opportunity, and to encourage the latter to avenge themselves, I gave—

Twenty-five pounds of powder, at 30 sous.. 37f. 10s.
Twenty-five pounds of lead, at 10s..... 12f. 10s.
Two guns at 30 livres each..... 60f.
One-half pound of vermilion..... 6f.
Flints, guns, worms and knives..... 20f.
The Illinois coming to the Kickapoos village I supported them at my expense, and gave them powder, balls and shirts valued at..... 50f.
In departing from the Kickapoos village, I gave them the rest of the goods for their good treatment, estimated at..... 80f.

In dispatches sent to France, in October, 1729, by the Canadian government, the following reference is made to Fort Beauharnois:

They agree that the fort built among the Scioux on the border of Lake Pepin, appears to be badly situated on account of the freshets, but the Indians assure that the water rose higher than it ever did before, and this is creditable inasmuch as it did not reach the fort this year [1729]. When Sieur de la Perriere located it at that place it was on the assurance of the Indians that the waters did not rise so high; however, he could not locate it more advantageously in regard both to the quantity of land suitable for cultivation, and to the abundance of game. . . . As the water might possibly rise as high, this fort could be removed four or five arpents from the lake shore without prejudice to the views entertained in building it on its present site.

It is very true that these Indians did leave shortly after on a hunting excursion, as they are in the habit of doing for their own support and that of their families, who have only that means of livelihood, as they do not cultivate the soil at all. M. de Beauharnois has just been informed that their absence was occasioned only by having fallen in while hunting with a number of prairie Scioux, by whom they were invited to accompany them on a war expedition against the Mahas, which invitation they accepted, and returned only in the month of July following.

The interests of religion, of the service and of the colony, are involved in the maintenance of this establishment, which has been the more necessary as there is no doubt but the Foxes, when routed, would have found an asylum among the Scioux had not the French been settled there, and the docility and submission manifested by the Foxes can not be attributed to any cause except the attention entertained by the Scioux for the French, and the offers which the former made the latter, of which the Foxes were fully cognizant.

It is necessary to retain the Scioux in these favorable dispositions, in order to keep the Foxes in check and counteract the measures they might adopt to gain over the Scioux, who will invariably reject their propositions so long as the French remain in the country, and their trading post shall continue there. But, despite all these advantages and the importance of preserving that establishment, M. de Beauharnois can not take any steps until he has news of the French who asked his permission

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this summer to go up there with a canoe load of goods, and until assured that those who wintered there have not dismantled the fort, and that the Scioux continue in the same sentiments. Besides, it does not seem very easy, in the present conjuncture, to maintain that post unless there is a solid peace with the Foxes; on the other hand, the greatest portion of the traders who applied in 1727 for the establishment of that post have withdrawn, and will not send thither any more, as the rupture with the Foxes, through whose country it is necessary to pass in order to reach the Scioux in canoe, has led them to abandon the idea. But the one and the other case might be remedied. The Foxes will, in all probability, come or send next year to sue for peace; therefore, if it be granted to them on advantageous conditions, there need be no apprehension when going to the Scioux, and another company could be formed, less numerous than the first, through whom, or some responsible merchants able to afford the outfit, a new treaty could be made, whereby these difficulties would be soon obviated. One only trouble remains, and that is, to send a commanding and subofficer and some soldiers up there, which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of good order at that post; the missionaries would not go there without a commandant. This article, which regards the service, and the expense of which must be on his majesty's account, obliges them to apply for orders. They will, as far as lies in their power, induce the traders to meet that expense, which will possibly amount to one thousand livres or fifteen hundred livres a year for the commandant, and in proportion for the officer under him; but, as in the beginning of an establishment the expenses exceed the profits, it is improbable that any company of merchants will assume the outlay, and in this case they demand orders on this point, as well as his majesty's opinion as to the necessity of preserving so useful a post, and a nation which has already afforded proofs of its fidelity and attachment.

The Canadian authorities determined to send an expedition against the insolent Renards and their allies. In March, 1730, the Sieur Marin, then in command among the Folles Avoines (Menomonees), with a number of friendly Indians, moved against the Renards and had an engagement of the "warmest character." During the month of September of the same year a force under Sieur de Villiers vanquished the tribe, and the French government was informed that "two hundred of their warriors have been killed on the spot, or burned after having been taken as slaves, and six hundred women and children were destroyed."

After the victory over the Renards, steps were taken to rebuild the post on a more elevated spot near the first site on Lake Pepin. In June, 1731, Sieur Linctot was appointed commandant, and Sieur Portneuf was the next officer in rank. Among those now interested in trade with the Sioux were Francis Campeau, Joseph and Pierre Le Duc, and the son of Linctot, a cadet. A new stockade was ordered to be constructed one hundred and twenty feet square, with four bastions, and accommodations within for the commandant.

Linctot passed the winter of 1731-2 at Perrot's first establishment "*Montagne qui trempe dans leau.*" In the spring he ascended to the site of the post on Sandy Point, where he found a large number of Sioux, who expressed satisfaction at the return of the French.

Upon the sixteenth of September, 1733, the Renards (Foxes) and Sakis (Sauks) appeared at Green Bay, but were put to flight by the son of Sieur de Villiers. The Sioux and Ayouais (Ioway) refused to protect them and they were obliged to descend the "Ouapsipinckam" river, which flows into the Mississippi above Rock Island.

Black Hawk, the celebrated Sauk chief, captured in 1832, told his biographer that his people moved to that vicinity about one hundred years before, and that in 1768 he was born.

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At the request of the elder Linctot he was relieved of the command opposite Maiden Rock, Lake Pepin, and in 1735 Legardeur Saint Pierre took command. In a communication dated twelfth of October, 1736, by the Canadian authorities, is the following:

In regard to the Scioux, Saint Pierre, who commanded at that post, and Father Guignas, the missionary, have written to Sieur de Beauharnois on the tenth and eleventh of last April, that these Indians appeared well intentioned toward the French, and had no other fear than that of being abandoned by them. Sieur de Beauharnois annexes an extract of these letters, and although the Sioux seem very friendly, the result only can tell whether this fidelity is to be absolutely depended upon, for the unrestrained and inconsistent spirit which composes the Indian character may easily change it. They have not come over this summer as yet, but M. de la St. Pierre is to get them to do so next year, and to have an eye on their proceedings.

Upon the sixth of May, 1736, one hundred and forty Sioux arrived at the fort, and said they were taking back to the Puans a slave who had fled to them. Saint Pierre told them that he thought it was a large guard for one woman, and they then alleged that they were going to hunt turkeys to obtain feathers for their arrows. Continuing their journey down the Mississippi, they met and scalped two Frenchmen. When Saint Pierre was on a visit up the river to see about building another post, the lawless party returned, and for four days danced the scalp dance in the vicinity of the fort.

Two canoes of Saulteaux (Ojibways) arrived from La Pointe, Lake Superior, on the twenty-third of August, with letters from Nolan, Legros and Bourassa, conveying the startling news that the Sioux of the Woods with a few of the Sioux of the Prairies had killed a number of Verendrye's exploring party, at the Lake of the Woods.

On the fifteenth of August, 1731, arrived at the Grand Portage, near Pigeon river, the northeastern extremity of Minnesota, on the shore of Lake Superior, Pierre Gualtier Varennes, the Sieur Verendrye (Verandrie), with an expedition in search of a route to the Pacific ocean. The second in command was his nephew, the brave youth, Christopher Dufrost, the Sieur de la Jemeraye, who for a time was in charge of Fort Beauharnois. During the autumn, by difficult portages, the Sieur de la Jemeraye and two sons of Verendrye reached Rainy lake, and established a trading post, called Fort St. Pierre.

About the middle of July, 1732, Fort St. Pierre was left, and the explorers ascended to the Lake of the Woods, where they erected Fort St. Charles. During the year 1733 the Sieur de la Jemeraye went to Montreal to attend to his uncle's business, and in the beginning of March a party, conducted by the eldest son of Verendrye, moved westward and established Fort Maurepas, near the entrance to Lake Winnepeg, which in September, 1735, was in charge of Sieur de la Jemeraye, who had returned, and during the following winter two sons of Verendrye remained there. During the spring of 1736 Jemeraye died at the post. Upon the eighth of June Auneau, the chaplain, and one of the sons of Verendrye, with some *voyageurs*, left the post on the shore of the Lake of the Woods to go to Mackinaw, and while encamped upon an island in the lake, seven leagues from Fort St. Charles, they were surprised by the Sioux,

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and the whole party of twenty-one killed. Some days after, five *voyageurs* stopped at the island, and found the Jesuit chaplain, Auneau, with an arrow in his brain. The son of Verendrye was lying upon his back, and his flesh hacked by tomahawks. His head had been removed and was ornamented with garters and bracelets of porcupine quills.

The sixteenth of September there came to the Lake Pepin post ten Indians, three chiefs and two young slaves, bringing a quantity of beaver skins, which they delivered to Saint Pierre as a pledge of friendship, and declared that they had no part in the attack at the Lake of the Woods. They were then asked as to their knowledge of the killing of two Frenchmen on the Mississippi. The next day a chief came with three young men, one of whom wore in his ear a silver pendant. When asked by Saint Pierre how he obtained the ornament, he smiled but would not answer. The captain tore it from his ear, and found it was similar to those sold by the traders and placed him under guard.

Thirty-six men and their families, on the eighteenth of December arrived, and passing the fort, visited some Puans (Winnebagoes) encamped in the vicinity. Ouakantapé (Wah-kan-tah-pay) was the chief and quite insolent, and some of the party burned the pickets around the garden of Father Guignas, the chaplain.

The gates of the post were opened about eight o'clock of the morning of the twenty-fourth of January, 1737, to admit a wood cart, when some of the Sioux pushed in and defiantly behaved. Upon the twentieth of March thirty Sioux appeared from Fond du Lac Superior, where they had scalped an Ojibway, his wife and child. The next May a war party of Ojibways came and wished the Puans to unite with them against the Sioux. While they were parleying, five Sioux came to the fort to trade, and were protected until night, when they were permitted to leave. An Ojibway lying in an ambush, who spoke Sioux, arose and asked "Who are you?" when the Sioux fired and escaped. In view of the hostility of the Indians, Saint Pierre, after conferring with Sieur Linctot, the second in command, Father Guignas and some others, on the thirteenth of May, 1737, burned the post, and descended the Mississippi.

Upon the eighteenth of June, 1738, the Sieur Verendrye left Montreal to continue his discoveries. He arrived at Fort Maurepas on the twenty-third of September and pushed on through Lake Winnipeg, to the mouth of the Assiniboine river, ascending which sixty leagues, on the third of October stopped and built Fort La Reine. A little while before, the eldest son of Verendrye built a post at the mouth of the Assiniboine and Red River of the North, which was soon abandoned. On a map of the tribes, rivers and lakes west of Lake Superior in 1737, appears Red Lake of Minnesota, the Red river, and the "Bois Fort," the Big Woods.

A few days after Fort La Reine was established, the Sieur de la Marque, whose family name was Marin, arrived with his brother desiring to visit the country of the Mandans.

The Foxes in 1740 again became troublesome, and the post on Lake Pepin was for a time abandoned by the French. A dispatch in 1741 uses this language:

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The Marquis de Beauharnois' opinion respecting the war against the Foxes, has been the more readily approved by the Baron de Longeuil, Messieurs De la Chassaigne, La Corne, de Lignery, La Noue, and Duplessis-Fabert, whom he had assembled at his house, as it appears from all the letters that the Count has written for several years, that he has nothing so much at heart as the destruction of that Indian nation, which cannot be prevailed on by the presents and the good treatment of the French, to live in peace, notwithstanding all its promises.

Besides, it is notorious that the Foxes have a secret understanding with the Iroquois to secure a retreat among the latter, in case they be obliged to abandon their villages. They have one already secured among the Sioux of the prairies, with whom they are allied ; so that, should they be advised beforehand of the design of the French to wage war against them, it would be easy for them to retire to the one or the other before their passage could be intersected or themselves attacked in their villages.

In the summer of 1743, a deputation of the Sioux came down to Quebec, to ask what trade might be resumed. Three years after this, four Sioux chiefs came to Quebec, and wished that a commandant might be sent to Fort Beauharnois, which was not granted.

During the winter of 1745–6, De Lusignan visited the Sioux country, ordered by the government to hunt up the *coureurs des bois* and withdraw them from the country. They started to return with him but learning that they would be arrested at Mackinaw, for violation of law, they ran away. While at the villages of the Sioux of the lakes and plains, the chiefs brought to this officer nineteen of their young men, bound with cords, who had killed three Frenchmen at the Illinois. While he remained with them they made peace with the Ojibways of La Pointe, with whom they had been at war for some time. On his return, four chiefs accompanied him to Montreal, to solicit pardon for their young braves.

The lessees of the trading post lost many of their peltries that winter in consequence of a fire.

In November, 1745, Legardeur de Saint Pierre, St. Luc de la Corne, Marin and his son left Montreal to attack the English settlements in New York. Passing Fort St. Frederick, at Crown Point, on the thirteenth of the month, by the twenty-seventh the French and the Indians were at Fort Edward. On the next day they crossed Fish creek, a tributary of the Hudson, and the combined forces under the elder Marin attacked the settlement of Saratoga, killed Captain Philip Schuyler and many others, took sixty prisoners, and burned nearly all the houses. They then retraced their steps and on the seventh of December returned to Montreal. Upon the thirtieth of the same month Saint Pierre was sent again to Crown Point with a large force to surprise the frontier settlements of New York and New England. He passed the winter in alarming the English, and in April was again in Montreal. During the latter part of the next year he was sent to Mackinaw, whither he was accompanied by his brother Louis Legardeur, the Chevalier de Repentigny.

In 1749 the Sioux earnestly entreated the elder Marin* to use his influence with the governor of Canada to reëstablish the

* Pierre Paul, son of Cæsar Marin and his wife, who was the daughter of De Callieres, governor of Canada, was born March 19, 1692, and from his youth was distinguished for his boldness and energy. He was married March 21, 1718, to Marie Guyon.

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post at Lake Pepin. The next year Marin was sent to the Sioux, and La Jonquiere, the governor of Canada, directed him to proceed to the source of the Mississippi river to see if some stream could not be discovered, at the height of lands, which flowed toward the western ocean. Marin's son, known as the chevalier and captain of the military order of St. Louis, the same year that his father went to Lake Pepin, was ordered to "La Pointe de Chagouamigon" of Lake Superior and remained two years, and in 1752 Governor La Jonquiere directed him to relieve his father at the Lake Pepin post, and to prosecute discoveries. He remained here for two years and on foot journeyed many leagues both in winter and summer. Saint Pierre had been active in the service from the time that he evacuated the post at Lake Pepin. After the death of Sieur Verendrye, in December, 1749, he was commissioned by the governor of Canada to continue the explorations toward the western ocean. He left Montreal in June, 1750, and on the twenty-ninth of September reached Rainy lake, and in a conference with the Cristnaux told them that the younger Marin had been sent to the Sioux, and that he now hoped the war between the two tribes would cease.

During the winter of 1751 he was at Fort La Réine on the Assiniboine river; on the twenty-ninth of May of that year, sent Boucher de Niverville, with two canoes and ten men, to ascend the Saskatchewan and build a post near the Rocky mountains which was called La Jonquiere. The latter part of this year the Assiniboines and other tribes toward the Rocky mountains showed hostilities to the French, and Saint Pierre declared that du ing the thirty-six years he had been among Indians he had never witnessed greater perfidy.

Upon the twenty-second of February, 1752, two hundred Assiniboines appeared at Fort La Reine, passed its gates, took possession of the guard house, and showed a disposition to kill Saint Pierre. During the summer he abandoned the fort, and on the twenty-fifth of July arrived at the Grand Portage of Lake Superior, south of Pigeon river. The next winter he passed in the valley of the Red river, where hunting was good. On the twenty-ninth of February, 1753, he received a letter from Marin's son, who wrote that the Sioux of the rivers and lakes deplored the attack of the Sioux of the prairies upon the Cristinaux the year before, and they would be pleased to hold a conference at Mackinaw. This letter was not received by Legardeur Saint Pierre until the twenty-sixth of May, at the lower part of the river Ounepik (Winnipeg), and on the twenty-eighth of July he and Boucher de Niverville came to Grand Portage below Pigeon river, Lake Superior. The month before, the elder Marin, who had returned from the Sioux country, arrived from Presque Isle, Lake Erie, with an army of French and Indians to prevent the advance of the English into the valley of the Ohio river. Cutting a road through the woods of northwestern Pennsylvania to a branch of the Au Bœuf, called by the English French creek, he, in August, built a stockade, with pickets twelve feet high, and placed before the gate a four-pound cannon, and in the bastions six-pounders. During the fall he was attacked with

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dysentery, and while sick a messenger came from Montreal, bearing for him the decoration of the cross of the military order of Saint Louis. He was too ill to wear it, and on the twenty-ninth of October, died.

The following record* has been preserved:

In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, on the twenty-ninth day of October, at four and a half in the evening, at "Riviere aux Bœuf," called Saint Peter, Monsieur Pierre Paul, esq., Sieur de Marin, chevalier of royal military order of Saint Louis, captain-general, and in command of the Army of Belle Riviere (Ohio), at the age of sixty-three years, after having received the sacraments of penance, extreme unction and the viaticum. His remains were interred in the cemetery of said fort, and during the campaign of the Belle Riviere. There were present at his interment Monsieur Repentigny, commander of the above-mentioned army; Messieurs du Muy, lieutenant of infantry; Bonois, lieutenant of infantry; de Simblin, major of the above-mentioned fort; Laforce, guard of the magazine.

The register is signed by a priest of the Recollect Franciscans, captain of the fort Fr. Denys Baron.

Saint Pierre arrived at Montreal from the distant west on the seventh day of October, and on the third of November the Marquis du Quesne wrote to the minister of war in France that he had sent the Sieur de Saint Pierre to succeed Marin in the command of the army of the Ohio. He did not reach the stockade at French creek until the first week in December, and seven days after his arrival came young George Washington with a letter from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia. After courteous treatment from Saint Pierre for several days he was sent back with the following note:

* Lambing's Fort Duquesne Registers.

SIR: As I have the honor to be here the commander-in-chief, M. Washington delivered to me the letter which you wrote to the commandant of the French troops. I should have been pleased that you had given him order, or that he had been disposed to go to Canada to see our general to whom it better belongs than to me, to set forth the evidence of the incontestable rights of the king, my master, to the lands along the Ohio, and to refute the pretentions of the king of Great Britain thereto. I shall transmit your letter to M. the Marquis du Quesne. His reply will be law to me, and if he shall order me to communicate with you, you may be assured that I shall not fail to act promptly.

As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think I am obliged to obey. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by order of my general, and I beg you not to doubt for a moment but that I am determined to conform with the exactness and resolution which becomes a good officer. I do not know that in the progress of this campaign anything has passed which can be regarded an act of hostility, or contrary to the treaties between the two crowns, the continuation of which pleases us as much as it does the English. If you had been pleased to enter into particulars as to the facts which caused your complaint, I should have been honored to give as full and satisfactory reply as possible.

I have made it a duty to receive M. Washington with the distinction due on account of your dignity and his personal worth. I have the honor to be, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant, LEGARDEUR DE SAINT PIERRE.

At the Fort of the River aux Bœufs, the 15th December, 1753.

Eight weeks after the defeat of Braddock, in 1755, commenced another struggle between the troops of England and France. In the advance of the latter, at the head of the Indian allies, was Legardeur de Saint Pierre. On the eighth of September a battle took place near the bottom of Lake George. The conflict was desperate; on the side of the English fell Colonel Ephraim Williams, the founder of Williams college, Massachusetts; while upon the part of the French, Legardeur de Saint Pierre was fatally wounded. His

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last words were: * "Fight on, boys; this is Johnson, not Braddock."

In 1755, Marin, the son of the commander who died at French creek, Pennsylvania, was again sent by Governor Du Quesne to command the department "La Baye." The next year, with sixty Indians, he was fighting the English in New York, and in 1757 was engaged in the capture of Fort William Henry, and attacked with great boldness Fort Edward. He was also present in 1758, at Ticonderoga.

Louis Legardeur, the Chevalier de Repentigny, was the brother of Captain Saint Pierre, and, in 1749, an officer under him at Mackinaw. In 1750 he built a trading establishment one hundred and ten feet square, at his own expense at Sault Ste. Marie, and also began a farm. In 1755 he served with his brother at the time of his death, and in 1758 was with Montcalm at Quebec. At the battle of Sillery, 1760, he was at the head of the French centre, and with his brigade resisted the English, the only brigade before whom the foe did not gain an inch. He was taken prisoner in 1762, and two years later visited France. From 1769 to 1778 he was commandant at Isle of Rhé, and then for four years at Guadeloupe. After this he was governor of Senegal, Africa, and on the ninth of October, 1786, died in Paris while on furlough.

St. Luc de la Corne took charge of the posts beyond Lake Superior after Saint Pierre was recalled, and on the third of September, 1757, married Marie, the widow of his predecessor.

During the war of the English colonies for independence, La Corne was in the service of the British king. Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to John Page of Virginia, dated Philadelphia, October 13, 1775, alludes to him:

DEAR PAGE: We have nothing new from England, or the camp before Boston. By a private letter this day to a gentleman of congress from General Montgomery, we learn that our forces before St. John's are 4,000 in number, besides 500 Canadians, the latter of whom have repelled with great intrepidity three different attacks from the fort.

We apprehend it will not hold out much longer, as Monsieur St. Luc de la Corne and several other principal inhabitants of Montreal, who have been our great enemies, have offered to make terms. This St. Luc is a great Seigneur amongst the Canadians, and almost absolute with the Indians. He has been our most bitter enemy. He is acknowledged to be the greatest of all scoundrels. To be assured of this I need only to mention to you that he is the ruffian who, during the late war, when Fort William Henry was surrendered to the French and Indians on condition of saving the lives of the garrison, had every soul "murdered in cold blood."

A descendant of one of the commandants at Lake Pepin, however, adhered to the Americans. Depeyster, the British commander at Mackinaw, under date of April 12, 1781, wrote to the Delaware Indians:

Send me that little babbling Frenchman named Monsieur Linctot, he who poisons your ears, one of those who says he can amuse you with words; only send him to me, or be the means of getting him, and I will then put confidence in you. . . . . If you have not the opportunity to bring me the little Frenchman, you may bring me some Virginia prisoners. I am pleased when I see what you call live meat, because I can speak to it and get information.

The post opposite Maiden's Rock, Lake Pepin, was never occupied after the surrender of Canada to the British. The first English troops entered Minnesota by way of Lake Superior. Major Thompson Maxwell, in his journal, mentions that in May, 1762, he arrived at Grand Portage,

* Stone's 'Sir Wm. Johnson,' Vol. I., page 516.

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now in Minnesota, with a few soldiers, as a guard to the goods of traders. Captain Jonathan Carver, the first British traveler in Minnesota, in 1766, observed "the ruins of a French factory where, it is said, Captain St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies before the reduction of Canada."

Lieutenant Z. M. Pike, the first officer of the U. S. Army to pass through Lake Pepin, in 1805, reached "Point du Sable" or Sandy Point, on the same day of the same month as La Perriere in 1727 arrived. He writes:

> The French, under the government of M. Frontenac, drove the Reynards or Ottaquamies from the Wisconsin, and pursued them up the Mississippi, and as a barrier built a stockade on Lake Pepin, on the west shore just below Point du Sable, and, as was generally the case with that nation, blended the military and mercantile professions by making their fort a factory for the Sioux.

The point in the engraving without a house is Sandy Point. A short distance from the point, near the mouth of what Pike on his map calls Sandy Point creek, there is an elevated plateau from which there is an extensive view. There is evidence that there has been long ago a clearing made there, and as it is the most suitable spot in the vicinity for a stockade, and visible to any one coming in a canoe from the direction of Lake City, it was probably the site of a French post. The Indian trail to the head of the lake ran through the valley of the creek and passed Frontenac station, where the two cannon balls were recently found. They may have been buried by the Indians as "wakan" or supernatural.

LAKE PEPIN, MINNESOTA.

EDWARD D. NEILL.

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A FRIEND OF MRS. ANN HUTCHINSON.

MRS. ANN HUTCHINSON, the leader of the Antinomian party in Boston in 1637, numbered many of the most prudent and sensible citizens of the town among her adherents. It has been remarked of the Massachusetts Antinomians that they formed one of those sects of undoubted morality in practice, but of extreme and unusual theological views, of which it may be said that "the worst things about them is their names, with the ill associations which they have acquired."* Our estimate of the ability and influence of Mrs. Hutchinson rises in proportion to our knowledge of the character of the people whom she made her ardent disciples. The heroic old Puritan whom we have chosen as the central figure of a sketch of which she is really the subject, was a representative man of his party, and is selected partly for that reason. John Coggeshall,† the first of his name who emigrated to America, and who was elected in 1647 the first president of the colony of Rhode Island, was born November,‡ 1591, in Essex county, England, *probably* at or near the town of Coggeshall or Coxhall, as the name was sometimes spelled.§

The town was noted for the woolen goods made by its inhabitants, and John Coggeshall was himself a mercer or cloth and silk merchant. In ancient days "England was the Australia of the world," so numerous were her flocks of sheep, and Fuller tells us in his 'Worthies of England' that the founders of many noted English families were successful dealers in wool. From the Reformation till the time of Charles II. the "great town of Coggeshall," as Cotton Mather calls it, was ardently Protestant and Puritan. Fuller, after quoting in the 'Worthies' with disapprobation the proverb "jeering Coxhall," a popular saying in the reign of Charles II., quaintly says:

> Sure I am that no town in England of its bigness afforded more martyrs in the reign of Queen Mary, who did not jeer and jest with the fire, but seriously suffered themselves to be sacrificed for the testimony of a good conscience.

We can imagine no more suitable birthplace for our Puritan mercer than this town of industrious, intelligent, but almost fanatically religious cloth-weavers and merchants—a place equally noted for its

* 'Memorial History of Boston,' Vol. I.

† Some of his descendants belonged to the Ohio company, the members of which, as the ordinance of 1787 indicates, were as enthusiastic advocates of civil and religious liberty and free schools as their Antinomian or orthodox Puritan ancestors.

‡ A number of events important in his history occurred in November. In that month he was born, died, landed at Boston, took the oath of freeman and was disfranchised, these events occurring in the years 1591, 1647, 1631, 1632 and 1637.

§ Variations in spelling were common in the seventeenth and previous centuries, and considered neither important nor disgraceful. Every man appears then to have written names according to his fancy and not many times in succession in the same way. Coggeshall was also spelled Cogeshall, Cogshell, Cogshill, Coxhall, Coxeal, Coxal and Cogswell, and the different forms were probably all attempts at phonetic spelling, for the name was pronounced Coxal.

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wool market and its martyrs. He was not a man of rank* or large fortune, though he is described as "a gentleman of high consideration." Whatever influence he exerted in New England was principally, though probably not wholly, the result of personal piety, intelligence and force of character. This plain, sensible, democratic citizen of Massachusetts and devout deacon in the Boston church, had high aspirations and ambitions, but they were unworldly, ideal and spiritual. He and his friends were willing to risk all their earthly prosperity for conscience' sake. They bravely asserted and defended their principles in the old world and at a later day, as we shall soon see, in New England, though they knew when they chose their course that for a second time the "comforts of their families, the relations of neighborhood, their civil privileges, their landed property and improvements, and what was the crowning comfort of their lives, the delight of their temple services, were all at stake."†

* Fuller mentions in his 'Worthies' a Ralph of Cogshall, Essex county, abbot of Cogshall, who died in 1230, and also gives an account of several Coggeshalls and Wantons (names of nearly connected Rhode Island families), who were sheriffs of Essex in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and describes the Coggeshall coat-of-arms as Argent, a cross between four escalopes. The office of sheriff, Fuller says, was "an office with a burden" from Edward III. till Charles I.'s reign, for "the principal gentry in every shire of most ancient extraction and best estate were deputed for that place, keeping great attendance and hospitality, so that, as some transcripts have for the fairness of their character not only evened but exceeded the original, the vice--comites have, *pro tempore*, equaled the count himself and greatest lords in the land for their magnificence." Margaret, duchess of Newcastle, says: "Sheriffs in the kingdom of England have been so expensive in liveries and entertainments in the time of their shrievalty as it hath ruined many families." There is no proof that John Coggeshall was related to the sheriffs of his name or to their probably impoverished and less distinguished descendants.

† Ellis' 'Life of Ann Hutchinson.'

John Coggeshall, Mary, his wife, and several children landed in Boston November 2, 1631. They came on the ship *Lyon*, William Pierce, master, and among the fellow passengers were the wife of Governor Winthrop and other members of his family, and John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians. He settled first at Roxbury, where the saintly Eliot was his pastor or teacher. He took the oath of freeman at the general court, Boston, November 6, 1632, and in a list of fifteen freemen he is one of eight who have the title Mr. prefixed to their names, which was not then indiscriminately used but indicated a respectable rank in society. Freemen alone were eligible to office or could exercise the franchise. None but members of the church could be admitted freemen, and this was one of the grievances often complained of by malcontents at a later day.

Governor Winthrop records in his journal, April 20, 1634:

> John Coggeshall, gentleman, being dismissed from the church at Roxbury to Boston, though he was well known and approved of the church, was not received but by confession of his faith.

Savage, the editor, adds in a note:

> Perhaps the ceremony mentioned in the text above would have been dispensed with for himself, but his wife‡ and a maid servant, Ann Shelley, were received at the same time from the neighboring church, as I learn from the records of our own.

From 1634 to 1638 the Coggeshalls lived in Boston. During the short period of his residence there he was four times§

‡ In the church record the date of the admission is given, "13th, 2nd mo., 1634." Later, "6th, 10th mo., 1635," another domestic, "Marie Martin, our brother John Coggeshall's maid servant," was admitted to the church. Mrs. John Coggeshall died at Newport, Rhode Island, December 19, 1684, aged 80.

§ September 1, 1634; March 1 and September 16, 1636; March 20, 1637,—'Memorial History of Boston,' I. 'New England Genealogical Register,' 1850, IV. 124.

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chosen by the free vote of the governed a selectman, or in the words of the town record, one of those "who were to manage the affairs of the town." Citizens of high repute were elected. They exercised very considerable powers and were recognized leaders in the community. The names of the most distinguished men in the colony appear on the lists of selectmen. John Coggeshall promised, August 6, 1636, to pay yearly the sum of eight shillings four pence "towards the maintenance of a free schoolmaster, for Mr. David Maude being now appointed thereunto." This was the beginning of the Boston Latin school. There are forty-four subscribers on the list copied from the town records, and twenty-five subscribed less, eighteen more, and one the same amount that Mr. Coggeshall paid. In 1634 Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, a woman of brilliant intellectual gifts, unusually well informed, especially on theological subjects, of persuasive eloquence and fascinating manners, arrived in Boston. She emigrated to New England principally because she wished to be near her former pastor, Mr. Cotton. Yet the time came when she and others, who, as Cotton Mather says, had followed their ministers "three thousand miles through ten thousand dangers, took up such prejudices, not only against their doctrines but against their persons also, that they did never hear them or see them any more."* Some of Mrs. Hutchinson's fellow-passengers across the Atlantic had been shocked and repelled by doctrines promulgated by her on shipboard in regard to the Bible, the Sabbath, the Holy Spirit, direct revelations from heaven received by individuals, conscious divine guidance, the Christian's superiority to law, theories of the church, civil government and the right of private judgment, which seemed to them heretical or fanatical. She was a singular combination of the mystic and the sensible New England matron, and in her character blended the traits of an enthusiastically devout Madame Guyon and a practically benevolent Lucretia Mott. She received the sobriquet of "the Non Such," an anagram† formed from the letters of her name, which her opponents said expressed in a word the position among religious teachers which she and her friends assumed that she held. In 1636 her brother-in-law and disciple, the Rev. John Wheelwright, who was a graduate of Cambridge university and a friend and classmate of Oliver Cromwell, and who had been driven from the pastorate of the church at Boston, Lincolnshire, by Archbishop Laud, came to Massachusetts and was settled as pastor at Braintree. With these two persons Mr. Coggeshall was intimately associated. They belonged to the class of new emigrants who were not heartily in sympathy with the policy of the first settlers, who, as Bancroft says, "had founded their government on the basis of the church and church membership, and church membership could only be obtained by the favor of the clergy and an exemplary life. They dreaded unlimited freedom as the parent of ruinous divisions." It is rather singular that their choice of a theocracy as their form of government was due in great measure to the advice and assistance of Mr. Cotton, the former teacher of Mrs. Hutchinson.

MARY D. STEELE.

* Magnalia.

† The Puritans were very fond of anagrams. The letters of the names of prominent Boston ministers were changed about and forced to form words describing their character.

[*To be continued.*]

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PITTSBURGH IN 1829.

It does not seem a very ancient date to recur to, yet 1829 is nearly sixty years away, and a great deal may be comprised, among a growing people, in even so short a space as sixty years. The census of 1830, when compared with that to be made in 1890, will show a growth indicating the earlier period as one of apparently great antiquity. In 1829 Allegheny county, of which Pittsburgh is a part, was conjoined to Butler and Armstrong counties to form a single congressional district, whilst Washington county, also adjoining, was a district by itself. For a long period prior to 1830 Washington exceeded Allegheny in population; to-day, Washington is but little larger in population than she was in 1830, while Allegheny now makes two full congressional districts and part of a third.

It was in 1829, then, I first saw Pittsburgh. My parents removed from New York city to New Jersey in 1827, and in 1829 moved finally to this city, of which, nearly ever since, I have been a resident. There was but little choice then in the modes of transit. There was a stage line from Philadelphia, and the canal offered another way, but neither was well adapted to the wants of a family removal. The other methods were on horseback, by wagon and on foot. Our choice was by wagon. We had a two-horse Jersey wagon, into which was packed all it could well carry. The young ones walked half the day and rode the other half, by turns. We made the transit in two weeks, at a daily average of about twenty-five miles, crossing the Delaware at Easton, and passing through Bethlehem, Allentown, Reading and Lebanon to Harrisburg, from whence we followed the stage road through Carlisle, Chambersburg and Bedford to Pittsburgh.

It was early autumn, I remember, and the country from Easton to Bedford was, as it is now and has been ever since that time, the garden spot of Pennsylvania. The farms are smaller now, the houses more numerous, and the towns larger; but the general aspect of everything was pretty much then what it is now—picturesque and fruitful, with a pervading air of comfort and thrift. From Bedford westward to Greensburg the road was mountainous and rough.

We reached Pittsburgh on a pleasant, clear day, so that we did not see it at its worst; but oh! the misery of that sight! It turned a cheerful frame of mind into a spell of the blues, from which I did not recover for some time. After traveling for two weeks through white, clean, cheerful-looking villages and towns, to come all at once upon dirty streets and dark, filthy looking houses stretching away in rows continuously ahead and enveloped in an atmosphere of smoke and soot which blackened everything in sight, was not a

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pleasant transition. It did not make me homesick; but if there had been any place that I knew of that I could safely have run off to, I should certainly have run away. Consequently I have never since wondered at strangers for the aversion which a first sight of Pittsburgh generally awakens in them. There was not so much smoke then, comparatively, as there has been since, but very much more than there is now since natural gas has supplanted coal; but there was enough to cover everything with a dingy pall and besmirch everything with soot. As in similar cases, I soon became familiar with my environment and reconciled to it, and in a comparatively short time the gloom and melancholy which a first sight of the city awakened passed away never to return.

The stranger approaching the city now by the same route I did, would reach it about seven miles out from the point where the Ohio river begins, whilst the spot where I first met houses close together was but little more than a mile from the same spot. In fact, there is not now one-seventh of the present population within the city limits as there was in 1829, but a very much larger proportion of the business is carried on within the old city limits. The present population is more than ten times as large now as then.

When the old proprietary government of the Penns came to an end in Pennsylvania, the proprietary claim of the Penns to the territory of the state was extinguished by a mutual agreement, the Penns reserving the title to themselves in a certain number of "manors" in various parts of the commonwealth. One of these "manors" covers the site of the old city of Pittsburgh. It was surveyed in 1769, and embraced the delta between the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, as they approach their conjunction, and extended nearly a mile up each river, including besides a portion of Coal Hill, on the south side of the Monongahela and Ohio and now embraced within the present city limits.

The Penns had the delta between the rivers surveyed for a town site in 1788, and it extended up the Monongahela from the Point to Grant street, a square above the present Monongahela house; thence followed Grant street over Grant's hill to Liberty street, near the present Union railroad depot; thence by a straight line to the Allegheny river, and thence back to the Point. A suburb, known as "Bayardstown," or the "Northern Liberties," had grown up on the east, but with this exception the town of Pittsburgh was confined, in 1829, to the limits of the town laid off by the Penns. The city proper, when I first knew it, was divided into four wards, the East, West, North and South, and it had remained so from 1816, when the borough of Pittsburgh, formed in 1804, was changed into a city. The "Northern Liberties" was changed into the Fifth ward and added to the city in 1837, and shortly afterwards the adjoining territory up to the Two Mile run on the Allegheny, and extending across to the Monongahela, was added, and the wards increased to twelve. In 1867 the line was extended still further

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eastward, the wards thereby being increased to twenty-three, and in 1872 the boroughs on the south side of the Monongahela were taken in, the total of wards increasing to thirty-six.

The city was gradually growing up outside the old city limits, in 1829, and its growth was healthy but slow. It was so slow, in fact, that while the census of 1840 showed a population of forty-eight thousand, that of 1850 was but fifty thousand, showing an increase of but two thousand. This, however, was not a fair test, for the new population up to and beyond 1850, found an outlet on the south side and beyond the then city limits on the east, so that the real increase was first shown partially by the census of 1870, and more fully by that of 1880. And not truly or fully by that, unless Allegheny City is taken into account; for, although Allegheny City is a separate municipality, it is as much a part of Pittsburgh as Brooklyn is of New York.

In 1829 Allegheny was quite small, and was that year made a borough. It was laid out upon a very small scale, the original plot containing but one hundred lots, sixty by two hundred and forty feet. I do not know what the intentions of its founders were. It was laid out as part of the "Reserve tract," a large strip of territory reserved by the state to be sold for the benefit of some of its creditors. The legislature, about the time this reservation was made, and in the act passed in 1788 creating the county out of Westmoreland and Washington, directed the trustees appointed by it to erect the court-house and jail on this "Reserve tract." It may possibly have thought, with some travelers who visited Pittsburgh as early as 1783, that the place never would amount to much; but probably it was because the state had no property of its own in Pittsburgh, and *had* in the "Reserve tract." That part of the act, however, was repealed the next year, and Pittsburgh was then made the county-seat. Mr. John Wilkins, who visited here in 1783, said: "Pittsburgh, I believe, will never be very considerable." The portion nearest the river was laid off into what was called "inlots," each holder of which had an equal and undivided share in the "outlots," reserved for pasture exclusively for the use of "inlot" holders. Whatever the purpose was, it failed. The outlots became waste land, on which very scanty pasturage grew—a mere commons, free to all and useful to no one. Eventually the more enterprising inlot holders projected the conversion of the unsightly commons into a park, to which the consent of all the inlot holders was necessary and was obtained, and by a liberal expenditure of money, borrowed for that purpose, a very beautiful park has been made and successfully continued. In the meantime, Allegheny has become a city, has greatly enlarged her boundaries, and claims now a population of about one hundred thousand. The Pittsburgh people claim a population of three hundred thousand, but as both claims are probably exaggerated, it is safe to say that the two cities have now a population of three hundred and fifty thousand, and, in 1829, the

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total of both did not exceed thirty-five thousand. Besides this, the large, populous and growing boroughs of Homestead, Braddock and McKeesport are practically a part of the city. Braddock and McKeesport are as large as many cities are, and the three swell the total population to at least four hundred thousand. Other cities have shown a more rapid growth, but none so steady, so continuous and so substantial.

The original plan of Pittsburgh embraced two streets, Liberty and Penn, running parallel to the Allegheny, nine streets running parallel to the Monongahela, six streets running from the Monongahela to Liberty street, at right angles to the Monongahela but diagonally to Liberty street, and seven streets from Liberty street to the Allegheny river. The lots were originally sixty by two hundred and forty, and where the squares were nine hundred and sixty feet alleys intervened half way. Thus each lot faced sixty feet on either a street or an alley.

On looking at the original plan of lots, one is struck with the irreconcilability of the plan with the wants of the city as developed by its growth. The business of the city has grown up largely upon the streets running from the Monongahela to Liberty street, but is gradually extending to the streets running parallel to the Monongahela. Market, Wood, Smithfield and Grant are all occupied with stores, whilst only one of the other streets referred to has become a street of stores. Yet the lots, as laid out, all face the streets running parallel to the Monongahela, and not one faces the streets upon which business has finally centered. As a consequence, the business stores and warehouses on Market, Wood, Smithfield and Grant streets are built upon sixty-feet lots which face upon the cross streets, and fill out their length upon the business streets. If any landlord wants to deepen his warehouse to eighty, one hundred or one hundred and twenty feet, he has to buy the parallel lot or lots behind him.

Another peculiarity of the plan is that Penn street, which was, at the time the plan was made, the only outlet of the city to the east, is comparatively narrow, whilst Liberty street, running parallel to it, is very wide. Market street, on which was the court-house and market, is very narrow, whilst Wood, Smithfield and Grant streets are all wide as compared with Market. The street along the Monongahela was called Water street, and the parallel street, immediately next to it, was called Front street, and the other streets parallel to them were numbered from two to eight, inclusive. [These streets are now called "avenues," and the short streets from Liberty to the Allegheny are called "streets," and numbered from one upwards.] Of the streets parallel with the Monongahela, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh are fairly wide, whilst Front, Second, Third and Fourth are uncomfortably narrow. What could have been the idea in the heads of the proprietors and their surveyor for this diversity in the width of the streets and for facing the lots in what

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has turned out to be the wrong way? I can only guess; but I think my guess comes as near the actual truth as is possible under the circumstances.

The plan was made, as I have said, in the latter part of the last century. The only methods of communication, then, for commerce, was by wagon with the east (the canal was not open until 1829) and by the Ohio river with the west. The big Conestoga wagon and the keel-boat made Pittsburgh their point of transfer. These big wagons were cumbrous and occupied a good deal of room, together with stabling for their teams. The keel-boats found their loading and unloading place on the Monongahela, and mainly at the mouth of Wood street, because the bank there was low and the river easy of access, whilst Market street ended at the river at the top of a high bank. My guess, therefore, is that the proprietors concluded that the wagons, coming in from the east on Penn street, would unload and load at warehouses on Liberty street, and find yards and stabling on Fifth, Sixth and Seventh. [There was one of these wagon yards, within my recollection, as late as 1850, at the corner of Liberty and Seventh, and another, at an earlier date, on Fifth and Wood.] The transfer to the keel-boats would then be made down Wood and Smithfield streets to Water street, at the mouth of Wood. Hence Liberty, Wood, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Smithfield were made wide to accommodate this transfer between keel-boat and wagon, and all the other streets were left narrow. Wide streets for anything but traffic were not then thought of. The narrower streets, in the view of the proprietors, would answer for the private residences of the citizens, and the lots were made wide and deep to afford room for a garden and stable to each house. No one then had foresight enough to think of Pittsburgh as a manufacturing place. It was at the head of navigation on the Ohio, and was therefore laid out as the place of transit between the west and the east. If the original owners had known more they would have planned more wisely.

This short-sightedness, I may take occasion here to observe, was not peculiar to the people of a hundred years ago. It is apparent, to-day, in the building and management of railroads and in the laying out of new towns, as much as it was then. People plan and build and carry on their projects, all with reference to to-day, and never with reference to the future. Of all the shrewd and clear-headed business men and railroad men I have known, I cannot recall one who could see beyond the end of his nose or who had any controlling conception beyond the present. I have seen railroad bridges built, at enormous cost, that had to be torn down and rebuilt and re-rebuilt, within a few years, that, with a little forethought, could have been as well built rightly at first. The men of the last century had just as much and just as little forethought as the men of the present. It is because our hindsight is so much better than our foresight that we can see so clearly the errors of the people who went before us.

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I have not a very high appreciation of the business abilities of the men known to us as the Penn proprietaries William Penn was a man of clear head and fine business capacity, but I do not think he left a son who was any approach to him on those points, and his descendants, at the time of the Revolution, were milk-and-water Tories, with not a particle of attachment to Pennsylvania, and not a whit of interest in it beyond what could be drawn from it. But, however short-sighted they and their advisers were at the time Pittsburgh was laid out, one thing they *did* know, and they acted on it, that Pittsburgh was so favorably situated between the west and the east that it was bound to be a place of commercial importance. They drew their plans to suit this judgment, and if after events have proven that they did not see far enough ahead, it may safely be said in their favor that no one of their day and generation had any better gift of foresight.

Pittsburgh, as originally laid out, had a reservation of a "diamond" or square on Market street, on which to build a court-house and market. The county was organized in 1788. In 1829 there was a brick court-house on the west side of Market street, a semi-circular market-house, roofed but open on all sides below, and two extensions on either side of the court-house. The sheriff's office was in the court-house, and the other county offices in one storied buildings on both sides of the court-house. The main court room was on the first floor and the grand-jury room on the second floor. Here justice was administered until 1840, when a new court-house, on Grant's hill, was occupied. This was of stone, and was a grand building for that day; but fire destroyed it and a new one of far better design will be dedicated on the centennial of the county, in September, 1888. The county has thus worn out two court-houses in one hundred years. Justice outside of the court-house was dispensed by a score of justices, who clustered like bees about the court-house neighborhood. Up to 1839 the justices were appointed by the governor, and took turns at acting as mayor, pretty much after the example of London. This is now all broken up, with a justice in each ward and a mayor chosen by the people every three years; but whether the change is for the better I am not able to determine.

The city, as I first saw it in 1829, was meanly built and gave no evidence of either wealth or refinement. More than half the city was built of wood, and the brick buildings were mainly two stories, very few being willing to build a three-story house and still fewer venturing on four. The churches were mainly small and of mean pretensions architecturally. Three of them, the Presbyterian, Episcopal and Lutheran, had each a half square assigned it for church and cemetery, in the original plan, but not one of the three had a building of any special merit. There were no public buildings with any pretense to architecture, and every building in the city seemed to have been built to suit the then present wants at the cheapest cost possible. The change in this respect has been wonder-

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ful. Beyond the conformation of the streets, there is nothing now, except a few spots here and there, to remind one of sixty years ago. The city has undergone a complete transformation. It has enlarged itself beyond all that anyone dreamed of sixty years ago. Boroughs and townships that were away out in the country have been absorbed by it, and a new crop of the same, grown up just outside of the city line, are now waiting a similar absorption. In population, in wealth, in refinement, in education, in architecture, in local government, in business enterprise, and in all that makes a people prosperous and respectable, it has grown so as to astonish even those who have grown up with it all and become familiar with the various aspects of the transformation.

In all this I have not ventured upon drawing any comparison as to the manufacturing industry and business energy of the people. That is too large a subject, and does not verge upon the historical. It is enough to say that while manufacturing *then* made the city dirty and disagreeable, from the large amount of it carried on and the use of bituminous coal, there is *more* manufacturing, proportionately, *now* than there was then. The mills are larger—*everything* is on a much larger scale than then. I have no figures at hand to compare with, but one fact is sufficient. In 1861, when the war broke out, there were a good many mills in operation, but all of limited capacity. Ten years afterward, in 1871, the one mill of Jones & Laughlin was able to produce as much as all the mills put together in 1861. And nearly every other mill has enlarged as much as Jones & Laughlin's. This is an approximate basis of calculation. The number of mills has not only increased largely since 1861, but every one of them has increased in capacity from fourfold to twentyfold. There is, in fact, no basis of comparison between 1829 and 1887.

Of the prominent men of that day nearly all traces are lost. Harmar Denny was the member of congress then. He has children and grandchildren living, but none of them are now prominent. Richard Biddle succeeded him, but his relatives are all in Philadelphia; there are none here that I know of. John Darragh was mayor. His son, Cornelius, was afterwards in the state legislature and in congress, but has left no progeny to fill his place. Charles Shaler was judge, and after him T. B. Dallas. The family connections of the latter are all now in Philadelphia. William Wilkins, who was, by turns, congessman, United States senator, minister to Russia, secretary of the navy and state senator, has passed away, and with him nearly all traces of his family, Judge Baldwin of the United States supreme court, W. W. Irwin, mayor in 1840, congressman in 1841, and minister to Denmark, H. M. Brackenridge, author and congressman and General William Robinson, jr., who prided himself on being the first white child born within the bounds of Allegheny City, having all gone over to the great majority, leaving scarcely a trace behind. Of all the men who were then at the front, there is scarcely a single one

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left, and but one here and there of those who were then children. An entirely new population as well as a new city has succeeded them.

The foremost lawyers then were McCandless & McClure (both afterwards made judges), Nathaniel P. Fetterman, T. B. Dallas, William W. Irwin, Cornelius Darragh, William Wilkins, Samuel Kingston, Walter Forward, Andrew Burke, Thomas Hamilton, H. H. Van Amringe, Richard Biddle and James Ross. The latter I very well remember as a large, tall, fine looking man. He was United States senator at the time of the Louisiana purchase, but served only one term, and was out of active life at the time I am writing of. The list of the bar after this period extended very rapidly, and many young lawyers were coming forward into notice; but I am writing only of those prominent in 1829.

Of business men I can recall the names of but a few. Men in business fade out so fast that it is difficult to keep them in mind, or to follow their subsequent fortunes. Of the few names that I can now recall of those in active business life at that time, not a man is to be found among those now in commercial life. If only five out of a hundred succeed in business, as statisticians aver, the ninety-five unsuccessful ones disappear suddenly and forever, and the five successful ones retire from public view when success has been attained.

Of the medical fraternity I can recall the names of the two Drs. Gazzam, Dr. Dale, Dr. Mowry, Dr. Holmes, Dr. Simson, Dr. Burrell, Dr. Hannen, Dr. Speer, Dr. Brooks, Dr. Addison, Dr. Bruce and Dr. Agnew. Of these Dr. Speer still survives.

It was not until some years afterwards that a daily paper was started in the city, and of weekly papers there were but few. The *Gazette*, started in 1786, edited by the veteran Neville B. Craig, was the most prominent. It was a semi-weekly from 1820 and a daily from 1835. The others were the *Statesman*, edited by John B. Butler; the *Mercury*, by John M. Snowden, and the *American Manufacturer*, by Richard Phillips. The *Mercury* was afterwards merged with the *Manufacturer* and this became the *Post*, subsequently. The *Statesman* died a natural death. The *Gazette* and *Post* both remain alive and vigorous.

Of the clergy I can say but little. The venerable Dr. Francis Herron was in charge of the First Presbyterian church, Rev. Dr. George Upfold, since bishop of Indiana, was rector of the Episcopal church. [He was preceded by Rev. Dr. (since Bishop) Hopkins.] Rev. Samuel Williams was pastor of the Baptist church. He died at a very advanced age, but a few weeks since. Sidney Rigdon, afterwards a noted Mormon, was about this time a preacher in the Baptist church. I have forgotten the name of the Catholic priest, but remember his little church, then outside the city limits, on or near the site of the Pennsylvania railroad depot. The Methodist preachers changed so often and remained so short a time that they could make but little mark. Bishop Simpson came afterwards, but my recollection is that he was stationed in

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Birmingham, and did not rise to prominence here.

Of the noted local points in the city there is but little change to note. Smoky Island was in existence then, and was opposite the Point, in the very mouth of the Allegheny. It had a factory on it of some kind, but both factory and island disappeared in the great flood of 1832. The gravel foundation of the island still remains, and is occupied in part by the exposition buildings. Colonel Bouquet's block house is still to be found near the Point, with very mean surroundings. Grant street, the eastern limit of the old city, passes over Grant's hill, the scene of the massacre of Grant's command, shortly after the disaster to Braddock. The site of the massacre is now covered by the court-house, and the old city, for some years after 1828, occupied the western side of the street opposite the court-house as a reservoir to supply the city with water. In the panic of 1837, when money of all kinds melted out of sight, both city and county issued scrip for small change, as well as one and two dollar notes. The city afterwards redeemed its issue with the proceeds of the sale of the reservoir lot, and the alley below it is still called "Scrip Alley."

As the panic of 1837 came after the time of which I am writing, it is not proper to lug it in here; but the two periods are so near together that I may be excused for mentioning its effects. Money, as I have noted, had vanished. Silver was hoarded and bank-notes were of uncertain value. The scrip issued by city and county, by boroughs and turnpike roads, served to make change; but the whole community was set back upon the first principle of commercial intercourse—barter. The mills and factories and mines could not pay their men in cash because they could not sell for cash; so they sold iron and glass and coal and all other fabrics for flour, wheat, bacon, sugar, molasses and whatever was eatable, and paid their men in those articles. I remember seeing the wharf covered with country produce of all kinds, sent in payment of Pittsburgh manufactures, and these were distributed to the men in any way that was most available. The "scrip" referred to was honorably redeemed, but for a long time afterwards and up till within a very few years past, small amounts of it would still occasionally come in for redemption; and there are yet, after fifty years have passed, odd amounts still out and unredeemed.

In the Pittsburgh *Gazette* of September 22, 1887, there is an interview with General Sherman, in which the latter is quoted as saying that Pittsburgh is as dirty now as it was fifty years ago, when he was here as recruiting officer. "But that is not fair," said the reporter, "*for there were no factories here fifty years ago.*" If I needed any justification for writing this article, this would be sufficient. History needs to be re-written for the benefit of this reporter on a paper in its one hundred and first year. The files of his own paper will show that there were factories here *eighty* years ago. Of those that were here sixty years ago, I can remember the Sligo

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rolling mill of Lyon & Shorb, on the southern side of the Monongahela; the old Union mill in Pipetown, just east of the city limits; Shoenberger's mill in the Northern Liberties; Brown's mill in the Fourth ward of the old city, and one in Allegheny City. Of foundries, there were Bollman & Garrison's, corner of Fifth and Smithfield streets, the site of the present post-office; Speer's foundry on Penn street, and several boiler-yards and engine factories at and near to the Point. Of glass houses there were Lorenz's and McCully's, both on the south side, one or two in Birmingham, and Bakewell's, on the site of the present Baltimore & Ohio depot. Of the smaller manufacturers, there were saddlers and harness-makers in plenty, tin and copper smiths, wagon makers, brass and bell foundries, tanners and various other branches of manufacture. In fact, this smaller class of factories outnumbered largely the larger ones. Merchants west of Pittsburgh found it easier and cheaper to buy these things, as well as dry-goods and miscellaneous goods, in Pittsburgh than to go east for them. Boat building, also, was carried on here extensively, until it became necessary to get nearer to the source of wood supply.

The steamboat interest had not acquired much force at this early period. The boats, as I remember them, were all side-wheelers, and none of them of large tonnage. They came and went as they could, picking up such lading as offered. There were no regular passenger or freight lines, and travelers took such opportunities as were offered them. The travel, by families, of people emigrating westward, was mainly by wagon, and the main street leading east and west in Allegheny City was called "Ohio" street, because it was then the road to Ohio for all who were traveling in that direction.

Of public schools there were none in 1829. Of private schools there were plenty, such as they were; but the public schools did not come until 1836 or 1837.

The canal was opened to and into Pittsburgh in 1829. It soon began to cut into the trade by wagon, but it was some years afterwards before wagons were entirely supplanted. The farming interest along the old turnpike road was bitterly opposed to the canal because it would, as it did, ruin the wagon carrying trade. The argument was that it would destroy the demand for horses, and consequently for all kinds of horse-feed; but events have shown that there were other uses for horses than that of drawing heavy freight-wagons, and Pennsylvania never saw the time when her horses were not in demand.

The manufactories of Pittsburgh, small and large of all kinds, drew their supply of fuel, at this time, from the hills opposite to and south of the city, the first of which was opened in 1760. It was delivered by carts and wagons, and was obtained from the mouth of the mines, direct, or from the foot of inclined planes, which brought it three hundred feet from the top of Coal Hill and delivered it to wagons at the bottom of the hill. When communication with

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the south side was cut off, as it sometimes was, there was a coal famine in the city for a little while. The fall of a part of the Monongahela bridge, prior to the flood of 1832, brought on one of these famines. Before the flood access to the city was had by ferries; but the flood cut off the ferries for several days and no coal could be had for love or money. One man, who had a load of one hundred bushels on his wagon and had got into the city before the flood came, sold his load for ten dollars, and considered himself the richest man alive. Ordinarily he would have got but three dollars for it.

The city had two bridges at that time, one over the Allegheny at St. Clair (now Sixth) street, and one over the Monongahela at Smithfield street. But Smithfield street being at the upper part of the old city, it was a long way into the city for the south side farmers. A ferry, landing its boats at the foot of Liberty street, caught all this traffic, because it saved over half a mile of travel and landed its patrons much nearer to Market. The ferry, as I remember it, consisted of skiffs for foot passengers and small flats for wagons. The flats were pushed over by poles when the water was low, and oars were used when the river was high. But when the river was very high, the current was apt to sweep the flats out into the Ohio; hence ferriage at high water was always slow and frequently dangerous. A man named Thomas Jones was the proprietor of this ferry. He stationed himself on a perch fronting the ferry from morning till night, and every one, coming or going, had to pay toll there. As years progressed he substituted boats propelled by horses, for the flats, and eventually his sons substituted steam for horse-power. The building of the Point bridge has for some time superseded the ferry. The building of the first bridge at Smithfield street—instead of at the Point, the most natural place for it—was probably on account of the steamboats, very few of which could get under the Smithfield Street bridge. That was the day of short spans and low bridges. Suspension bridges were then only a dream.

The postal service grew up very slowly. In 1786, when the Pittsburgh *Gazette* was established, there was no mail service whatever, and the publishers had to deliver their paper to subscribers by mail carriers of their own. In the latter part of that year a weekly mail service was established between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and another from Virginia to Bedford, connecting with the Philadelphia mail at Bedford. This route left Philadelphia every Saturday and reached Pittsburgh every Friday, returning from the latter on Friday. This route, however, could not have reached many of the subscribers of the *Gazette*, who were mainly supplied by private mail carriers for years afterwards. The revenue of the Pittsburgh post-office in 1787 was one hundred and ninety-nine dollars. In 1829 there were daily mails east and west, but it took three days to reach Philadelphia. As late as 1844 it took three days to get intelligence of the New York election at Pittsburgh, and in 1840 it was three

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weeks before the whole state of Pennsylvania was heard from. The post-office in Pittsburgh in 1829 was on Second street, near Market, and William Eichbaum was postmaster. He was a man much liked, and made so good a postmaster that when General Jackson removed him, in 1832 or 1833, it took the people a long time to become reconciled to the change. His successor, David Lynch, removed the office to Third street, near Market, and there it remained until the government built the present office on Fifth. The rates of postage were, at that time, based on the Spanish currency, six and one-fourth, twelve and one-half, eighteen and three-fourths and twenty-five cents, all our small currency then being of Spanish coinage. These rates varied according to distance, and double rates were charged, not so much for double weight as for more than one piece of paper. Two sheets or two pieces of a sheet used in a letter had to pay double. I saw a poor fellow open a letter from New York at the post-office window, one day, for which he had paid twenty-five cents, but upon opening it fully the window clerk saw an enclosure of a scrap of paper on which a "P. S." was probably written, and for this he had to pay twenty-five cents additional. We do not fully realize all that we have gained by the change from then to now.

It took three days, then, to go from here to Cincinnati by river, a week to St. Louis, and two weeks or more to New Orleans; and if the traveler was going beyond any river point, overland, he took leave of his family and friends with as much solemnity as if he never expected to see them again. A good story is told of James Burns, at one time canal commissioner and for many years a contractor on canals and railroads. J. Edgar Thompson, who was, in 1846, chief engineer of the Pennsylvania railroad, met Mr. Burns in Hollidaysburg. "I asked him," said Burns, "how he expected to take the cars over the mountains. 'By locomotives,' said he. Then I saw the man was a fool. I thought I'd find out just how big a fool he was, so I asked him how long he expected a train to be in running from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia. 'Fifteen hours,' he said. Then I knew the man was a howling idiot." Yet Burns lived to see it done in nine hours.

Altogether, the change from 1829 to 1887 is marvelous, but not more so, probably, than in most western cities. In any of them it takes a man's breath away to stop, look back and compare. But astounding as the change seems, it is not a whit more so than a comparison of the country generally, as it was in 1830 and as it will be in 1890.

RUSSELL ERRETT.

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AN ANTI-ABOLITION EPISODE OF THE WESTERN RESERVE.

In certain historical investigations recently pursued, I was struck with the reason assigned for the departure of James H. Paine of Milwaukee from his old home in Painesville—that he was too outspoken in his denunciation of slavery for the Western Reserve of 1847 and '8, and lost a large share of his legal practice because of that fact. Viewed in the light of after events, this indicates a remarkable change of sentiment within a few years, in a region that sent Wade and Giddings to Washington and John Brown to Kansas, founded and fostered Oberlin, and dotted the country with stations on the underground railroad. Yet there was, at times, and in places, a bitter sentiment against the agitation of the slavery question, and Abolition orators expressed their opinions at their bodily peril. An episode of historical interest in illustration of that fact has been brought under my notice, the scene being laid in Aurora, now one of the thriving villages below Cleveland, on the New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio railroad.

The town was at that time little more than a hamlet in the back country, but the region about it was settled by farmers of New England stock who, while not committed to slavery as a matter of right, did not care to have the question agitated upon grounds of policy. But even then, in 1830 or 1835, the leaven was at work, and there were a few bold men and women here and there who were denouncing slave-holding as a crime against God and man, and as a disgrace and a danger to the Nation. Hudson, where the Western Reserve college was afterward situated to become a teacher and a missionary for abolitionism, was the centre point around which the then growing sentiment revolved, and where many young men who had given no thought to the theme were taken up, converted and sent forth to preach it a sin. Among these there was a fiery youth named John Bigelow, who afterward figured largely in the crusade that took so strong a hold in all northern Ohio. There were threats made that neither Bigelow nor any of his fellows should speak in Aurora, and in consequence its one pulpit was silent while so many round about were opening with their thunders.

But there were a few valiant men who believed in free speech, and who were determined that, right or wrong, the Abolitionists should have a chance to make themselves heard. They met and made their arrangements, and it was accordingly announced on one bright June morning in 1835, that the Sunday school would meet in the church on the Fourth of July, and that among other exercises there would be a few remarks from Mr. Bigelow on the subject of slavery. This simple statement, so commonplace in its import and so small in its suggestion

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as it seems to look upon now, was then a fire-brand that meant a challenge to war. The men who had been loudly proclaiming that Bigelow should not speak felt put upon their mettle, and a fight or a back-down offered the only alternatives to them. They were all hardy fellows, and some of them were rough, and the back-down was not to be thought of for a moment. They made ready for a fight. Frequent consultations took place among them; the town and the neighborhood talked of nothing else. Bigelow was told that he would be tarred and feathered if he persisted in his purpose, and a number of the leading church members declared that the sacred edifice should never be used for any such purpose. But the sponsors of the movement went ahead and declared that the man should not only speak, but should be protected.

Thus matters stood on the morning of Independence day. It was a clear day, and at an early hour families poured in from all quarters in wagons, on horseback and afoot. The majority had come as spectators, the same as they would have gone to a camp-meeting or a circus. The old public square was filled with a motley throng, full of talk and laughter, but ready to break forth into disorder if led on and encouraged. Despite the threats of certain of its members the church was thrown open at an early hour, and a rush was made to fill it. By the time it was jammed a crowd twice as large had gathered on the outside, waiting for developments. The meeting was called to order a little after the announced time by the pastor, the Rev. John Seward, who, although not in active sympathy with the anti-slavery people, was determined that they should have protection and a fair show. The prayer was delivered safely, but Bigelow had hardly been announced, and had not opened his speech before bedlam broke loose within the church and without, and no living man could have made himself heard above the din. Bigelow kept at it like a man, and Seward used all his clerical and personal influence to cause silence, but it was of no avail. The great majority had come there to prevent the meeting from going forward, and they were not to be balked in their purpose. It was bad enough inside the church, but on the outside it was far worse. A party of forty or fifty young men had gathered at an appointed place on horseback, and just after the services opened they came clattering into town, yelling, blowing horns, ringing bells, firing guns and horse-pistols, and making constant circles about the church building. The little band inside the church again and again made attempts to go on, but were every time shouted down and drowned out by the now laughing and good-natured audience. Time wore on, and the noise on the outside increased. Liquor was circulated freely, and as it gained influence the talk grew more threatening, and fears of violence upon Bigelow and his few backers were held with good grounds. The speakers would have gone away quietly could they have left, but they were so crowded on the inside of the church and so threatened on the outside, that they could hardly

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get away, and had no great relish to make the attempt. Should they fall into the hands of the mob there was no telling what might be done with them.

This was the situation until three o'clock in the afternoon, when an old cannon and a couple of anvils were brought close up to the church and fired again and again until the very walls rattled. Mr. Seward saw that a time had come when something had to be done, and he accordingly arose and by dint of much exertion gave the crowd to understand that the effort at speech-making would be abandoned and the meeting would come to an end. Themselves tired with the long farce, the majority of the crowd passed out, and taking Mr. Bigelow by the arm the minister, with the aid of his wife, managed to get him into the open air in safety. They made a hurried start for Mr. Seward's house, a crowd of boys and half-drunken men hooting about them. Had Bigelow been alone he would have been roughly handled, but respect for Mr. Seward kept them back, and nothing worse than a shower of rotten eggs overtook the abolition orator on his way to the parsonage, where he was unmolested thereafter.

The mob had got started now, and, Bigelow or no Bigelow, the rough fellows were determined to have their fun out. An old suit of homespun was presented by one of them—a blacksmith, I believe—while another brought a bundle of straw. An imitation Bigelow was soon created, a rough gallows erected and the straw man hung upon it. After a time man and scaffold were set on fire and burned—to the great delight of the now drunken gang. After they had dispersed for the night, a number of men just as set against any interference with slavery as they, but more quiet in the making of their points, erected a huge pile of stones on the town "green," and out of the middle of the heap there projected a slab on which was inscribed in roughly painted letters something like this:

Sacred to the Memory
of the Apostle of
Abolitionism,
the Friend
of the Prostitute
and the Benefactor of the Wench.
Cruelly Burned
at this Stake as a Just Punishment
for Flagrant Utterances
Against Established
Law and Order!

This thing stood there all the next day, and no one attempted to tear it down. But that night it disappeared, and in the morning, after a long search, the pro-slavery men found the plank, and, with many threats against any man who dared touch it, again put it in place. The other men gave it up for the time, and for many days was the rough plank upraised in front of the church—a monument to the intolerance and narrowness of a then almost frontier settlement. One evening when the sun went down it still stood there, but in the morning it was gone, and not a splinter of it was ever seen again. A crowd of determined men had got together at night, torn the stone heap to pieces and scattered it over a hundred acres of land, and cut the plank

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into pieces and burned it. Nothing was done after that by either side, but the discussion that these events caused set many to thinking, and I have no doubt that the result was largely in favor of the abolition movement.

J. H. KENNEDY.

THE SMALL PERILS OF HISTORY.

IT is the chief purpose of a historical society to gather and preserve the materials of history. And the office of history, as we all know, is to keep true records of the past for the instruction of the future. It is unluckily true that all history is not reliable. It is not true that it is not generally safe to receive it, if properly scanned and compared. The great errors we all learn to look out for. We all know that it is sometimes written by zealots, who see nothing that is not on their side, and color or omit all inconvenient facts. It is sometimes written by narrow and bat-eyed men, who do not see or appreciate many things for want of mental force and discrimination. It is sometimes written by pompous men, who think small affairs beneath its dignity. But it is hardly necessary to count up all the causes which make history a somewhat inexact science. There is no great need of speaking of the great dangers. There are many that are generally reckoned minor perils which are more likely to arise from the methods of societies for historical purposes, and which are more serious now and then than they are always supposed to be. They cannot all be put in classes, although some may be. To refer to any considerable number will be like compiling a table of *errata*, which is generally more useful than entertaining. But the work is at least of some use, and seems to be worth attempting. The present sketch is by no means exhaustive. It will leave room for many more such essays.

It may be well to say something in the first place of what has been noticed in particular associations. The volumes already printed in one or two states represent a great many papers and contain a great many historical facts or assumed facts, and such inferences as are drawn from them. The collections have already assumed public importance, and it is their business to recognize an obligation both to preserve the truth and to guard against errors. They are not responsible for the original accuracy of their papers, but they are at least bound to publish them accurately.

A most serious and it is to be hoped unusual error has been several times committed, and has been too often repeated, by not, where possible, submitting to every writer the proofs of his articles. No one, however plainly he may write, does not leave in his manuscript some occasional obscurity. One word may often be mistaken for another where either makes sense, but not the same sense. Proper names are especially subject to such errors, and a change of a single letter in spelling may change the personality. Abbrevia-

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tions are especially open to mistake, and the more so when the copyist or printer has not a complete familiarity with the subject and has not gone over the same ground with the writer—and this seldom happens. It may also sometimes happen that the writer himself makes a slip of the pen that he would recognize and correct at once when the matter appears before him in print. In some volumes most of the articles are published from copies made by copyists of probably usual care, but with no accurate knowledge of old affairs, and necessarily liable to error. One not familiar with the names of persons and families referred to, especially if of another nationality, can very seldom avoid mistakes in spelling. An *i* may be left without a dot, or a ç without the cedilla. There is frequent confusion between *u* and *n*; *a*, *e*, *i* and *o* are interchanged; and as our predecessors were not much more careful with the gray goose quill than we are with metal pens in their signatures, their *paraphe*, which was usually accurate, is more reliable to one not familiar with their names than the written signature. Accents and other literal peculiarities are not attended to. Family names are mistaken for titles, *e. g.*, Cavelier de LaSalle is often translated the Cavalier de la Salle. In the cases of public men, and of Frenchmen generally, there is usually no difficulty in getting the true name from church, public or family records, and no reason for adopting supposed orthography against them. It would be hard to find an article not reproduced from print and containing several names, in which there are not instances of such mistakes as those mentioned. This class of errors does not always arise from culpable carelessness. The work may have been done conscientiously. It is due to a failure to consult the authors quite as much as to hasty inferences.

In some volumes it appears that the editors or copyists undertook, in part if not throughout, to adopt a uniform spelling of names according to their own theories, without reference to the spelling of the writers, whose work was copied. This ought not to be done. It leads to some danger of confounding different persons, and it sometimes gives just offense. It is no uncommon thing for members of the same family to adopt different spellings of the family name, purposely and for reasons which they deem adequate. It is not unfrequently done to restore the relation with some past generation. It is sometimes done to accommodate pronunciation. The forms, however different, have usually had some significance, and a peculiar spelling sometimes enables us to identify a historical period as well as a source of information, and find an additional test of accuracy. Corrections, if attempted, should be in notes. Passing to more general sources of mistakes, which are not peculiar to any society or period, reference may be made to some things where we are liable to be misled by reason of our northwestern historical antecedents in two other nations, the French and the English. As we are an English-speaking people, we generally expect to resort to translations for our knowledge of the French period and of the records of the French people here as well as elsewhere. The same would be true of the Indians, if they had any literature. The

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fact that they had none rendered their names and their dealings subject to the carelessness or knavery or ignorance of interpreters. It is the common testimony of public men that an Indian interpreter never acknowledges ignorance of the meaning of anything, and the version he gives to each side of the meaning of the other is sometimes ludicrously and sometimes wickedly false. Aside from such misconceptions, a difficulty has often arisen from the difference in vocal organs of interpreters of different nations. The French writers have always preserved the sounds of Indian names more uniformly and correctly than any others. In their reproduction of words and sounds of all but possibly Iroquois, there is no difficulty, even where is some difference in spelling by different authors, in tracing identity. But the Dutch and English, as well as American interpreters, do not seem to have been able to catch or repeat sounds so accurately. We have not in English anything to represent either the guttural or the nasal sounds common in Indian languages. One of the most striking illustrations of this is found in the attempts to spell the Iroquois and Huron name of the place where Detroit was located. In the 'New York Documents' the index contains nineteen different forms of orthography of this name, most if not all being impossible to pronounce accurately. This list includes none of the French forms. The form adopted by Mr. Bishop from Governor Colden's spelling, Teuchsa Grondie, is simpler than most of them. Even the French give some slightly different forms, owing to the fact that the Huron language has similar variations from that of the Five Nations, to those of the English from Scotch, or Yorkshire from Devon; and the Iroquois themselves had apparently some changes of dialect. Bishop Baraga, in his admirable Chippewa dictionary, shows in his own pronunciation his national peculiarity, which confounds *p* with *b* and *t* with *d*. Some tribes make no use of consonants common in others. These difficulties have made it almost impossible to be sure of the identity of many places and of some persons. Any one who reads the names of the same chiefs signed to our different Indian treaties will often be puzzled to trace their identity, and this is partly true as to the tribes. The variation from Pondiak to Pontiac, or Tecumseh to Tecumthe, creates no confusion. A thick tongue or a lisp will account for either. But a person not having some knowledge of both local French and English will not at once recognize the identity of Sonnontouans and Senecas, Goyoguins and Cayugas, Ouiatanons and Weas, Oumamis and Miamis, Ouendâts and Wyandots, to say nothing of scores of personal names of all kinds. One source of confusion in regard to Indian locations has been a failure to identify the same tribes or bands under different names. The Huron names of Algonquin tribes seldom resemble the Algonquin names.

One would suppose the very general study of French would have prevented most such difficulties in translation from that tongue. But it has not done so, and very good French scholars trip up now and then. Some of the reasons for this are obvious. Some it is not so easy to get at.

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When the English and Americans got into business relations with the French, it became very common to attempt to spell French names by the sound. Both vowels and consonants were exchanged for others. As the votaries of the phonetic system have discovered that all English and Americans do not pronounce the same letters and words alike, it is easy to see how the variation would increase in the attempt to reproduce a foreign word. Our geography is full of these wrecks. Bois-blanc island is generally known to sailors as Bobalo. Isle aux galets is called Skilligalee. L'Anse Creuse has more than once got into print as Long-Screws. The Chenal Écarté of Lake Saint Clair figures as Snycarty, and the neighboring channels fare no better. The Rivière à Saint Jean (St. John's river), on Lake Superior, first received a French twist into Chien Jaune, and this translated by the geographers became Yellow Dog, and so continues to this day. La Rivière aux Becs Scies became very naturally River Betsy. These are all cases of crazy phonetics. They can all be matched by attempts by French writers to give English names by sound. The old Pontiac manuscript, the spelling of which is phonetic but abominable, gives faithfully by sound the names of some British officers, as, for instance, Hay and Campbell, by their equivalents. But some names puzzled the writer more. Gladwin is fairly represented by Gladouine. Hopkins figures as Hobquince. Amherst as Amers. Macdougall becomes Magdou. But many persons of temporary prominence are left unnamed or described in some other way, evidently because the writer was puzzled and could not master them. Schlosser, the commander of Fort St. Joseph, was in this case, and while referred to is not named at all. So was the unfortunate leader in the battle of Bloody Run, who is only described as an aid of General Amers. His name, however, has been discussed more or less among our own writers. Written Dalzell or Dalziel in Scotland, it is given by the sound in some papers as Dalyell, and the name is subject to similar variations with many other Gaelic family names with which we are all acquainted. Some French names have been changed to English versions. Thus Lapierre becomes Flint or Stone; Deschamps is Fields or Defield, Such changes are quite common.

A more general source of trouble is the fact that according to the French custom members of the same family often had different names in daily use, so that one not acquainted with the genealogy would never imagine the relationship. They were sometimes called by the names of their estates, as lairds are in Scotland, and the same person did not always use the same signature. Thus the founder of Detroit, whose family name was neither Lamothe nor Cadillac, is called by either name indiscriminately and seldom by any other. Lamothe is a very common name, but formerly seldom used alone, but almost always as a prefix to some place or estate, as Lamothe Fenelon, Lamothe Fouqué, Lamothe Cadillac, and the like It is spelled indiscriminately Lamotte and Lamothe. It is supposed to refer to the mound of judgment belonging to old feudal jurisdictions having plenary powers. There were several Lamothes in Canada and in Detroit, but probably none were related. There was a Captain Lamothe

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captured at Vincennes with Governor Hamilton. The family to which the Marquis Pierre Legardeur de Repentigny belonged had many distinguished members whose relationship is not generally known among us. He held the only seigneurie in Michigan after the surrender of Lamothe Cadillac's rights. It was granted to him jointly with De Bonne at the Sault Ste. Marie in the later days of the French rule, in 1750, and the claim of his heirs was a few years ago rejected by the United States supreme court on very narrow grounds. Two brothers Tonty, who commanded at Detroit, have been confused with each other. Mr. Cuillerier, whose family are now always known as Beaubien, was a conspicuous figure during the Pontiac war, and in the French manuscript is usually called by the former name. In the other diaries he is called by both names. In the French and English diaries his daughter, who was very highly distinguished for beauty and accomplishments, is called Mademoiselle des Rivières. Trottier des Rivières was the old ordinary family name. These variations make trouble with American annalists. They are only specimens out of many, and are frequent in Detroit.

It sometimes happens that two or three generations have credit or otherwise for each other's conduct. The family of Chabert de Joncaire acted as interpreters among the Iroquois for almost a century, and there is nothing in the public documents showing when one succeeded another. They are seldom named before the British days except as Joncaire, or some corruption of it, as, for example, Jean Coeur, and some writers have confounded this name with Jonquière, who was a French governor-general. The last much known member of the family, Colonel Chabert de Joncaire, was chosen representative of Wayne county in the legislature of the Northwest territory in the last century, and was a very able man. An obituary notice of his daughter, an old lady who died recently, speaks of him as having come to Detroit with Lamothe Cadillac—a degree of antiquity that would not have been claimed by the gallant colonel, whose descendants here are of great respectability.

In the recently printed new version of the Pontiac manuscript, the careful translators have been led into a substantial error by a failure to understand the location of the Indian villages near Detroit. The only villages there were the Ottawa village on the Canada side near Belle Isle, the Huron village at Sandwich, and the Potawatamie village then below but now within the present city of Detroit. The French name of the latter tribe being long, was generally contracted into *Poux*, for convenient shortness. In the manuscript it is uniformly so written. The translators throughout render it Foxes. The Foxes left Detroit after the siege of 1712, and thereafter continued to live west of Lake Michigan. They were always called by the French either Outagamis or Renards, those words being identical. They are referred to in the same manuscript as Renards. These slips are easily made. A similar error appears where the manuscript contains the name Pani (pronounced Pawnee), which frequently occurs and is not uniformly rendered. The Panis were all captive Indians, not merely of the Pawnee tribe but of others. The

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word obtained a specific meaning denoting the condition of captivity and servitude.

In rendering into English the old French narratives and documents, sufficient attention has not been paid to the fact that old French, like old English, has many words now obsolete, and many that have changed meanings. Some common words like *matacher* and *matachia* are not found at all in the modern dictionaries, although familiar here and throughout Canada. Now and then it is difficult to know in what particular sense they were used here, without some knowledge of local tradition. Cleared lands were called déserts—a use of that word which is said by lexicographers to have been confined to the American settlements. Dr. O'Callaghan, in the 'New York Colonial Documents,' refers to the word *minot* as signifying a quantity of about three bushels. If it ever had such a meaning (which is more than doubtful) it was not so here. The minot was, and probably is, exactly a bushel of sixty pounds of wheat, and our half-bushel measure was always called a demi-minot. Our lands would have yielded fabulous crops if each minot should be multiplied by three. In like manner translators are very apt to be puzzled about the word pot, as a liquid measure. The "cask of sixteen pints" (or two gallons) saved by an Indian from destruction by the squaws in the pillage of May 13, as rendered in this translation of the Pontiac manuscript, is in the manuscript one of sixteen pots, or eight gallons, each pot being half a gallon, making the salvage more worth contending for. In like manner the French pinte, like the Scotch pint, is an English quart. Sir Walter Scott recalls the slur of the north countryman at the nation that had the smallest pint-stoup.

In Mrs. Sheldon's translated extract from a report of Mons. D'aigremont on the Detroit settlement in 1708, is a similar mistake in regard to lands. It is in the original report stated that there were sixty-three lots (emplacements) occupied within the fort, and twenty-nine farms (terres) outside. The translation leaves out the farms and counts but twenty-nine lot owners. The charges on arable lands are there stated to be so much per rood, when it should be by arpents, or French acres, which is a much larger measure. These differences create misapprehension concerning the extent and condition of the settlement.

Reference has already been made to typographical errors. These may involve dates and names, and sometimes entirely change the sense. In a semi-centennial article read last June, some care was taken in very plain type-writing to point out that the early courts were all held by laymen, but the corrector, concluding no doubt that this must be a blunder, substituted lawyers for laymen, and spoiled the meaning. In the same article our venerable Judge Wilkins was transmuted into Williams, a highly respectable name belonging to some one else. Three Michigan generals named Williams, two of whom earned distinction in the rebellion have been occasionally confounded with each other in history, where they deserve better treatment. The numerous and eminent Macombs have in likewise been mingled up in events running through a century. Even so uncommon a name as Arent Schuyler De Peyster, borne by uncle and

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nephew, has led to confusion of conduct and family relations; and the veteran colonel and poet, who in his old age capped verses with Burns, has more than once been mistaken for his younger kinsman. The date of an old Scottish lord-chancellor's death, which was set a year too late by one historian, who was followed by many others, became one of the turning points in the modern trial of the Stirling peerage case, where a forged patent of nobility was set up as issued by him several months after his death. The tombstone of a very prominent man in our own early annals has a similar error of dates.

Our streams have also led to disputes. Historians have sometimes doubted and sometimes disputed about the identity of streams and lakes. The White river country was coveted by the English, but held by the French, in the middle of the last century, and Dr. O'Callaghan, with some hesitation and erroneously, identified it with the White river of Arkansas, instead of the Wabash country. The word Wabash (Ouabache) signifies white, and that river and one of its main tributaries were both called White river in English. Many rivers were named from the tribes near them. There were several rivers of the Miamis. Two are distinguished in Ohio as the Maumee and the Miami—different forms of the same word. Our Saint Joseph river was also originally River of the Miamis. So we had in Michigan three Huron rivers, the Huron of Lake St. Clair, now the Clinton; the Huron of Lake Erie, still called Huron and separating Wayne from Monroe, and the Little River of the Hurons, afterwards known as the River Savoyard, running under the walls of Fort Pontchartrain and long since disappeared. When old writers referred to any of these rivers, unless they gave other land-marks, they left us in doubt.

Time itself is adding to the confusion. Bloody Run flows no longer, although some of us have seen its banks full and known it as a mill stream. The bed of Campau's mill river, which a century and a half ago furnished a good water power near the present Fort Street railroad bridge, in what is now the heart of Detroit, is filled with railroad tracks and dry. A brief foot-note when any of these places are referred to would save a good deal of controversy hereafter.

No one knows how important in settling doubts some apparently small fact may become. If any society should attempt to weed out its own collections the wheat might perish with the chaff. If contributors look out for small as well as great blunders, and if the society takes care to follow copy implicitly, while perfection will not be reached, many imperfections will be avoided.

JAMES V. CAMPBELL.

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THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY.

THE Cleveland public library was established by the board of education under the provisions of a statute passed by the state legislature in March, 1867, which authorized the levy of a tax of one-tenth of a mill for library purposes. The nucleus of the library was the collection of books forming the library of the public schools, which had been established under an earlier state law, and was kept in the East high school. It was open for two hours of each Saturday afternoon during the school year of forty weeks, but was very little used, except by the pupils of the schools, owing to the limited time allowed for drawing and to the impression prevailing that it was simply a collection of children's books. This appears to have been a mistaken impression, as the first report of the librarian describes them as too abstruse and formally didactic to interest the young people for whom they were intended. The collection was supposed to contain two thousand three hundred volumes, but after deducting from this number books charged to various persons and not recovered, about two thousand two hundred volumes were actually transferred to the public library.

In September, 1868, a room twenty by eighty feet in size, on the third floor of the Northrop & Harrington block on Superior street, was rented, book cases and other furniture procured, the room fitted up and a number of new books, variously reported at three thousand six hundred or four thousand, were purchased. It is probable that the smaller number is the correct one, which would make, with the books from the high school, the number of volumes on the shelves at the time of opening, five thousand eight hundred; and, with an unexpended balance of $1,800, which is also reported, purchases were at once made, bringing the number to six thousand or more, thus accounting for the discrepancy in the reports. Owing to delays in fitting up the rooms, the library was not opened until February 17, 1869—on the afternoon of that day it was thrown open for inspection, and in the evening a meeting was held at which it was formally dedicated to the public use. The address was by Mr. Edwin R. Perkins, president of the board of education. Remarks were also made by the Rev. Anson Smyth, describing in a humorous way the drafting of the law under which the library was established; by H. S. Stevens, noted at that time for a recently published series of "Round the World" letters; by the mayor, Honorable Stephen Buhrer, and by Mr. W. H. Price, who had been president of the board of education when the statute establishing the library was enacted, and had been instrumental in securing its passage.

The work of fitting up the library had been carried forward under the supervision of Mr. Luther M. Oviatt, who had been chosen librarian. The selection and purchase of books had also been largely his

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work. Mr. Oviatt was a graduate of Western Reserve college, and had been connected with the public schools of Cleveland as teacher and principal for nearly eighteen years. He brought to the work a thoroughly trained and well-stored mind, the result of a systematic education and extensive reading, a great love for books, a pleasant manner which made him popular, an enthusiasm for the work and a sincere desire to make the library useful, which were more valuable in the position than a thorough library training and experience could have been without these qualifications.

On February 18, at 10 A. M., the library was first opened for the issue of books. The hours were fixed at from 10 to 12 A. M., 2 to 5 and 7 to 9 P. M.

The membership was restricted to one n a family, and one book only issued to each member. From February 18, until the close of the first financial year, August 31, nearly four thousand members were registered. The enterprise so auspiciously inaugurated grew in popularity and usefulness. At the close of the year ending August 31, 1873, the number of members registered from the beginning is reported at 13,875. The average daily issue of books had been as follows: For the time from February 18 to August 31, 1869, 250 volumes; for the year ending August 31, 1870, 220 volumes; for the year ending August 31, 1871, 250 volumes; for the year ending August 31, 1872, 300 volumes; for the year ending August 31, 1873, 456 volumes; showing a very satisfactory increase in the membership and use of the library.

In 1873 the library was removed to larger rooms in the Clark block, on Superior street, a short distance west of its original location. During 1875 Mr. Oviatt was compelled by failing health to resign the management of the library. He was succeeded September 1, 1875, by Mr. I. L. Beardsley, a gentleman of extensive knowledge of books and much business experience. It had been decided to remove the library again to more commodious quarters in the new City Hall on Superior street, and the first task of the new librarian was to superintend the removal and the reorganization and rearrangement incident upon it. This he did with great energy and discretion. The library occupied very commodious quarters, consisting of a series of connected rooms on the second floor for the circulating department and offices, with a room on the third floor for the reference department, and a newspaper reading-room on the first floor. It remained here until after the completion of the new Central High school building, when, in April, 1879, it was removed to its present location in the old High school building on Euclid avenue. It here occupies the second and third floors, the circulating department and librarian's office being on the second floor; the reference library, reading room, assembly room and office of the library board on the third floor. These rooms are furnished free of rent by the board of education. Mr. Beardsley continued in charge of the library until the summer of 1884, when after nine years' faithful service he resigned and accepted a position in New York, where he has since resided. He was succeeded, September 1, 1884, by

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the present librarian, W. H. Brett. The use of the library increased from the beginning, until in 1876–77 there were issued 189,197 volumes, or an average of 744 per day. Up to this time those using the library had been allowed access to the books. It was decided that it would no longer be advisable to permit this, and this change, together with a great reduction in the working force of the library, had the effect of lessening the next year's business to 105,000 volumes. During the succeeding years there was a steady increase until in 1885–86, 209,000 volumes were issued from the circulating department for home use, and 27,000 volumes used in the reference library.

The growth of the library has been steady from year to year until it has now over fifty-one thousand volumes. The circulating department numbers more than thirty-four thousand volumes. It covers a wide range of subjects, and the selections have been made with the intention of fairly representing each department of literature. Possibly biography and history have received somewhat more attention than other classes, and the mechanic arts somewhat less than might be expected in a city so largely engaged in manufacturing as Cleveland. The extent to which fiction should be placed in the library seems to have been from the beginning a debated question. It has not at any time been doubted that the works of the standard novelists should have a place, but the question has been to fix a standard and to decide to what extent lighter fiction should be admitted. The purchases of books from year to year have reflected the opinions of the various book committees, and with some fluctuations have shown a tendency to draw the line higher up and to buy less of the lighter fiction. The librarian's report for 1874 notes the purchase of 1,550 novels out of a total of 3,980 books bought during the year, and defends the purchase of so large a proportion of fiction on the ground that a great majority of the users of the library read for amusement and that their preferences should be heeded. From this time there seem to have been a decided tendency in the opposite direction. Librarian Beardsley, in a paper read before the librarians' conference in May, 1882, notes with justifiable pride that during the previous seven years the library had grown from 17,000 volumes with 6,000 novels to 40,000 volumes with 7,000 novels—the entire library thus having more than doubled while the class fiction had remained about the same, due in part to smaller proportional purchases and in part to greater loss by wear in that class. The comparison quoted above gives the proportion of fiction to the entire library. By confining the comparison to the circulating department we may better estimate the use of fiction as compared with other books in the library.

The exact figures as given by the librarian's report of August 31, 1881, show 26,554 books in the circulating department, of which 7,685 were novels, from which 50.14 per cent. of the circulation was drawn. The last published report, August 31, 1886, shows 8,003 novels, out of a total of 33,865 volumes, with a circulation of 50.17 per cent. The proportions are about the same—one-fourth of the books in the circulating department are novels, and from this one-fourth, one-half

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of the whole number of books issued are drawn. Add to this the juvenile stories and German novels not included in the above, and it would show from sixty-five to seventy per cent. of fictitious literature issued annually. The circulating department is now kept open from 8.30 A. M. until 9 P. M.

GERMAN BOOKS.

The managers of the Humboldt festival, in 1869, expended the surplus receipts from the festival, amounting to about six hundred dollars, in the purchase of standard German authors for the library. This was the beginning of the collection of German books, which now numbers about five thousand volumes in the circulating department, and more than five hundred in the reference library. Their circulation is about in proportion to their numbers as compared with the rest of the library.

REFERENCE LIBRARY.

From the establishment of the library certain volumes had been designated as for reference only and not to be issued. As they increased in number they were placed in special cases, but it was not until the removal of the library to the City Hall, in 1875, that it was organized as a separate department. It was then placed in a commodious room on the third floor, and is noted in the librarian's report as containing 2,629 volumes. From this beginning it has grown until it now numbers 15,959 volumes. In addition to those standard encyclopædias, dictionaries, atlases and gazetteers, which are the foundation of a reference library, it has a general collection of books embracing good editions of many of the standard writers in all departments of literature and knowledge.

It includes files of many of the leading periodicals, especially of those cited in 'Poole's Index,' the large use of which is quite an important feature of the library work. Especial attention has also been paid to the fine arts and archæology, as well as to American history, and of late to the history of our own state.

It includes many good editions, but very little that is especially rare or valuable from rarity merely or age. It has never been the policy of the library managers to buy *curios* or *antiques*, but rather to build a thoroughly practical working library.

It is open every week day from 9 A. M. to 10 P. M., and on Sundays from 1 to 9 P. M., and is largely used.

There are also over two hundred volumes, mostly bibliographical, in the librarian's office, and about one thousand volumes of surplus duplicates in the library, making the number in all over fifty-one thousand, as before noted.

The newspaper reading-room first appears in the annals of the library as a separate department in 1875, when the library was removed to the City Hall. A reading-room was then opened on the lower floor. It was largely used and proved to be a very popular feature. It was closed for lack of funds on the thirtieth of June, 1877, and was not again opened until the second of January, 1880, after the library had been again removed to its present quarters. It now occupies a portion of the third floor. It is used to a considerable extent, but has never been so popular or largely frequented as in its former loca-

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tion on Superior street, probably in part from the fact that the present location is farther from the business centre, and in part from the fact that it is now on the third floor. It has on file daily papers from the larger cities of the United States and Canada, a fair representation of English and German papers, and the leading magazines and reviews, both American and English, as well as a few in German. One feature is a file of Ohio papers representing most of the counties of the state.

LEGAL AND FINANCIAL RESUMÉ.

On the eighteenth of March, 1867, the legislature of Ohio passed an act by the provisions of which the boards of education of cities having by the last previous Federal census more than twenty thousand inhabitants, were authorized to levy a tax of one-tenth of a mill on the dollar valuation of the taxable property of such cities, and to expend the amount so collected for the purchase of books suitable for public libraries and for "attendant expenses." It also provided that all residents of the city and of territory attached and taxed for school purposes should have the use of the library. This law was framed by the late Rev. Anson Smythe, ex-state commissioner of schools, and Mr. W. H. Price, then president of the board of education, and was intended to insure a sufficient and permanent income for the growth of the library. Under its provisions the Cleveland Public School library, or, as it is now called, the Cleveland Public library, came into existence. For nearly three years after its establishment the library was directly under the control of the board of education.

Under the provisions of an act passed by the legislature April 3, 1867, the board of education elected, on October 2, 1871, a board of library managers consisting of six members not of its own number, but with the president of the board a member *ex-officio*. The board so created continued in control of the library until July 14, 1873, when four of its number resigned, leaving no quorum. The board of education did not fill the vacancies thus caused, but re-assumed the control of the library, placing it, as before, in the hands of a standing committe.

It will be remembered that by the provisions of the statute cited above, the proceeds of a levy of one-tenth of a mill were to be expended for the purchase of books and "attendant expenses." The question was early raised as to the meaning of the phrase "attendant expenses." It was referred to the attorney-general of the state and by him was decided that in the intent of the law "attendant expenses" meant binding only. Therefore the proceeds of this special levy must be expended for books and binding only, and if the board of education would maintain its library it must provide for the current expenses of the library from its other funds. This was done until May, 1877, when the question was again raised in the board of education. It was referred to the committee on judiciary and the city solicitor who decided that the vexed phrase "attendant expenses" meant all expenses incident to the maintenance and management of the

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library, and that to appropriate any money from the school fund for the payment of library expenses was illegal. This decision was reported to the board of education at its meeting on June 25, and as the library fund was exhausted it was ordered that the library be closed on July 1. During the previous year the levy of one-tenth mill had produced $7,161, which had been spent exclusively for books and binding, and the other expenses of the library, amounting to $10,824, had been paid from the school fund.

The circulating department of the library was re-opened on September 10 by the librarian and two assistants. Six additional assistants were employed in March, 1878, and the reference department was re-opened. The reading room remained closed. On April 8, 1878, an act passed the legislature authorizing the election by the board of education of a library committee of not less than three or more than seven members, not of their own number, for a term of two years, placing the control of the library in their hands, excepting that the board of education should fix the compensation of the librarian and assistants. It authorized the expenditure of the library fund for books, pamphlets, magazines, periodicals and journals and attendant expenses, thus providing for a newspaper reading-room, and further legalized the payment of the expenses of maintaining the library, including the salaries of the librarian and assistants by the library board. This was amended April 1, 1879, to authorize the levy of a tax of two and one-half tenths mills for the support and increase of the library, and placing it entirely in the hands of the library committee. The revised statutes of 1880 gave the statute as amended in 1879, except that it probably inadvertently followed the original act of 1878 in giving the power of fixing the compensation of the librarian and assistants to the board of education. To remedy this an act was passed April 15, 1881, to amend section 4001 of the revised statutes and substantially repeating the amendment of 1879 in this particular.

On April 18, 1883, an act was passed changing the designation from School library to Public library, and of library committee to Public Library board, and making some changes in the form of proceedure of the board.

It was again amended April 28, 1886, fixing the number of members at seven and the term of office at three years, excepting that, "at the first election, two members shall be elected for one year, two for two years and three for three years. After said first election as many shall be elected each year as equals the number whose term expires that year." This arrangement secures greater permanence in the board and provides against the possibility of an entire change in its *personnel* at one time, as was possible at the end of each term of two years under the former arrangement.

The first president of the library board was the late Judge Sherlock J. Andrews. He was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. John W. Brown, then rector of Trinity church. His successors in the order mentioned were General M. D. Leggett, Mr. John G. White and Dr. H. C. Brainerd, now presiding for a second term.

During the first years of the board the

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librarian seems to have been also secretary of the board. Since 1880 the following gentlemen have filled that position: Mr. E. M. Hessler, Mr. William J. Gleason and Mr. L. Breckenridge. The last named gentleman has been a member of the board since 1881, and chairman or member of the most important committees, and has freely given much time and valuable service to the library. Among those who have been members of previous boards might be mentioned Colonel John Hay, Dr. William Meyer, Colonel W. F. Hinman, Dr. H. McQuiston, Messrs. L. F. Bauder, H. C. Ranney and E. Klussmann. Previous to the establishment of the library board the following were among the members of the board of education especially interested in the library: Dr. D. B. Smith, Messrs. W. J. Akers, Thomas A. Stow, James W. Carson, C. B. Bernard and Judge E. J. Blandin.

W. H. BRETT.

THE EARLY DAYS OF MINNEAPOLIS.*

THIRTY-NINE years ago last June, the first colony was planted in the boundaries of what is now Hennepin county. At that time Chicago was an outpost, Milwaukee an Indian trading locality, and all the great cities, the flourishing towns, the rich agricultural districts of the northwest of the present day, were not. A band of hardy pioneers, natives of a foreign soil, came down from the north to seek a home. They selected the numerous springs about a mile this side of Fort Snelling, and for years tilled the soil and attended their flocks. Thus we find that before emigration had been attracted into Wisconsin, Illinois or Iowa, a small handful of colonists from the Hudson bay country and Prince Rupert's Land ferreted out and improved the advantages which so many have since found in the bosom of Hennepin county. These people were not suffered to remain, but were obliged to leave by the strong arm of military rule, and subsequently went east of the Mississippi, where many of them even to this day reside.

In 1822 Lieutenant Camp, United States army, set the first plow in motion in order to open up vegetables to the soldiers. The experiment was considered a hazardous one, but it proved successful. Lieutenant Camp died two years afterwards, at the fort, and his ashes are mingling with the dust in the old military graveyard of Fort Snelling. He was the first person who proved the virtue of our soil.

In May, 1830, Philander Prescott, who was so barbarously murdered on the afternoon of the nineteenth day of

*This interesting and valuable paper upon the early days of one of the thriving cities of the northwest, and one of the great places of the future, was prepared by Colonel John H. Stevens for the banquet of Old Settlers' Association of Hennepin county, Minnesota, on February 22, 1867. It will be found replete with facts well worthy of permanent preservation.—[EDITOR MAGAZINE.

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August, 1862, on the plain below the Redwood river, opened up a farm for the Indians, known as the Lake Calhoun band of Dakotas. This farm was situated on the east shore of Lake Calhoun, but notwithstanding it was cultivated for years, there is no trace of it now to be seen. It only requires a few years for a well-cultivated farm on the prairies, in this climate, to return to its native and original appearance. In 1834 there was quite a village on the borders of the Lake. The mission building of the Messrs. Pond was built out of lumber found buried on a sand-bank near the outlet of Bassett's creek into the Mississippi. These are all the improvements made at an early day worthy of note, outside of the vicinity of Fort Snelling and the west falls of St. Anthony.

On the eighth day of June, 1819, the command of Colonel Leavenworth reached the St. Peter's river, and preparations were at once commenced for the erection of Fort Snelling. The next year Colonel Snelling assumed command, and the fort was finished under his auspices.

The first white child to the manor born made its appearance in 1819, in a tent near where the end of the railroad bridge stands, this side of the Minnesota river. The parents of this child, D. M. Hubbard and his wife, were connected with the army.

The commercial interests of the new country were represented by Captain Devotion, and in 1821 the late Kenneth McKenzie of St. Louis, Messrs. Ludlow and Lamont imported large quantities of goods into this country. They were known as the Columbia Fur company.

The first white woman who had the honor of visiting the Falls of Saint Anthony, was Mrs. Goodwin, the accomplished wife of Captain Goodwin of the Fifth United States infantry, a lady who gave a graphic account of its beauty in 1829. The first claim made by private parties to lands in our county, was at the junction of the Little Falls, or the Minnehaha creek, with the Mississippi, when the Honorable J. R. Brown, in May, 1836, staked off a quarter section of Mother Earth for his own use; but it soon became evident to him that his proper avocation was not that of a farmer, and he abandoned it. The old Government mill was commenced June, 1822, at the west side of the falls. It was built under the supervision of Lieutenant J. B. F. Russell, then an acting quartermaster in the army. He finished it in 1829, and had in the meantime completed the old dwelling-house which stood near the present machine shop of the Central Railroad company. Lieutenant Russell continued in the army until he had reached the rank of a field officer, then resigned, and died a few years since in Chicago. He was well known to many of the early settlers of this state.

The precincts of what is now Hennepin county remained *in statu quo* until 1837, when Franklin Steele laid a claim to St. Anthony proper. The Falls of St. Anthony were discovered by Lewis Hennepin, a missionary, in the year 1680, and he named them in honor of

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his patron saint, Anthony of Padua. Hennepin was born in Flanders in 1640, thus making him just forty years of age then he reached this point. The Indians of the Dakota Nation took him prisoner, but treated him kindly, and after a pilgrimage with them for some two years, he was suffered to depart in peace. We do not learn that he converted any of them to Christianity. Anthony belonged to a noble house, was born in Lisbon, in 1195, was a disciple of St. Francis of Assisi, and he belonged to the Francisco order as early as 1220, and died in Padua June 13, 1231, and the ninth Gregory, who occupied the Papal chair, canonized him in 1232. A hundred and fifty-seven years had passed from the time of the discovery until the first claim was made with a view to an improvement of the great water power, by private parties. Mr. Steele erected, in 1837, a small log house near Edwards' block on Main street, which was a good, substantial claim cabin. This at that time was the only house between the St. Croix and the Mississippi. There were two other log cabins built the same year, one above, the other below, the first one, and in 1838 Mr. Steele opened up a farm of seven acres, the centre of which was near the ground now occupied by the Tremont house. This farm was fenced and carefully cultivated until the land was entered in 1847 at government price. The late Samuel J. Findley and his father-in-law, Peter Quinn, who was murdered by the Indians in 1862, also occupied claims on a part of the city of St. Anthony, which Mr. Steele purchased for two hundred and fifty dollars. He also bought the right of Joseph Reachi's claim, a Canadian *voyageur*, for two hundred and fifty dollars. These purchases made Mr. Steele the proprietor of a large portion of what is now included in the city of St. Anthony, though R. P. Russell, esq., of this city, was a partner with Mr. Steele in a part of the original town site. In 1845 Pierre Bottineau removed to St. Anthony. He paid Messrs. Russell & Findley one hundred and fifty dollars for the whole of Bottineau's addition to that city. He built the second house in that city. In 1846 an emigrant from the Red River of the North built another house. Early in June, in 1847, appeared in St. Anthony William A. Cheever, esq., who made a claim in the lower town of that city; and he also, on the tenth of July, in the same year, purchased from Mr. Steele nine-tenths of the water power for $12,000 for the Honorable Robert Rantoul, jr., Caleb Cushing and others. Mills were to be built at once. Ard Godfrey was brought out from Maine to build the mills, and Caleb D. Dorr, John McDonald, Samuel Ferrald and Ira Burroughs were also engaged to assist in matters, and all of whom arrived in the fall of that year. Messrs. Robert W. Cummings, Henry Angell, Captain John Tapper and William Dugas were sent up to Swan river to cut timber for the mill, while Daniel Stanchfield with a crew of men went up Rum river for the same purpose. However, no lumber appeared until the next spring. In the fall of the same year there was built an edifice, just below the bridge, which became classical in con-

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sequence of the extraordinary propensity which it had for the propagation of trivial, but troublesome animal matter, which is a horror to every civilized daughter and son of Adam. This building in its day was of a good deal of moment; it fed the hungry and protected the people from the storms and cold, but it is to be presumed that its destruction caused no tears to be shed —many a one had been bitten under its respectable roof.

This same fall R. P. Russell, esq., who was an inhabitant of this county at Fort Snelling as early as 1839, moved to St. Anthony and opened the first store in the original log house. His father-in-law's family occupied the same building. Calvin A. Tuttle, esq., with his family, also moved into that city the same year.

The first marriage in this city was Honorable R. P. Russell and Miss Patch.

The second marriage was L. N. Parker and Miss Amanda Hurse, on the nineteenth of September, 1849.

The winter of 1847 and '48 was a hard one on the colony. Cushing, Rantoul & Co. failed to keep their contract with Mr. Steele, and the consequence was he had all the bills to foot. Goods that were consigned to the embryo city met with a watery grave; provisions had to be hauled a long distance; men, in the absence of women, had to do housework; lumber could only be secured from the banks of the St. Croix, and matters were gloomy enough. But yet, when spring opened, the affairs brightened again, and in September Mr. Steele had two saws in running order. This year brought more settlers, and houses went up at a rapid pace. R. P. Russell, Ard Godfrey, Sherman Hurse, Mr. Rogers and Washington Getchell built homes out of the new-made lumber. Captain John Rollins, Governor William R. Marshall, Joseph M. Marshall, the Farnhams and others, became citizens. Messrs. S. W. Farnham, Charles Stimpson, D. Stanchfield, Silas Farnham and Hurse had teams in the pineries hauling and banking pine logs, which the new mill was ready to make into lumber. The land embracing the town site was entered in August, 1848, for one dollar and a quarter per acre. In 1849 the city received many enterprising citizens, consisting in part of Honorable J. W. North, Dr. John H. Murphy, John George Lennon, J. P. Wilson, Joseph McAlpin, Alexander Cloutier, Anson Northup, Francis Huot, Peter Poncin and others. Anson Northup built the St. Charles, and other houses went up in a very satisfactory manner. This year the territory was organized, and at the first election W .R. Marshall and Wm. Dugas were elected to the house of representatives, and John Rollins to the council. Through the influence of Mr. Marshall and others, a town library was started. A school-house was built, and a Mr. Lee, from Iowa, engaged as a teacher. Preparations were made for building churches, and on the whole it was a year of prosperity. In consequence of the high water, logs in the boom, some six million feet, went down stream, which caused a suspension in the lumber business; but Mr. Steele had, fortunately, a million or two feet of lumber cut up on the Platt river, by

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the Honorable Joseph R. Brown, which afforded sufficient lumber for building purposes.

Several clergymen came to the city this year, and meetings were held regularly, much to the satisfaction of the people.

The first territorial legislature selected St. Anthony as the site of the future state university, and measures were taken to set up a preparatory building for that purpose. Over three thousand dollars was contributed by the citizens for this purpose. Unfortunately, Mr. Steele had sold, the previous spring, one-half of his interest to Arnold W. Taylor of Boston, who was a thorn in the way of advancement of the town. No one could agree with him, and the consequence was strong symptoms of breakers ahead appeared. The difficulties could not be overcome, which ended in a general suspension of business—everything tied up as close as could be wished. Here was a pretty pickle which the people found themselves in, and after a two years' sweat, Mr. Steele, with a good deal of exertion and perseverance, succeeded in purchasing Mr. Taylor's interest, much to the relief of the people. St. Anthony belonged to Ramsey county in the organization of the different counties by the first legislature, and remained so until March, 1856, when it was made a part and parcel of Hennepin county. From 1852 St. Anthony improved rapidly until 1857.

In the matter of churches in St. Anthony, the first one organized was the Baptist, in July, 1850. The Congregationalist was organized in November, 1851; the Methodist in August, 1850; Holy Trinity, Episcopal, in 1852; the Universalist in 1853. The Catholics held meetings ever since 1838. Of the first clergymen who preached at St. Anthony, were the Revs. J. P. Parsons and W. C. Brown of the Baptist church; Revs. J. G. Putnam and Newcombe of the Methodist; Revs. Dr. E. G. Gere and T. Wilcoxson of the Episcopal; Rev. S. Barnes of the Universalist; Rev. C. Secombe, Congregationalist; Revs. Mr. Ravoux and Galtier of the Catholic church.

Dr. A. E. Ames, upon his advent into the territory, in October, 1851, collected the scattering Masons who resided in the neighborhood and obtained a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Illinois to open Cataract lodge, U. D. in Ancient Form, and fifteen years and eight days ago that ceremony was observed in the little parlor of Ard Godfrey, when A. E. Ames accepted the east, Colonel W. Smith the west, Isaac Brown the south; Ard Godfrey, treasurer; J. H. Stevens, the secretary; D. M. Coolbaugh, the senior deacon; H. St. Atwood, the junior deacon; William Brewer, tyler; with General J. W. T. Gardiner, then stationed at Fort Snelling, for a member. This is the parent lodge of all the lodges in this vicinity, and we, its charter members, feel a fondness for its prosperity over and above all other lodges around the falls.

Returning to the west side of the Mississippi we find the Rev. G. H. Pond of Oak Grove, and his brother, the Rev. S. W. Pond of Shakopee, settled at Lake Calhoun as missionaries in 1834. In

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1835 the Rev. Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, a native of South Carolina, and his family, together with Alexander Huggins, were sent here as missionaries by the Foreign Missionary society. Dr. Williamson organized the first church established in the northwest, at Fort Snelling, in the summer of that year. General G. Loomis, United States army, Governor H. H. Sibley, Alexander Huggins and S. W. Pond were the elders of the Presbyterian church. The Rev. J. D. Stevens was the pastor, who arrived at the fort the same year, and built a dwelling-house on Lake Harriet. That fall he had a daughter born on the shores of the lake, which was the first white child born in this county, outside the precincts of Fort Snelling. Too much credit cannot be bestowed on these missionaries.

In October, 1849, this same church was re-organized at Fort Snelling, with the Rev. G. H. Pond for its pastor, and Colonel Loomis, who had passed through the Florida and Mexican wars, had returned and resumed his old position as elder.

The principal churches in this city were organized as follows: The Baptist, the fifth day of March, 1853, Rev. A. A. Russell, pastor; the Presbyterian, July 3, 1853, Rev. J. C. Whitney, pastor, though Rev. Mr. Pond preached the first sermon ever delivered in Minneapolis, on Sabbath day, October 10, 1851, and continued to preach until Mr. Whitney was called to minister to the church. The Freewill Baptist church was organized in June, 1854.

The first court ever held in the county was on the second Monday of July, 1849, his honor, Judge B. B. Meeker, presiding. We were then known as the county Le Point, and the jurisdiction or judicial district of Le Point extended from the Minnesota river to Lake Superior, and from the Mississippi to the Missouri. The court was held in the old government building, which has given way to the Central railroad machine shop. Franklin Steele, esq., was the foreman of the grand jury. The judge also held the first court after the organization of our present county. Dr. A. E. Ames was the foreman.

The bill organizing Hennepin county was approved March 6, 1852, and the first election held in Minneapolis on the ninth of October, 1852. The county was fully organized on the twenty-first of that month, by the qualification of the following officers: John Jackins, Joseph Dean and Alexander Moon, county commissioners; Isaac Brown, sheriff; Joel B. Bassett, judge of probate; John H. Stevens, register of deeds; John T. Mann, treasurer; Warren Bristol, district attorney; David Gorham, coroner; Charles W. Christmas, county surveyor; Eli Pettijohn, S. A. Goodrich and Edwin Hedderly, assessors. Dr. A. E. Ames was elected member of the house of representatives. The members of our first territorial legislature who resided in the precincts of the county were, G. H. Pond of the house, and Martin McLeod of the council. They represented the country from Little Crow's village to the Missouri.

Minneapolis was settled in 1849, but there were only two or three families,

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all told, for two or three years. The first settlers were as happy in their poverty as those now are who have their great mansions, their costly furniture and furnishings. In the cabin, rude and homely as might have been its conveniences and surroundings, peace dwelt. Those who have been cradled in the lap of luxury and reclined on the couch of ease, can form no adequate idea of the fortitude of mind necessary to undertake the trials which have to be borne by the pioneer of a new country. The getting used to it by the ladies is the worst; but when broke in, the life of a pioneer is charming. It makes us better women and better men; we are all on a level; we are not cursed with frivolous fashions. All of us can exclaim: "Happy days of primeval simplicity!" We had no schools or ministers of the gospel at first, but we had the Sabbath. Far away from the sound of the church-going bell, we observed that day. Our wives were particular in having us neat and tidy. Our clothing, though coarse, was sufficiently fashionable, substantial and comfortable. Compared with the more ample dress of modern date, they might have been considered behind the times; but it is much to be doubted whether the mothers of the present age would, if thrown upon their own resources and industry, be willing to make the efforts to sustain themselves and their families respectably in honest poverty. To the untiring industry and intelligence of the first ladies of Hennepin county we are greatly indebted for all the blessings of domestic happiness. In looking back upon the events of the past eighteen years in Minnesota, we seem to awake from a dream. The transformation of the country can hardly be realized. Everything is changed. Instead of an unbroken but beautiful wilderness, solid blocks with brown fronts, villas, mansions, cottages, elegant residences abound. The whistling of the railway locomotive and the clicking of the telegraph are heard in our midst. Fabrics of a costly and difficult texture are made here. The arts and sciences are patronized. Splendid structures, with their spires rising up towards the heavens, afford our people such temples to worship in. And yet all of these things have been brought here in the last decade. If the possibility of such changes had been suggested on the morning of the tenth day of October, 1852, think you we should not have said, Behold, if the Lord would make windows in heaven, then might these things be?

The fact of Fort Snelling being in Hennepin county affords a great field for some one to write its history. With no town of moment nearer than St. Louis, the fort was nine hundred miles in the wilderness. By the aid of steam power, however, matters were made much more pleasant, for we find that early in May, 1823, the *Virginia*, the first steamer that ever passed through Lake Pepin, landed under the wall of the fort with supplies for the garrison. This was the commencement of a new era in the affairs of the upper country.

The reduction of the reservation of Fort Snelling was attended with difficulties and vexations of no small magnitude. It required the united energies

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of our best men, together with the aid of the most influential of the Nation, to accomplish it. To Messrs. A. E. Ames, Edward Murphy, H. T. Wells and Franklin Steele, our own citizens, we owe much. They were strongly backed by Honorable H. M. Rice, Governor Sibley, Governor Ramsey and other public men. The present chief-justice of the United States wanted the land opened for float purposes.

Our claim societies were overflowing with conflicting claimants and counter claims. The jumping process was not for a moment tolerated, and in some instances severe examples were made, which had the tendency to prevent further intrusion.

As soon as there were children enough a school was established. The services of Miss Mary Miller, now Mrs. Marshall Robinson, were secured, and the school was opened on the third day of December, 1853, with an attendance of twelve scholars, and two of those were borrowed from Oak Grove. However, the other ten were all the children in the region round about here at that time. The twenty-five hundred we have now would at that time been considered more than the place could even contain. Miss Mary A. Scofield, now Mrs. A. S. Kissell, was also a successful teacher here at a very early period. The city and country have always taken deep interest in schools.

The first white child born in this city was on the thirtieth of April, 1851—but true to its principles then as now, a week later another made its appearance, and so long, so rapidly, that children soon became the great staple of the place.

The selection of a name caused us a good deal of difficulty. The lamented Goodhue of the *Pioneer* insisted that we should christen our town All Saints. He wrote me a host of letters urging me to adopt that name before others came. Miss Scofield, who was then a member of my family, wrote letters east for publication under the name of All Saints. When there were enough of us here, so that we could afford a name for our town, Lowell was selected; but 1851 had not passed before that name did not suit, and subsequently Albion was selected. This did not answer, and finally George D. Bowman, editor of the St. Anthony *Express*, bestowed upon us the name of Minneapolis, which Charles Hoag, esq., insisted should be final; and Mr. Hoag carried the point and gave us the name by which henceforth we are to be known. Minneapolis is derived from "*minne*," the Dakota term for water, and "*polis*, the Greek for city.

Edwin Hedderly, our first justice of the peace, had the honor of uniting in the holy bonds of matrimony the first candidates for such favors in Minneapolis—Andrew J. Foster and Mrs. A. E. Averill, who were married the fourth day of September, 1853.

As it is the intention of the society to collect biographical notices of all the early pioneers, it is thought best that they should be contained in another paper. In closing this, it will be proper to say that the first settlers in Minneapolis were Messrs. John H. Stevens, Cal-

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Museum of Western History

O. N. Johnson

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vin A. Tuttle, John P. Miller, Dr. H. Fletcher, John Jackins, Warren Bristol, Allen Harmon, Dr. A. E. Ames, Edward Murphy, Charles Hoag, Joel B. Bassett, Colonel E. Case, Waters Stimpson, Edwin Hedderly, C. W. Christmas, Judge Isaac Atwater, with others. Simon Stearns and Henry Chambers came here in the fall of 1850, but made no claims. The settlements of the other parts of the county will be a subject matter for another paper at some future day. It is the intention of the society to gather everything of a historical character relating to this county, to publish the same, and file in the archives of the society.

JOHN H. STEVENS.

THE BENCH AND BAR OF MILWAUKEE.

VIII.

D. H. JOHNSON.

JUDGE D. H. JOHNSON, who has been elected by the people of his chosen home to one of the highest and most honorable positions within their gift, has for so many years been a force in the legal and law-making life of Wisconsin, and has performed so many public services to the credit not only of himself but of those by whom he was commissioned, that he deserves more than a passing notice in the history of the Milwaukee bench and bar. Because of his success in the one field of labor, and the arrival of the time when he enters upon the other, we feel justified in such outline of his life as follows:

Judge Johnson has worked his way upward to position and success by his own exertions, and with no aids but those that came in the shape of high natural gifts, a character set firmly in the direction of honesty and the incentives of an honorable ambition. He was born near Kingston, Canada West, now Ontario, on July 27, 1825, and was left an orphan when but two years of age. His father was a sergeant in the British army, who had served under Wellington for fourteen years, and was member of a regiment sent to America during the War of 1812; while his mother was the daughter of a soldier who had served on the American side in the War of the Revolution. This old patriot had settled in Canada, near Prescott, soon after the conclusion of that war, in response to the very liberal offers in the way of homesteads held out by the Canadian government to settlers; while the United States, which had no lands to give except those in the then far west, was less able to make terms of advantage to those who were on the outlook for homes.

Upon the death of his father the child was transferred to the care of a sister of his mother's, who resided near Kemptville, some miles from Kingston. His early days were passed as are those

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of most hardy and adventuresome boys in the freedom of country life, less than four years of schooling being his portion in the educational line; yet so well were his advantages improved and so scholastic was the bent of his mind, that when but seventeen years of age he found himself teaching instead of taught. The thirst was upon him with these meagre draughts of learning and would not allow him to remain content; and in 1844, when but nineteen years of age, he turned his face toward the new west of which there was praise and much advertisement all about him. He spent the winter of the year named and the summer of 1845 at Rock River seminary, at Mt. Morris, Illinois. A part of his time immediately thereafter was spent in a dual exercise and development—that of mind by school teaching and of muscle in the lead mines of Galena. His labors in the line first named took him to Prairie du Chien in 1848, and into the study of the law, in which he was compelled to dispense with an instructor and the interest and knowledge that come with office work. Yet such was his application that he stood the test of the examination and was admitted to practice in 1849, at the Crawford county circuit court. He immediately made his desire and purpose known by the modest shingle of the young lawyer, and practiced in a small way until 1854. Mr. Johnson had long before this discovered himself in possession of an unusual literary faculty, and with that irreclaimable purpose that forever holds a man who has been touched with printer's ink, he made use of the first temptation and opportunity to enter upon an editorial life. The Prairie du Chien *Courier*, a weekly newspaper only recently started in that place, was offered for sale, and he purchased a half interest in it, and eventually became entire proprietor. The sheet was neutral when purchased, but as Mr. Johnson had been a Whig who was merged into the Republican party with the main body of that old organization, he made his paper reflect and earnestly advocate his political principles. He continued in the editorial harness until 1856, when he sold out and once more entered upon the practice of law, his partner being W. R. Bullock, a nephew of Vice-President John C. Breckenridge, the firm name being Johnson & Bullock—a connection which lasted until the breaking out of the war, when the junior partner made haste to demonstrate his southern principles by joining the Confederates and securing a place on Jeff Davis' staff.

In 1860 Mr. Johnson was elected to the first of several official positions which he has filled with honor to himself and credit to those who called him to the discharge of public trusts. He became a member of the lower body of the state legislature, as the representative of the counties of Crawford and Bad Ax, now Vernon. It was a season of unusual interest and responsiblity, as his term covered the troubled times that fell at the opening of the civil war, and the wisdom and patriotism of the state law-makers were drawn upon to a degree far beyond that in days of peace.

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War measures were pressing themselves upon attention, a war fund having to be raised, and the quota of troops assigned to Wisconsin to be filled. The legislature was composed almost entirely of new men, and among them Mr. Johnson was one of the foremost and most active, being chairman of the all-important committee on ways and means and a member of the committee on education. A special session of the assembly was held in the summer to complete the measures already under way.

After the adjournment of the legislature, Mr. Johnson, in looking about for some larger and more advantageous place of location, paid a visit to La Crosse with a purpose of remaining, but soon changed his mind. In the fall of 1861 he was again called into public life, being appointed assistant attorney-general of the state, under Attorney-General Howe. He made an excellent reputation in this position as an able lawyer and a safe and wise counselor, and discharged its duties until May, 1862, when he went south as a clerk in the paymaster's department of the Union army, remaining there until November 1. He then returned to Wisconsin and moved his family to Milwaukee, having chosen the metroplis of the state for his future home. His ability and capacity for efficient and intelligent public work were soon recognized in his new home, and when, in 1867, a convention was held in Milwaukee for the purpose of framing a new city charter, he was made a member thereof and took a leading part in its deliberations. The fact that the product of the convention's labor was voted down by the people when made the subject of their will, reflects in no sense upon its value—as measures of that character are usually condemned upon their first presentation, the voter who does not feel entirely satisfied with some small point being sure to cast his vote against the whole. Many of the measures proposed in the new charter, and all that were of importance, had passed directly under his inspection, in his capacity as chairman of the committee on revision. In the fall of 1868 Mr. Johnson was again elected to the legislature, from the Seventh ward of Milwaukee, and upon the expiration of his term was returned for another year. While in this position he was enabled to largely perform, in another shape, the good work that he and his colleagues had attempted in the charter convention, and by the aid of the other Milwaukee members was enabled to have passed nearly all the measures that had been embodied in the unsuccessful charter. In the first of these terms he was chairman of the committee on education, and during the second was chairman of that upon judiciary. It was during the second term that he nearly secured for Milwaukee the honor of being the capital of Wisconsin, as well as its metropolis. The bill he introduced to that end caused an endless amount of excitement and discussion, and rendered the people of Madison so choleric that, as one has aptly expressed it, they "would hardly furnish food or shelter to the members from Milwau-

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kee." It looked at one time as though the measure would go through, as Milwaukee generously offered for a capitol the grand new court-house she was then building—content to occupy less ambitious quarters for herself, until her needs should come closer to the demands of the great structure she had already under way. In 1871 Mr. Johnson was once more called upon to enter the arena of political contest, being chosen as the candidate of the Republican party for the state senate, against John L. Mitchell, the Democratic nominee. The latter was elected.

The course of the National administration in Grant's first term that brought about the great Liberal Republican opposition of 1872, found the subject of this sketch in the ranks of the new organization, independent in his views, free to express them and hopeful that the abuses that had grown up within the Republican party might be corrected, and a better system of political things evolved. He was a member of the Cincinnati convention of Liberals that placed Horace Greeley in nomination for President, although he voted for and supported Charles Francis Adams from first to last. While Judge Johnson is not and never has been a politician in any acceptation of the word, he has ever taken a deep interest in public affairs, has studied the questions of the day deeply, and is always ready to give free and fearless expression to any belief to which his investigations may lead. Since the Liberal movement above described he has acted with the Democratic party.

In 1878 he was again called to the front in the municipal affairs of Milwaukee, being elected city attorney, which office he held for two years. In the spring of 1887, when the Democrats and Republicans of Milwaukee forgot for a time their ancient differences and united forces for the purpose of defeating the then formidable Labor party, Mr. Johnson was turned to as the strongest and most popular man who could be nominated for circuit judge; and in the nominating convention the proposition to place him in that position upon the ticket was received without a dissenting vote and that selection was ratified by the people at the polls. He goes upon that high and important bench on January 1, 1888, for a term of six years; and from what is already known of his success as a lawyer and a law-maker, we can rest assured that he will not only properly and justly fulfill the duties of his office, but that he will grace and dignify a position which has already been held by eminent and able men. In this reference to Judge Johnson's legal work, it may be of interest to note that since coming to Milwaukee he has been a member of the following well-known legal firms: Wyman & Johnson; Austin, Pereles & Johnson; Rogers & Johnson; and Markham & Johnson. In the spring of 1871 the firm of Johnson & Rietbrock was formed—Mr. Freid. Rietbrock being the junior member thereof; Mr. Halsley came into the partnership in 1876, and the firm has since existed as then formed—Johnson, Rietbrock & Halsley. The firm in addition to a large and lucrative law

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practice, also owns and controls some large sections of lumber land, to the development of which they are now successfully giving a great deal of attention.

That Judge Johnson has unusual ability and knowledge as a lawyer goes without the saying to those who have seen the many important legal positions which he has been called upon to fill, and wherein his work is the best evidence that can be given of the qualities that are within him. Besides an extensive practice in the lower courts, he has been busy in the state supreme court—his first case therein being argued in 1854, since when we can find his causes in every volume of the reports since issued. During his two years as city attorney he was engaged continuously in the most severe labor, working day and night, and proving himself almost a stranger in the office of his firm. While he is strong upon any question of law, he is unusually able as a pleader. He makes no great pretensions as an advocate, although earnest, clear and eloquent; but upon questions of law, of pleading and of practice he has few equals at the Milwaukee bar. In personal qualities and the graces of discussion or conversation of any sort, he is one among a thousand, and those who are permitted to meet him in social life are charmed by his manner, informed by his knowledge, and surprised at the fund of varied information he has been enabled to pick up while so busy in life's pressing practical cares. The answer to the query this fact suggests is that he has found time to read books other than those of the law, that he has a wonderful memory and the power to properly analyze and fluently present the things that reading and observation have laid away in the store-house of his mind. In addition to this, he possesses such qualities of moral and material honesty as give him a reputation for unsullied integrity, and make him one of the strong and influential men in the community of which he is a part.

I have reserved until the last any mention of Judge Johnson's remarkable literary skill and the unusual bent toward fiction of the higher sort that he has shown in the few sketches and stories that have fallen from his pen, in order to show the public of the northwest that they have secured an able jurist and a just judge at the cost of a man of letters; for had he cast aside at any point of his career the purpose of making a life's work of the law and given himself studiously and earnestly to any department of imaginative or descriptive literature, he would have commanded a place in the front rank and made a name that would have been known far beyond the bounds of his city and state. There lies a possible retrieval of this loss in the hope that in the leisure of these latter days, when he is not compelled to struggle for a position and wealth, he may be able to "unloosen the reins" and give his undoubted ability free course in paths chosen heretofore only as the humor offered. These encomiums are based entirely upon knowledge of work that Judge Johnson has already done; and any reader of his story "Our Paris Letter," that ap-

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peared in the Atlantic Monthly of December, 1868, or "Broke Jail," which appeared subsequently in the same magazine, or several lighter pieces — notably "The Hazel Green Man's Story," that have seen the light of print in other publications, will give a ready endorsement to all that has been said. In the one first named we have a gem in a curious setting—a story of wild Canadian life as told by one of its participants from the great city of France—and told in such manner as makes the lights and shades stand out like those upon the face of nature in the noon-day sun. In plot, the choice of words in description, command of dialect and skill of portrayal of character and purpose in the acts of women and men, it belongs to the higher order of literature and has a right to rank with Miss Woolson's "Castle Nowhere" or the best among Miss Spofford's idyllic sketches. The pen of a born writer of fiction was employed in its production, and it is a loss of which all readers are partakers that it has not been followed by many more of the kind. The second story "Broke Jail" is equally fresh and original in structure and execution, and was received with great favor. In his own opinion and that of many of his friends, the "The Hazel Green Man's Story," which appeared in the Milwaukee monthly, is superior in some respects to either of the more ambitious efforts above noted.

J. H. KENNEDY.

THE GLACIERS OF ALASKA.

GLACIER is the name given to the immense masses of ice which accumulate on the peaks and slopes and in the upper valleys of the lofty mountains. The phenomena of glaciers form one of the most interesting subjects of scientific investigation, whether we regard their formation, structure or appearance. In all parts of the globe they have the same general characteristics; but though the glaciers of other countries have often been described by geographers and naturalists, it is chiefly in respect to those of Switzerland that we possess detailed information. In that country, as indeed in every other, those parts of the mountains that rise above the line of congelation are covered with perpetual snow, which, being partially thawed during the summer months, is on the approach of cold converted into ice, thus constituting what is called a *glacier*. The ice so formed descends along the slopes of the mountains into the valleys, by which their ridges are furrowed, where it accumulates into large beds or fields, presenting, where the descent is gradual, a very level surface, and with few crevices, but where there is a rapid or rugged declivity, being rent with numerous chasms. These chasms are frequently many feet wide and more than one hundred feet deep. Their formation, which never takes

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place in winter, but is frequent during the summer, is accompanied with a loud noise, resembling thunder, and a shock which makes the adjacent mountains tremble. They are subject to change every day and almost every hour, and it is this circumstance that renders the ascent of the glaciers so dangerous (to travelers), and they are covered with elevations rising from one hundred to four hundred feet. Though the snow line of the Alps is found at an elevation of about eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, some of the glaciers descend so far downward that their lower extremity is not more than thirty-five hundred feet above it. We noticed this particularly in the valley of the Chamouni, where the singular spectacle is presented of huge pyramids of ice, of a thousand fantastic shapes, in juxtaposition of the most luxurious pastures, or towering in majestic grandeur in the midst of verdant forests. The principle of descent of the glaciers is twofold, viz., one of a slow and gradual character like the dunes of France, by which a progressive movement of about twenty-five feet annually is effected; the other of a rapid and impetuous kind, in which a portion of the ice having been disrupted from the main body glides down the mountain's side, accumulating as it goes, and precipitating into the valleys beneath immense stones, fragments of rock and other substances to which it had adhered. Philosophers and naturalists have attributed this downward movement of a glacier to various causes. Saussure maintained that it was nothing more than a slipping upon itself, occasioned by its own weight. On the other hand, Agassiz ascribes this motion to the expansion of ice resulting from the congelation of the water which has filtered into it and penetrated its cavities; while Mallet is inclined to attribute to the hydrostatic pressure of the water which flows at the bottom and makes rents in the mass. When the *debris* which the glaciers accumulate in their descent has been deposited in the valleys, it constitutes what in Savoy is termed their *moraine* or border, an essential feature in the Alpine glaciers. These borders present every variety of aspect, but their most usual appearance is that of unfathomable bogs and morasses, wholly destitute of vegetation, and in many instances fraught with infinite peril to the traveler. The *moraine* of the Alaska glaciers resembles a military fortification; alongside the Davidson glacier, and at the foot of the Muir glacier, it was piled up on the side of the water with bowlders, sand and *debris* difficult to climb over. The Alpine glaciers occupy a superficial extent of 1,484 square miles. From Mount Blanc to the borders of the Tyrol they are reckoned about four hundred, of which the greater number varies from ten to fifteen miles long and from one to two and one-half wide, and 100 to 600 feet deep. Besides the grand and picturesque appearance they present externally, their lower extremities are sometimes excavated by the melting of the ice into the form of immense grottoes adorned with the finest stalactic crystallizations, whose brilliant azure tints are reflected on the foaming streams and torrents which generally issue from these caverns, forming altogether so beautiful and imposing a picture as to defy the most faithful pencil to portray adequately. We never

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shall forget our walk, with our Alpine-stocks, across the Mere de Glace, feeling our way along lest we fall into the deep crevasses two to three hundred feet deep. At the Rhone glacier are seen some of the finest sights in Switzerland. Every minute during our descent some fresh impression of the magnitude of its frozen billows and its yawning crevasses came in view. At the foot of the glacier we get a grand view; it extends fifteen miles, and looks like Niagara Falls frozen over, on the American side of the Falls, extending fifteen miles up the Niagara river. This is the source of the River Rhone, which flows onward to the sea at Marseilles, five hundred miles away. It has been said to issue "from the gates of eternal night at the foot of the pillar of the sun;" and really any poetry is excusable in sight of a scene of such unparalleled grandeur. The ice cavern and grotto are grand. The largest glacier in Switzerland is Aletsch glacier, about twenty miles long and one to four miles wide. Agassiz performed a series of experiments here on glacial action, and proved that this glacier moves at the rate of eight inches a day or eighty-five yards a year.

In high arctic latitudes, while the line of perpetual snow comes down to the sea level, the phenomena of glaciers are displayed upon the grandest scale. Thus they were seen by Dr. Kane in latitude 79-80 degrees, spreading over the western coast of Greenland, and sloping so gently toward the water that the effect of an inclined plane was perceived by looking far into the interior towards the east. In this long range the angle of the slope was from seven to fifteen degrees. From this glacier to the southern extremity of Greenland, a distance exceeding twelve hundred miles, Dr. Kane imagines a deep, unbroken sea of ice may extend along the central portions nearly the whole length of the continent—a sea "that gathers perennial increase from the watershed of vast snow-covered mountains, and all the precipitations of the atmosphere upon its own surface." Here was a plastic, moving, semi-solid mass, obliterating life, swallowing rocks and islands and plowing its way with irresistible march through the crust of an investing sea.

On our tour through Norway we visited several glaciers, one said to be sixty miles long. Dr. Joseph Hooker speaks of a glacier in the Himalayan mountains which presents a vertical height of fourteen thousand feet. Iceland, Spitzbergen, the Caucasus and Altai have their glaciers, but in central Europe, in Switzerland, Savoy, Piedmont and the Tyrol, it is said they cover 1,484 square miles. As we approached the glaciers of Alaska, especially the great Muir glacier, and climbed to the top, we realized that the glaciers of the Alps and Norway were not to be compared to these "that lay glittering like a great jewel house and dropping bergs of beryl and sapphire into the sea."

According to Dr. Newbery, "glaciers once covered most of the elevated portions of the mountain belts in the west, as far south as the thirty-sixth parallel, and all the eastern half of the continent to the fortieth parallel of latitude. That the ancient glaciers which occupied the area described were not produced by local causes, but were the exponents of a general climatic condition. That they could not

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have been the effect of a warm climate and an abundant precipitation of moisture, and therefore afford proof of the truth of what is called the glacial period." That all the highest portions of the Sierra Nevada mountains were once covered with snow fields, and that glaciers flowed from these down the valleys on either side.

We stopped a few days at the foot of Mount Shasta, in California, a grand, old, snow-covered mountain, which once bore many glaciers, of which miniature representations still remain. "The Cascade range of mountains which we see from Puget sound, exhibits," says Dr. Newbery, "perhaps the most impressive record of ice action known; all the higher portions of the range are planed and furrowed by glaciers which descended into the valley of the Des Chutes on the east and the Willamette on the west, at least twenty-five hundred feet below the snow line of Mount Ranier, or, as the people of Tacoma say, Mount Tacoma." We never shall forget our first view of this grand, old mountain. The forests were on fire and created such an amount of smoke that the whole country was enveloped in it, and we could not see the mountains. While sitting on the piazza of the Tacoma hotel, all at once the snow-topped peak of the mountain seemed to lift itself out of the smoke, and it appeared to us in all its glory and majesty, and the old, grumbling Englishman, who had been traveling with us and could not see anything in America to admire, started up as I called his attention to it, and, in a loud, gruff voice, cried out, "That is worth coming from London to see." There are said to be twelve or fifteen glaciers of considerable size on this mountain. Our first view of Mount Ranier was much like our first of Mount Blanc at Chamouni, as the clouds lifted and revealed it to us in all its glory. Our view of Mount Hood as we come down the Columbia river, amid the picturesque scenery on every side, we see in different approaches, as the steamer winds along down the river. Mount Hood has three distinct glaciers. One of the most awe-inspiring views that we ever witnessed was from Port Townsend, on Puget sound, as we walked up the high stairs leading to the highest part of the town, which is on a high elevation; we turn around and our eyes are riveted on the scene; with the Olympian range of snow-mountains on the left and the Cascade on the right, and Mount Saint Helena, Mount Baker, Mount Adams and Mount Ranier, with their peculiar features, and Puget sound resting so peacefully with the islands covered with verdure, scattered here and there, as if to lend enchantment to the scene, and old Fort Townsend, across the bay, all go to enrich the scene, making it equal to anything we had ever seen. All this country is said to be glaciated about these mountains. From Victoria, in British Columbia, forty miles across the Strait of San Juan De Fuca, we get another good view. In British Columbia the signs of ancient glaciation are conspicuous in all the high country explored, and also on Vancouver's island. All along the coast farther north the ancient glaciers have left their mark in all the fiords, and those of the present day descend lower and lower until, in Alaska, they reach the sea level. Over all the western mountain ranges the traces of ancient glaciation are alike in character and apparently of the same date,

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and are evidently the effect of general and not local causes, says Dr. Newbery.

It is well that one visits the glaciers of Switzerland and Norway first; then they are prepared to see in our own country, in Alaska, a more magnificent sight in purely glacial scenery than can be seen anywhere in the wide world. We see on our route to Alaska no less than six large glaciers, including the Davidson, Sundown, Brady, Patterson, Taku and Muir. After entering Alaska, above Fort Wrangle, one beautiful morning, we see three all visible at once on the east side of the narrows; the larger one, called the Davidson, extending back forty miles, measuring four miles across the front that faces the water and the terminal moraine it has built up before it; and this is the first in the great line of glaciers along the Alaska coast. We had Professor Wright of Oberlin, and Rev. Dr. Patton of Michigan, on our steamer, who are authority on glaciers, from whom we got much information. For one, I was free to acknowledge my ignorance of glacial origin and action, although I had opportunities to see such grand sights of them where they exist in all their grandeur and picturesqueness, in Switzerland and Norway; after witnessing these in our country I determined to read and study and know more of their history and what scientists say about them. If I had time, my friends, I should like to relate to you what I don't know about glaciers, but life is too short for me to do this part of my subject justice, and I will confine myself to giving you an account of those in Alaska as they appeared to us. One must see them to realize how grand and extensive they are. Before we reach Taku inlet, into which the Taku river empties, we see in the distance the high snow-covered mountains on both sides of the river, and as we approach they present a more magnificent appearance as we see them from different views; and that strange monument, the Devil's Thumb, we could see from a mountain top.

"Farther up in the Stephen's Passage, floating in belts of the great glaciers in Holkam or Sundown bay, and besides the one great Sundown glacier flowing into the sea, there are three other glaciers hidden in the high-walled fiords that open from the bay. One of the first and most adventurous visitors to the Sundown glacier was Captain J. W. White of the revenue cutter *Lincoln*, who anchored the cutter *Lincoln* in the bay in 1868. Seeing a great arch or tunnel in the front of the glacier, he had his men row the small boat into the deep blue grotto, and they went one hundred feet down a crystalline corridor, whose roof was a thousand feet thick. The colors, he said, were marvelous, and, like galleries cut in the Alpine glaciers, showed fresh wonders with each advance. At the farthest point the adventurous boatmen poured out libations and drank to the spirits of the ice kingdom."

"In 1876 gold was discovered, and the Soundown placers were the first ones worked in Alaska. Professor Muir visited the glacier and mines of Soundown bay in 1879, and at Shough, a camp in the valley at the head of the inlet, found miners at work with their primitive rockers and sluices. Reaching the mouth of Taku inlet, into which the Taku river empties, the floating ice gave evidence of the great glaciers that lie within; and following up this fiord for

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about fifteen miles to a great basin, we came suddenly in sight of three glaciers. One sloped down a steep and rather narrow ravine, and its front was hidden by another turn in the overlapping hills. The second one pushed down between two high mountains, and resting its tongue on the water, dropped off the icebergs and cakes that covered the surface of the dull, gray, green water. The front of this icy cliff stretched entirely across the half-mile gap between the mountains, and its face rose a hundred and two hundred feet from the water. Every foot of it seemed jagged and rent with great fissures, in which the palest prismatic hues were flashing. As the tide fell, large pieces fell from this front, and avalanches of ice fragments crashed down into the sea and raised waves that rocked our ship and set the floes grinding together. On the other point of the crescent of this bay there lay the largest glaciers; an ice field that swept down from two mountain gorges, and spreading out in fan-shape, descended in a long slope to a moraine of sand, pebbles and bowlders. Across its rolling front this glacier measured at least three miles, and the low, level moraine was one mile in width. The moraine's slope was so gradual that when the small boats were lowered and we started for shore, they grounded one hundred feet from the water-mark, and there stuck until the passengers were taken off, one by one, in the lightest boat, and then carried over the last twenty feet of water in the sailors' arms. Miss Scidmore gives an interesting description of her experience: 'It was a time for old clothes to begin with, and every one wore the worst when they started off; but at the finish, when the same set waded through a quarter of a mile of sand and mineral mud, left exposed by the falling tide, and were dumped into the boats by the sailors, a near relative would not have owned one of us. The landing of the glacier pilgrims was a scene worthy of the nimblest caricaturist, and sympathy welled up for the poor officers and sailors who shouldered stout men and women and struggled ashore through the sinking mud and water. The burly captain picked out the slightest young girl and carried her ashore like a doll; but the second officer, deceived by the hollow eyes of one tall woman, lifted her up gallantly, floundered awhile in the mud and the awful surprise of her weight, and then bearer and burden took a headlong plunge. The newly married man carried his bride off on his back, and had that novel incident to put down in the voluminous journal of the honeymoon kept by the young people.'"

As we sail along through the beautiful islands we reach Lynn canal. Vancouver named this arm of the sea from the town of the same name, his native place in England. The clear blue sky and bright sun and balmy atmosphere made us all exclaim, "This is a perfect day!" And grander and more enchanting than ever the scenery opens up to our view as we sail through Lynn canal, with its bold, white mountains on the west, and on the eastern shows the great continental range which fronts abruptly on the water. We pass peak after peak, and at every point we are surprised at another and still another glacier, until nineteen glaciers in all are passed, when we reach the head of the canal.

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The great Auk glacier was first seen and then the Eagle glacier, toppling over a precipice three thousand feet in air, their frozen crests and fronts turning pinnacles of silver and azure to the radiant sun. At the head of Lynn canal, Chilkat inlet opens to the left and Chilcoot inlet to the right. Opposite to the tongue of land on the Chilkat side is the great Davidson glacier, which spreads out like a fan as it sweeps down through two mountains. We sail beside it for three miles, and it is twelve hundred feet high. There is a terminal moraine, covered with green verdure of fir trees, which separates it from the waters. We met Professor Davidson, the astronomer, in San Francisco, from whom it is named, and was discovered by him when on scientific explorations for the government. We had a delightful conversation with him about this wonderful country, and especially about this and the Muir glacier. He was in Mr. Keith's studio, in San Francisco, the artist of my Muir glacier, and he thought the painting gave a more correct idea of the great glacier than anything he had ever seen, and he commended it highly. A story is told by Professor Davidson, that while in this Chilkat country in 1869—he was there also in 1867—gathering material for a report upon the topography, climate and resources of Alaska, called for by the congressional committee having the matter of the purchase of the territory in charge, he made the acquaintance of Chief Kloh-Kutz. Professor Davidson was the old chief's host, and he told him that there was to be an eclipse of the sun and that it would be dark at midday on the seventh of August. The Indians were greatly interested as the men pointed their instruments at the sun each day, but they fled in terror when the darkness began to appear, and did not come back until the eclipse was over. They thought Professor Davidson was a god, or, as they called him, a wonderful medicine man, who could do such wonderful deeds, and the old Chief Kloh-Kutz wanted to have the name Davidson tattooed on his arm. Secretary Seward and party were in Alaska at the time of the eclipse, and on their way to the Chilkat country. The Indians who were employed to take them up in a canoe refused, when the eclipse came on, to paddle any further, and said, "The sun was very sick and wanted to go to sleep." The canoes were beached quickly, and the visitors made a camp-fire for themselves and cooked their dinner. The old chief had been told that Mr. Seward was the great *Tyee* or chief, and he had his name, instead of Professor Davidson's, tattooed on his arm, with other totems. When at the meeting of the chiefs and Chilkat women in the council chamber to receive them, the old chief rolled up his sleeve and, much to the astonishment of Mr. Seward, he saw his name on Chief Kloh-Kutz's arm. Thinking Mr. Seward owned Alaska, he addressed himself through an interpreter to him; he said that ten years before three Chilkats had been killed at Sitka, and now "what is the great tyee going to do about it?" Kloh-Kutz was not to be put off by the diplomatic answer that the murder had happened during Russian possession. He said "that the tyee of the Russians was so poor that he could not keep his land and had to sell," but for all that he must have reparation

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for the loss of his three Chilkats. He said one Chilkat was worth three Sitkans, and if the tyee would let him kill nine Sitkans the account would be squared. With the *finesse* worthy of a diplomat who had dealt with all the great nations of the earth, Mr. Seward finally bought off Kloh Kutz by giving him forty blankets as an indemnity. Kloh-Kutz delights to show his Seward tattoo mark to visitors.

As we approached up Glacier bay, which is twelve miles long, which was all ice when Vancouver explored this country less than one hundred years ago, icebergs began to increase in number and size, until the steamer had great difficulty in steering clear of an iceberg. Soon we see in the distance the great Muir glacier, and how the ice sloughed off, and the sound reverberates around us like a great explosion of artillery as the ice falls into the water and throws great waves, which rock the steamer. We steer up almost to the very foot of the glacier, which rises perpendicular above us four hundred feet, and crash after crash comes tumbling down, almost frightful in their proportions, and one feels as if the steamer might be submerged by one of them. The ice is of a beautiful turquoise blue, and is in irregular pinnacles, with great crevasses running up into the glacier. We soon prepare to go ashore in the little boat for a long tramp, to get a look at the top of the glacier. It seems but a short distance, and we walk on and on over the sharp rocks, which have been crushed by the power of the ice. The sand covers the ice, and when we think we have a firm footing we find we are only stepping on ice covered with sand, and find ourselves in danger of a fall. We try many high points, but are not satisfied until we reach the highest peak of ice and have one of the grandest views the eye can survey. The glacier is said to be five miles wide and eighty miles long, to the grand, old mountains of Crillow, 15,900 feet high; Mount Fairweather, 15,500 feet; Mount Cook, 16,000 feet, and many others. Sometimes Mount St. Elias can be seen, which is the highest mountain in North America, being 19,500 feet above the level of the sea. There is the Devil's Thumb, looking no higher than the Washington monument, a sheer monster, 6,000 feet high, with faces almost perpendicular. The whole glacier looks like a long mountain range of ice. We can count no less than fifteen tributary glacial streams, any one of which, Mr. Hallock says, "is as large as the great Rhine glacier," which we crossed in Switzerland, and which seemed so wonderful to us at the time. "Drawn from the inexhaustible but annually diminishing accumulations of snow which fill the mountain valleys to a depth of at least two thousand feet, these separate streams unite like the strands of a rope to form the irresistible current of the Muir." No one could cross it, it is so full of deep crevasses and wedge-shaped and rounded cones of solid ice, capped by discolored and disintegrating snow. We gaze in wonder until our feet are cold standing upon the cold ice and start to return, creeping over the sharp ice lest we might fall into the deep gulches. Our steamer in the distance looks like a children's toy vessel. We selected some beautiful specimens of bowlders, which were as smooth by the action of the ice upon them as if polished. We

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think if a good hotel was erected on the terminal moraine it would be well patronized. We should like to stay a week and hear the ice tumbling down and look upon the "translucent depths of the glacier ice, whose radiance emulates the blue and green beryl, turquoise, chrisophos and emerald." On our return to the vessel, after getting a good wetting from the waves which come so suddenly while trying to reach the boat, we compare our worn-out shoes in climbing sharp rocks. Those wearing rubbers found them cut into shreds, and the experiences of each are interesting. We had climbed probably five or six miles, but we did not experience any fatigue, as a cold, bracing wind came off from the glacier. The thermometer, according to the steamer's report, was in water forty degrees, outside forty-four degrees. This glacier and the Davidson, which, according to Hallock, "are spurs or outflows of the same ice field which has an unbroken expanse of four hundred miles, large enough to lay over the whole domain of Switzerland." We left our friends, Professor Wright of Oberlin and Dr. Patton of Michigan on the shore near the glacier, where they camp out for a month to take measurements of the progress of the glacier, its height, etc., and various other phenomena in regard to it, which will be of great interest to the scientific world. They looked lonely enough under the great bare mountain and beside the great mountain of ice, with only two Indians for companions.

Professor Wright, in his report says: "The Muir glacier presents to the observer many points of interest that have not heretofore been carefully studied. Among them, that of its motion is likely to attract most attention. To appreciate the facts it is necessary first to give a brief description of the glacier.

"The glacier is not single, but compound, and has by no means free course to the sea. Roughly speaking, it may be said to occupy an amphitheatre about twenty-five miles in diameter from north to south, and thirty miles from east to west. The opening of this amphitheatre is towards the southeast into Muir inlet or Glacier bay, and is, according to our measurement, but two miles wide from one shoulder of the mountain approaching it from the southeast to the corresponding shoulder of a mountain in the southwest. Through this narrow opening all the excess of snow-fall above what melts upon the before-mentioned amphitheatre must find its escape. Into the centre of this amphitheatre no less than nine first-class glaciers pour their contents. Were one to reckon the respectable sub-branches visible, he would set down the whole number of affluences at more than twenty. Four of the main branches come in from the east. But these have nearly spent their force on reaching the focus of the amphitheatre, and their medial moraines are crowded together about the eastern side of the outlet, having formed the receding series of terminal moraines upon that side. The first tributary from the southwest also practically loses its force before reaching the main current, and is piling up a series of terminal moraines along the western border.

"The main flow of ice reaching the water of Muir inlet is from four branches, two coming from the northwest and two

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from the north. The course of these tributaries is marked both above and below their junction by a rough and broken surface, much elevated above the other portion of the ice. The motion of this portion of the glacier proves to be much more rapid than has generally been supposed. Observations upon three portions, 400, 1000, and 1,500 yards from the front, show in that nearest the front a motion of 135 feet per day, in the second 65 feet, and in the third, 72 feet per day. The summit of the lower one was a little over three hundred feet above the water, that of the next about four hundred, and of the third considerably more than four hundred, perhaps five hundred feet. The motion rapidly diminishes on approaching the medial moraines brought down by the branches from the east. Along a line running parallel with that of the greatest motion, and about half a mile east from it, the rate of motion observed at two points was about ten feet per day. Thus we get an average daily motion in the main channel of the ice flow, near its mouth, of about forty feet across a section of one mile. From this an approximate estimate can be made of the daily discharge.

"The height of the ice front at the extreme point, is 225 feet. Back a few hundred feet it is a little over three hundred feet, and at a quarter of a mile it reaches a height of 400 feet. The depth of the water one quarter of a mile in front of the centre, is 85 fathoms or 510 feet. This added to the height of the extreme front, makes 735 feet. Thus the conclusion is reached that a stream of ice 735 feet deep, 5,000 feet wide and 1,200 feet long poured out into the inlet during the thirty days of our stay in camp. This is at the rate of (149,000,000) one hundred and forty-nine million cubic feet per day. If this seems an improbable result, it is because one has not witnessed the many signs of the movement which is going on.

"Scarcely ten minutes passes, either in the day or night, without the reverberation of an extensive fall of ice. This reverberation can be heard for miles and reminds one of the bombardment of a city, or of a first-class thunder-storm. The waves started by these falls, frequently wrapped in foam the beach near our camp, two miles and a half distant. Frequently the floating ice was so thick over the inlet, that it was difficult to find passage-way for our canoe. One of the many large masses of ice projected sixty feet above the water and was about four hundred feet square. The portion above the water was somewhat irregular, but allowing that a symmetrical form thirty feet high would have contained all the ice above water, that would give a depth of about two hundred and fifty feet; upon this calculation, that single berg contained forty million cubic feet. The size of my house is 40x50x30=60,000 cubic feet.

"The dimensions of this boat, the *Idaho*, are 195 feet long by 31 feet wide by 30 feet above water, making 184,140 cubic feet. That berg was 200 times as large as this steamer.

"Thus we can see that the rate of motion shown by our measurement in the main channel of the ice current, accords with the other facts. The largeness of the results need not surprise us, even when compared with that of the Swiss glaciers, for the Swiss glaciers are contracted affairs

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in comparison with the Muir glacier. The outlet of the Muir glacier is four times as wide as those measured by Professor Tyndall, and the area occupied by the whole glacier is certainly six times as large as the whole surface from which the Mount Blanc glaciers derive their snow.

"Ice moves not so much from the inclination of its bed as from the extent of its mass.

"This is the first time that accurate observations have been made upon the movements of so large a mass of ice, and the results will not surprise those who have had the main elements of this problem in their minds."

We did not go north of Sitka on the Pacific coast, but Lieutenant Schwatka says: "Almost as soon as Cape Spencer is doubled, the southern spurs of the Mount Saint Elias Alps burst into view, Crillon and Fairweather being prominent, and the latter easily recognized from our acquaintance with it from the waters of Glacier bay. A trip of an hour or two takes us along a comparatively uninteresting coast, as viewed from the 'square off our starboard beam;' but all this time the mind is fixed by the grand Alpine views we have ahead of us, that are slowly developing in plainer outline here and there as we speed toward them. Soon we are abreast of Icy Point; while just beyond it comes down a glacier to the ocean that gives about three miles of solid sea-wall of ice, while its source is lost in the heights covering the bases of the snowy peaks just behind. The high peak to the right, as we steam by the glacier front, is Mount La Perouse, named for one of the most daring of France's long list of explorers, and who lost his life in the interest of geographical science. His eyes rested on this range of Alpine peaks in 1786, just a century ago. Its sides are furrowed with glaciers, one of which is the ice-wall before our eyes, and which is generally known as the La Perouse glacier. The highest peak of all, and on the left of this noble range, is Mount Crillon, named by La Perouse, in 1786, after the French minister of the Marine; while between Crillon and La Perouse is Mount D'Agelet, the astronomer of that celebrated expedition. Crillon cleaves the air for 16,000 feet above the sea, on which we rest, and can be seen for over a hundred miles to sea. It, too, is surrounded with glaciers in all directions from its crown. Crillon and La Perouse are about seven miles apart, nearly north and south of each other. About fifteen miles northwest of Crillon is Lituya Peak, 10,000 feet high; and the little bay-opening that we pass, between the two, is the entrance to Lituya bay, a sheet of water which La Perouse has pronounced as one of the most extraordinary in the world for grand scenery, with its glaciers and Alpine shores. Our steamer will not enter, however, for the passage is dangerous even to small boats—one island bearing a monument to the officers and men of La Perouse's expedition, lost in the tidal wave which sweeps through the contracted passage like a breaker over a treacherous bar. Some ten or twelve miles northwest from Lituya Peak is Mount Fairweather, which bears abreast us after a little over an hour's run from Lituya bay. It was named by Cook in 1778, and is generally considered to be a few hundred feet shorter than Mount

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Crillon. It is in every way, by its peculiar isolation from near ridges, almost as high as itself, a much grander peak than Crillon, whose surroundings are not so good for a fine Alpine display. Fairweather, too, has its frozen river flowing down its sides; but none of them reach the sea, for a low, wooded country, some three or four miles in width, lies like a glacis at the seaward side of St. Elias Alps, for a short distance along this part of the coast. The somber, deep green forests add an impressive feature to the scene, however, lying between the dancing waves below and the white and blue glacier ice above. Rounding Cape Fairweather, the coast trends northward; and, as our bowsprit is pointed in the same direction, directly before us are seen immense glaciers reaching to the sea. From Cape Fairweather (abreast of Mt. Fairweather) to Yakutat bay (abreast of Mt. Vancouver), no conspicuous peak rears its head above the grand mountain chain which, for nearly a hundred miles, lies between these two Alpine bastions; but, nevertheless, every hour reveals a new mountain of 5,000 to 8,000 feet in height, which, if placed anywhere else, would be held up with national or state pride as a grand acquisition. Here they are only dwarfed by grander peaks."

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

THE FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL GROWTH OF MILWAUKEE.

V.

EDWARD P. ALLIS AND HIS LIFE WORK.

IT IS now forty years since Charles S. Decker and James Saville, two young men from Dayton, Ohio, came to Milwaukee and laid the foundation of what has since grown to be the great industrial establishment known as the "Reliance Works" of Edward P. Allis & Co. These years have been eventful ones, full of vicissitudes, with many reverses and more of prosperity, in every change of which, either for good or ill, the Reliance works have taken their full share. In its present magnitude this great industry stands typical of the marvelous development in material wealth and general prosperity of the great northwest, and in its history one reads in a small scale the greater history of the vast section throughout which its name is almost a household word.

The germ of the present immense works, as planted by the firm of Decker & Saville, consisted of a small stove foundry in which other foundry work was done in a small way, and a small machine shop. The works were located on the east side of what is now known as West Water street, a short distance above the present Oneida Street bridge, and had, as a sort of accompaniment, a millstone shop in which was manufactured the first pair of millstones ever made west of Lake Michigan. Small as the shops were at

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that time, they were the largest of the kind west of Buffalo, and the only ones where a full set of mill irons could be obtained. The buildings, which were wooden structures, stood upon leased ground, and the motive power was furnished by an eight-inch cylinder engine. Concerning this engine, Mr. Frank Brunckhorst of Kewaunee, Wisconsin, who entered the Reliance works as draughtsman in 1854, writes, in 1885, that it was still running at that time and furnishing the power to drive a small saw-mill some nine miles west of Kewaunee. Although the institution was a small one, it proved to be too much of an elephant for the owners and they went to the wall during the hard times of 1857. The creditors took the works in hand, and they were run until 1860 under the management of Samuel S. Daggett, when they were purchased by Edward P. Allis, John P. McGregor and Charles D. Nash. The new owners took hold vigorously to build up the business and soon found out that more capital would have to be put into the enterprise to make it a success. As Messrs. McGregor and Nash had not any great faith in the future possibilities of the business, while Mr. Allis was a firm believer that the works would ultimately become very profitable, the partnership naturally dissolved and Mr. Allis having purchased the other interests immediately assumed a personal control and supervision that reached every detail of the business, and which, maintained with scrupulous fidelity during more than a quarter of a century, have resulted in the great growth and remarkable success of the Reliance works. From the very first Mr. Allis never wavered in his firm faith in the magnificent future possibilities, or wearied in his strong, energetic effort to make those possibilities practical realities. How well he has succeeded, the history of the Reliance works and their present growing prosperity will serve to show.

At the time (1861) when Mr. Allis purchased the business it was of little magnitude, consisting entirely of general repairing and odd jobs. No attempt had ever been made to develop any line of systematic manufacture, and as the country was new, the trade was of small proportions. During the administration of Mr. Daggett the annual business done only amounted to the insignificant sum of thirty-one thousand dollars. At the expiration of four years Mr. Allis had, by strict attention and unflagging industry, more than trebled the volume of the business. During this time and for some years afterward he personally discharged all the duties of salesman, bookkeeper, correspondent and paymaster, the last being often the most difficult. The mechanical department was entrusted to Mr. A. G. Waldo, a good mechanic, who had entered the works while they were still under the ownership of Decker & Saville, and who remained in charge of the works as foreman until his death, a few years after Mr. Allis became sole proprietor.

The business, at first almost a nullity, grew apace, one of the strong features of Mr. Allis' management being the fixed policy of always keeping the shops full of work and the men busy, no matter how small the margin of profit. The first important contract, and one which was undertaken solely on this policy, was that for furnish-

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ing the cast-iron chairs on which the rails of the old La Crosse railway first rested. The price realized was but barely above the price of the iron in the pig, but it kept the men employed. The first important machinery contract undertaken was that for the machinery for the first grain elevator built in Milwaukee. During all the years up to the present time this policy has been maintained, and the times have been few and far between when any man at the Reliance works has been laid off on account of lack of work. Now and for several years past the works have been at all times behind orders, although working night as well as day.

The original "Reliance Works" on West Water street soon became too small for the increasing requirements of the business, and in 1865, the buildings being very much overcrowded and entirely inadequate to the demands upon them, Mr. Allis purchased the present site and the new "Reliance Works" were built. The site chosen consisted of the three entire blocks lying between Clinton and Barclay streets and reaching from Florida street on the north to Pierce street on the south. Firm as was Mr. Allis' faith in the future of the works, it is doubtful if he then even dreamed that the time would come when this space would all be covered, or that the cry for more room would ever again disturb him. But every square foot, except what is necessarily occupied by railroad tracks and a very limited yard room, is now covered by two and three-story buildings, and still more room is needed.

The old buildings were floated down the river on barges from West Water street, and put to subordinate uses in the new plant. Up to a year ago, some parts, rebuilt, remodeled and altered so as to be unrecognizable, were still in use, but the improvements of the present year have left little if any remaining. In addition to the old buidings a new machine shop and foundry were built. The former was erected on the southeast corner of Florida and Clinton streets, 60 x 140 feet, two stories high, with an attic or pattern loft under the roof. The foundry adjoined it on the east, but after a few years a larger and more commodious foundry was built on the Barclay street side and the old foundry was used as part of the erecting shop. During the present summer (1887) it has been entirely torn out, and a brick building erected in its stead. One of the last parts of this foundry to go was a small jib crane which was part of the original equipment, and which was retained in active service until the huge traveling crane in the new erecting shop was ready for use. The machine shop built in 1865 is still standing and in use, the first floor as a part of the machine shop and the second floor as a pattern shop. The motive power of the works at this time—1865—was a fifteen horse-power Ames portable engine, to which was soon added one of twenty-five horse-power, the pair running either singly or together as the necessities of the works required. At present over four hundred horse-power are required to drive the vast and complex mass of machinery contained within the works. This is one of the straws which show how the wind of prosperity has blown for the Reliance works.

Business was so prosperous in the new location that four years later—in 1869—

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Mr. Allis purchased the "Bay State" works of Walton & Goodnow. In the early days of Milwaukee one William Goodnow started a little machine shop and foundry on the northwest corner of Florida and Clinton streets. He was meeting with fair success, but when the Reliance works were located diagonally across from him, he, in a spirit of business rivalry, projected the Bay State shops, his design being to have the best and most completely equipped machine shop in the west. He accordingly purchased from John S. Harris the ground on the southeast corner of Lake and Barclay streets and put up a three-story brick building, with engine-room, foundry and blacksmith shop adjoining. The whole establishment was equipped with an extensive outfit of tools, patterns, etc., and operations begun on a large scale. The plant was, however, far in advance of legitimate trade requirements at that time, and the owners became heavily involved and finally hopelessly bankrupt. After various unsuccessful attempts to continue the business by receivers and assignees, the works were finally sold to Mr. Allis, who purchased the property as a speculative investment. The "Bay State" works stood idle for several years, and were then leased to the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway company for a time, and were used as the company's repair shops. At the expiration of the lease the works were refitted throughout and have since been operated in connection with the main works and under the same management.

In 1872 a department for the manufacture of cast-iron water pipe was added to the Reliance works, but it did not prove pecuniarily successful and after a few years was abandoned, as it was found that the foundry could be made more profitable in other lines of work. The business, in common with all others, suffered during the dull times from 1873 to 1879, but in spite of many serious obstacles and in the face of great discouragements work was continued without interruption. Since 1880 the growth of business and with it the growth of the works as a whole, has been phenomenal, and at the present writing this growth shows no signs of weakening. The question is no longer as to the maintaining of present proportions, but as to where the development will stop, or rather, whether it ever will stop. At present there is no indication of stop, and it apparently is only a matter of a few years when the famous works of Krupp and Armstrong will find a rival in size, though in a more pacific field, in the Reliance works of Edward P. Allis & Company.

Unlike many large manufacturing establishments, the Reliance works are not confined to the making of one specialty. Several distinct lines of manufacture are followed, in addition to which the works enjoy probably the largest jobbing and repair trade in the west. The firm of Edward P. Allis & Company stands preëminent in the manufacture of steam engines, flour mill machinery and saw-mill machinery, and is rapidly building up an enviable reputation in mining machinery, heavy pumping engines and other lines. The various departments are under the charge of men who stand at the head of their trade, the whole being under harmonious management, and over the whole Mr.

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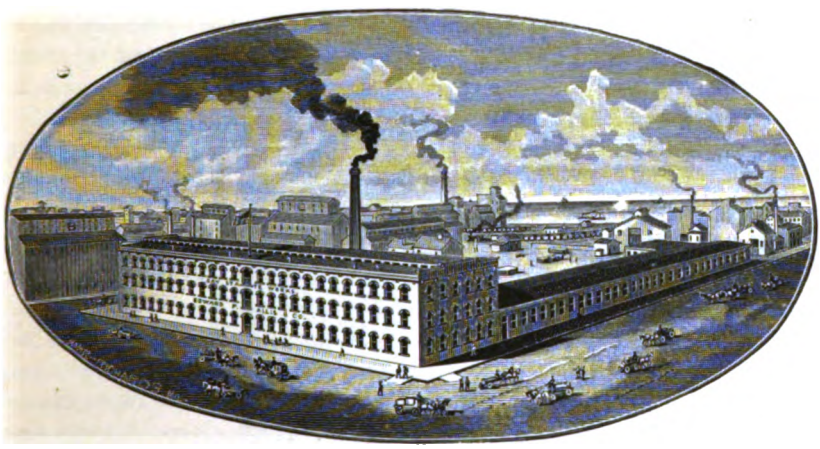

BAY STATE WORKS.

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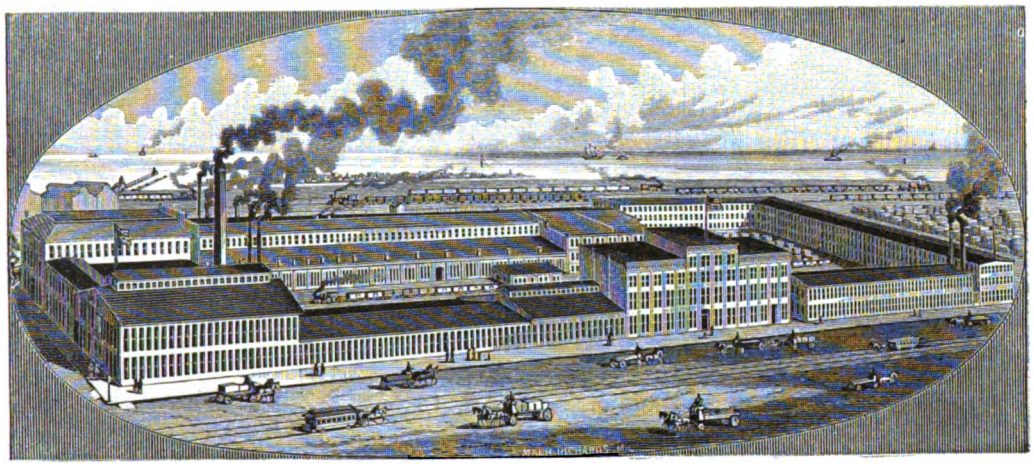

RELIANCE WORKS.

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Allis still keeps as careful and vigilant supervision as when, in 1861, he first put his shoulder to the wheel and lifted the old Reliance works out of the slough of financial despondency. As fitting preface to a description of the works and on account of their historical connection with the subject matter, it may not be out of place to relate briefly the development of some of the special lines of manufacture for which the Reliance works are famous.

Flouring mill work, which has of late years become one of the most important portions of the annual output of the works, was in the early days, when Mr. Allis first took possession, small in amount, simple in character and was done entirely after plans furnished by local millwrights, each of whom was regarded by his immediate constituency as an oracle on mechanical subjects, and no two of whom agreed. This was while the art of milling was at a standstill and before milling inventors and milling engineers appeared. Each millwright had his own whims and fancies, which he carried out in his work, and as a consequence no two mills were alike. One feature they had in common, and that was that the iron work, water-wheels and mill-stones generally came from the Reliance works, and although flood, fire and the demon of change have destroyed most of the early work done, it is still possible to find in many mills in the state and the northwest, machinery which come from "Allises" twenty-five years ago and which has been steadily at work all this time, a fact which speaks highly for the character of the work turned out by the Reliance works at a time when good work was the exception to an almost general rule. The mill furnishing work at that time was unsatisfactory to Mr. Allis, because it was so largely a matter of caprice on the part of the millwrights, and so wholly devoid of system or scientific knowledge. He was, therefore, constantly on the look-out for some specialty upon which he could build up reputation and business for the works. He had early secured the agency for the northwest for the Leffel water-wheel, which was rapidly displacing the overshot and primitive turbine wheels made by the Reliance works during their first few years' existence. This agency was one of Mr. Allis' fortunate hits and had much to do with placing the works on a permanent foundation. An immense number of the Leffel wheels were sold, over six hundred in one year. The manufacture of mill stones was also increased from an occasional "run" at first, to over three hundred runs per year. At length, about 1872, the art of milling began to undergo that radical change in processes which in the short space of ten years amounted to two complete revolutions, and Mr. Allis, ever on the alert, determined that the Reliance works should lead rather than follow the changes which he foresaw must come. He accordingly engaged Mr. W. D. Gray, now one of the most widely known milling engineers, as chief of the mill furnishing department, and sent him to Europe to learn all that could be learned of European practice which would benefit American millers. The result of his visit was the introduction and adoption of the gradual reduction system of roller milling in this country, the first complete roller mill in this country, called the Washburn Experimental

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mill, having been built under Mr. Gray's direction. Since its completion, the revolution in milling methods has been complete, and the work of the engineers and mechanics of the Reliance works is found in all the largest and best mills in America. Special machines have been invented from time to time as necessity demanded, and the establishment now turns out nearly everything in the line of machinery needed to equip the largest and most complete mills, including roller mills, centrifugal reels, purifiers and other machines too numerous to mention. Instead of following the plans of local millwrights, the work is now done from plans made at the works by competent engineers and draughtsmen, and everything is systematically designed and the work put as nearly as may be upon an exact scientific basis. As the result, the firm of Edward P. Allis & Company stands beyond question at the head of the mill furnishing industry of this country, and the trade, both in the building of complete mills and in the furnishing of special machinery and supplies, is steadily increasing.

Another special department of the establishment has been equally successful. As the western country became gradually settled and cleared up, the water powers became more and more unreliable, which fact, in connection with the rapid growth of manufacturing industries all over the country, made it imperative that steam-power should be much more extensively used. Not only this, but the increasing competition in all lines of manufacturing industry made it equally imperative that economy in the cost of production should be considered as of prime importance, and it was evident that the engine to meet the popular demand must be far superior to those in ordinary use at that time, which were of inferior construction and very wasteful of fuel. Mr. Allis, with his customary foresight, anticipated the demand and spent considerable money and much time in search for an engine of the highest type, which would meet the most exacting requirements of all classes of manufacturing establishments. He finally succeeded, and, in 1877, Mr. Edwin Reynolds, who had for ten or twelve years been connected with the Corliss steam engine works at Providence, Rhode Island, came to Milwaukee and took charge of the Reliance works as general superintendent. Under his charge the manufacture of the Reynolds' Corliss engine was undertaken and has met with the most flattering success, and these engines are now at work not only in the west but in all sections of the country. Nearly one thousand are now in use, of sizes ranging from twenty-horse-power up to twenty-five hundred horse-power. The sales have constantly increased, and the record for 1887 will double that of any previous year. Ten years ago it was freely predicted that the manufacture of this type of engines in the west must fail, as the trade would not appreciate them or pay the difference in cost; but as a fact the general trade, following the lead of the Reliance works, has not only taken all the engines the works could build, but has also forced every other engine-builder of any note to imitate the example of Mr. Allis. Ten years ago the man who prophesied that New England manufacturers would come to Milwaukee to buy engines would have been

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laughed at for his pains; yet among the engines now building at the Reliance works, under Mr. Reynolds' supervision, are two large compound condensing and a two thousand horse-power quadruple expansion engine for New England cotton mills. Among the large work just completed are two twenty-five hundred horse-power engines and one of five hundred horse-power for the Edgar Thompson steel works at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in which works are seven large blowing engines, also built by the Reliance works. Five large blowing engines are now building for Birmingham, Alabama. Among other work in the engine line built by the Reliance works may be mentioned the pumping engines at Milwaukee, St. Paul, Omaha, Allegheny City, Hannibal, Missouri, and Decatur, Illinois. The triple expansion engine recently put in position in the new high service station in Milwaukee, although in operation but a short time, has an unprecedented record for high duty.

As illustrating the general growth of the works, that of one department will be of interest. In the foundry, under the first five years of the present ownership, the daily "heats" or amount of iron melted were from one-half ton to three tons, the latter figure being reached only at rare intervals, so rarely, indeed, that it was the highest ambition of Mr. Allis to make the daily average equal it, and that when the output reached the limit of one thousand tons per year, it would fulfil his most sanguine expectations. In 1884 the output was over ten thousand tons. In December, 1886, over one thousand tons were melted, and it was not uncommon to reach sixty-five to seventy tons per day. The sixth of January, 1887, the heat was over seventy-five tons. That night the first serious fire in the history of the Reliance works took place and the foundry was completely destroyed. Luckily, the favoring direction of the wind and the brick fire walls at either end of the foundry, together with the strong work of the city fire department, saved the balance of the establishment, and before the embers were cold plans were being made and steps taken to rebuild the burned portion on a more complete and extensive scale than before. This work is now completed and the foundry melting fifty to sixty tons per day, which capacity will be increased as may be necessary. In addition another foundry has been leased and is melting about fifteen tons per day, while hundreds of tons of heavy work have of necessity been ordered outside. It was also determined at the same time to rebuild and enlarge the erecting shop and separate it from the machine shop by fire walls. This necessitated the removal of the general offices, and as a result the building of a new section of the works. At the same time a large amount of new and heavy machinery was ordered. The summer's work has therefore been a busy one, over a quarter of a million dollars worth of improvements having been added to the works. At the same time the works have been even busier than usual in keeping up with the demands of the ever increasing trade.

The improvements and additions to the Reliance works during 1887 have been so numerous and of such character as to entirely change the external appearance, and at the same time the internal arrangement

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has been much improved. It is impossible in the limits of a single paper to furnish a description sufficiently extended and comprehensive to give more than a general idea of the extent of the plant and the magnitude of the industry of which it is the visible manifestation. To the stranger visiting Milwaukee it is an interesting place, not only on its own account but because it is an exemplar of the mighty growth of the city and state in whose industrial history it holds such important place. Still its history would be incomplete did it not convey to the reader some idea of its present condition and extent. The external appearance of the works is correctly shown by the accompanying illustration.

Approaching the works from the north by way of Clinton street, the old machine shop, built in 1865, is first reached. Until the past few days, the main entrance to the works has been through one corner of this building. Now the visitor will pass south along Clinton street by the machine shop and blacksmith shop, until he reaches the main entrance to the new office building, which is located between Virginia and Park streets and nearly in the centre of the 1100 feet frontage on Clinton street. This building, built of cream-colored brick, is 225 feet long by 56 feet wide, at either end three stories and in the central portion four stories high. The first floor is used for a shipping-room with store-room at one side for stock work and small supplies. The second floor is filled with the main offices and draughting rooms, the former occupying the space at the south, and the latter at the north of the main entrance. This whole floor is finished in hard wood, oak and birch, including walls and ceiling, and for beauty of appearance, completeness of equipment, convenience and adaptability to the wants of the business, is not excelled in America. The third floor is used as a store-room for bolting-cloth and light supplies. The fourth floor of the central part of the building is to be fitted up as a dining-room for the convenience of the employés.

The main machine shop is 60 feet wide, and extends from Florida street south 350 feet. It is filled to overflowing with costly machinery, and every machine is busy; south of this shop is the blacksmith shop, 60x60 feet, with steam hammers, forges, etc. Between the blacksmith shop and the office building is a store-room for bar iron, 60x60 feet. The second floor of the main machine shop, for 140 feet from the corner of Florida street, is used as a pattern shop. Adjoining the main shop, on the east, and fronting on Florida street, is the erecting shop. This shop consists of a central portion 60 feet wide and 140 feet long, and 50 feet from the floor to the under side of the roof chords. This portion is traversed by a traveling crane, which has a longitudinal travel of 120 feet, a transverse travel of 58 feet, and a clear lift under the hook of 39 feet, and is capable of lifting and carrying a load of thirty tons. Between this part and the machine shop is a floor 90x140 feet, twenty-one feet in the clear. On the Florida street side for a width of 70 feet, there is a second floor 70x90 feet, used for a tool room, where a force of expert mechanics are constantly employed in keeping the various machines and tools in

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repair, and in building new and special tools for the works. The entire first floor of the erecting shops is 140 x 206 feet.

In the angle formed by the machine and erecting shops are located the engines and boilers for the main shops. The former is a 125 horse power Reynolds' Corliss engine. South of the erecting shop, on the Barclay street side is the new foundry, occuping the same ground as the one that burned last January. It is 128 feet wide, 375 feet long and in the centre has a clear span of 60 feet, 35 feet from the floor to under side of chords. This space of 60 x 375 feet is covered by two traveling cranes, each capable of lifting twenty tons, and which can be used together or separately as desired. The cupolas, core ovens, cleaning room and moulding floors for the lighter work are on either side of this central space, and are fitted up in the most complete manner possible. To the east of the main foundry building, and separate from it, is a three-story brick building 40 x 120 feet, containing the engine—a 150 horse power upright Reynolds' Corliss—boilers, core boxes, coke piles, etc., and to the south of this building are the sheds for sand, etc. South of the foundry and separated from the office building by a court 60 feet wide, is the building for storing patterns. It is a three-story brick building 110 x 122 feet, with brick fire wall through the centre, and fitted throughout to be as safe from damage by fire as possible. It was built in 1885, and is filled to overflowing with patterns, which have cost hundreds of thousands of dollars and which could not be replaced, if destroyed, by years of steady work.

The block between Park and Pierce streets is nearly covered by frame buildings. The new machine shop, built in 1883, is 60 x 230 feet, two stories high, and is equipped for doing saw mill work, heater work and stock work on engines. Here are built the Hinkley band saw mills, saw mill carriages, edgers, trimmers, circular saw mills, etc. The band saw mill, designed by Mr. G. M. Hinkley, a thoroughly practical saw mill man, marks as important a change in the manufacture of lumber as did the roller mill in the manufacture of flour, or the Reynolds' Corliss engine in western steam using practice. By its use fifteen per cent. is saved over former methods, and the lumber is better sawed and freer from defects than either circular or gang sawed lumber. The Hinkley band mill was first put on the market in 1885, twenty-five having been sold that year and over fifty in 1886, while the trade for the present year will be even greater. To the south of this building are brick engine and boiler rooms, the engine being one hundred and fifty horse power. On the south of engine house is the carpenter shop, 60 x 300 feet, three stories high. The first section of this building, 208 feet long and two stories high, was put up in 1882. It was extended and a third story added in 1886, and at the same time a three-story addition, 32 x 112 feet, fronting on Barclay street, was built and is used for storage of machinery, etc., before shipment. The tracks of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway extend along the Barclay street side of the works, and by means of suitable side tracks and tracks through the yard, reach every portion of the works and give ample shipping facilities.

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The Bay State works, heretofore mentioned, consist of a brick building, 50 x 260 feet, three stories high. This is the original shop. Adjoining it on Barclay street is a one-story frame addition, 50 x 250 feet. This plant is used exclusively for manufacturing Gray's patent roller mills, of which nearly twenty thousand machines have been built and shipped, going to all parts of this country, as well as to England, Australia, New Zealand and South America. The Bay State works, devoted as they are to the manufacture of one special machine, fairly illustrate the magnitude of the milling industry of this country. The accompanying illustration clearly shows the external appearance of these works.

The giant growth of the Reliance works from 1861 to 1887, including both years, can be partly shown by a comparison of the pay rolls and salesbooks then and now. In 1861 the average force employed was about twenty men, the amount paid in wages was $14,000, while the sales for that year were only $29,000. In 1862 the sales only reached to $33,500, while the wages account was swelled to $20,000. The exceedingly large ratio of wages paid to amount received for the work is characteristic of the work done at that time, consisting as it did largely of repair work and small jobs, in which the labor was the most important item of cost. When the pipe shop was in operation this condition of affairs was reversed, and we find in 1874 that the wages paid was barely one-tenth of the sales; since that time the ratio of wages to sales has been steadily increasing. In 1884, with a force of something over one thousand men, the wages account amounted to over six hundred thousand dollars, the year's sales amounting to over two millions of dollars. For 1887, with an average force of about twelve hundred men, the amount paid in wages and the amount of sales will be somewhat greater than in 1884. A much larger amount of work will be turned out, but prices are lower and the introduction of improved methods of manufacture has avoided the employment of any great amount of new help or the cutting down of wages, the average of the latter being, if anything, higher now than in 1884.

When it is taken into consideration that a working force of twelve hundred men represents a population of at least five thousand, enough to make quite a pretentious city, and that of the $600,000 paid in wages nearly the whole amount is spent at home, the importance of a vast industrial establishment like the Reliance works as a factor in the industrial and commercial prosperity of the community of which it forms a part is apparent, and the good accomplished by one active, energetic, indefatigable and hard working man in the course of his business lifetime begins to be appreciated. It is also worthy to be noted that in all these years there has always been the most perfect harmony between employer and employés, strikes being unknown. Some of the men have, with their employer, grown gray in the service. There is no doubt that much of the remarkable success of the works is due to the care taken by the proprietor at all times to make the men feel that he is not only interested in their welfare, but that they, as well as himself, are directly interested in the welfare of the works.

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To the history of the Reliance works there is little to add to make it a full record of the life of the owner, for since he became the owner he has been inseparable from the business and has in all things given it his first and most careful thought.

Edward P. Allis, the son of Jere and Mary Allis, was born at Cazenovia, New York, May 12, 1824. He graduated from Union college, Schenectady, in 1845, his education having been with a view to the practice of law. However, his tastes favored an active business life, and in 1846 he located at Milwaukee, where in connection with William Allen he opened a leather store at what is now 344 East Water street. The firm of Allis & Allen continued till 1854, during which time it built a large tannery at Two Rivers, Wisconsin. In 1854 Mr. Allis sold out his interest in the firm and in connection with John P. McGregor engaged in the real estate and brokerage business. In 1861 he came into possession of the Reliance works, as already stated, and from that time forward his business history is written in the history of the works.

In personal appearance Mr. Allis is of average height, rather slight, but very compactly and strongly built, and is capable of great physical endurance. He is quick in his motions, a rapid walker and his every action impresses one with the fact that he is firm of purpose and tireless in the pursuit of his business interests. He is quick to decide, relies upon his own judgment, has executive abilities of a high order, attends strictly to his business and expects everyone in his employ to do the same. He is quiet in manner, simple in his tastes and inclined to be reticent. He is a fine scholar, a great reader, and has always kept fully posted in all scientific, mechanical and political matters. In political faith Mr. Allis is a Republican and in full sympathy with that party, except upon the currency question. In this he believes in the greenback policy, as formulated by Henry C. Carey, and in 1887 headed the ticket of the Greenback party of Wisconsin as their candidate for governor. In his domestic relations Mr. Allis has been as fortunate as in his business life. In 1848 he married Margaret M. Watson of Geneva, New York. Mrs. Allis is a woman of much force of character, of superior attainments and great energy, and has been a help-mate in every sense of the word. They have a large family, and it would be hard to find a happier household.

ALBERT HOPPIN.

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A PIONEER PHYSICIAN OF THE WEST—GEORGE C. CATLETT.

THE remarkable history of the remarkable city of St. Joseph, Missouri, would be illy told without a sketch of Dr. George C. Catlett, who was for many years one of its eminent and valuable citizens; a man who was an honor to the place and in whom it held a pardonable pride. Strong in his physical manhood, mighty and clear of intellect, generous and just, brave and tender, and with a character as sterling as new coin and spotless as honor itself, he was respected and beloved most by those who knew him best, and his popularity among all his neighbors was unbounded. Professionally he was endowed by nature with those three gifts which are of such infinite value to a surgeon, "heart of lion, eye of eagle and hand of lady," and his attainments were fitted to these. St. Joseph was little more than a frontier village when he cast his fortunes there, and he lived to see the place grow up about him a handsome, populous city.

George Calmes Catlett was born June 20, 1828, in Union county, Kentucky. His paternal grandfather, Henry Catlett, was a Virginian of Scotch and English parentage, and these ancestors were among the earliest settlers of the Old Dominion. They purchased lands from Lord Halifax and much of it remains the home and property of other of their descendants. This grandfather of Dr. Catlett was an officer in the Revolutionary war, who served with distinction in that struggle for American independence, and bore his share of the sufferings and final glory of the "Old Continentals." His son, Captain Calmes Catlett, the father of Dr. Catlett, won an enviable name as a gallant officer in the War of 1812, and afterward settled in Kentucky where, as before stated, George C. was born.

Dr. Catlett was educated at the Kentucky academy, and graduated in medicine at the Pennsylvania university in Philadelphia, in 1851. Immediately afterward, in the same year, he located in St. Joseph, for the purpose of practicing his profession, and that city was his home from that time until his death, May 19, 1886, when he went to live in the mansion made not by hands, which stands by the beautiful river Over Yonder, and among those fair meadowlands whose dews are the balsams of eternity.

In 1854 Dr. Catlett married Miss Pamela Culver, daughter of Dr. Henry Culver of Maryland, a leading physician of that state who, with his family, moved to St. Louis in 1838. Mrs. Culver died shortly afterward and Dr. Culver never recovered from the blow, and to them were born three children, Mrs. Dr. A. P. Busey and Messrs. Harry and George Catlett.

Dr. Catlett at once took high rank in his profession in Missouri. In 1852 he

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Geo C Carter

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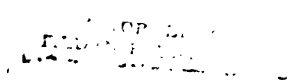

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went to New Orleans and spent a year practicing in the hospitals there for the sake of the experience to be obtained, then returned to St. Joseph, and was especially successful in surgery. During his career he performed some remarkable operations in that special line of his profession, and his great professional ability, as well as his accomplishments as a writer, being freely acknowledged, he was chosen, in 1858, to be one of the editors of the St. Joseph Medical and Surgical Journal, which was then established by the St. Joseph Medical society. The Journal was conducted under the auspices of the association named for one year, when it became a private enterprise under the joint conduct of Drs. Catlett and Snelson, and was continued successfully by them until, in consequence of the war, its publication was suspended in 1861. Aside from the work of editing this publication, Dr. Catlett was a frequent contributor, during his life, to several other medical periodicals, among them Dr. Grey's Journal of Utica, New York, and Dr. Hughes' Journal of St. Louis, Missouri, his papers in these publications being, for the most part, treatises on nervous diseases.

At the beginning of the war Dr. Catlett entered the service of the Confederate army and was with General Sterling Price for a short time in that officer's Missouri campaign. He then became field surgeon with General Braxton Bragg until the fall of Vicksburg, when he was appointed surgeon of hospitals and inspector and medical purveyor for the trans-Mississippi department, under command of General E. Kirby Smith, with headquarters at Shreveport, Louisiana, until the close of the war. Dr. Catlett remained three years at Shreveport after the war and during all this time he was health officer of that city and his duties were very arduous, for there were two violent epidemics during his stay, one of smallpox and one of yellow fever. In the spring of 1868 he returned to St. Joseph, where he remained until his death. Through the four years of the terrible conflict he was ever manfully and dutifully and ably at his post, and left for himself a proud record. He was in many of the most trying campaigns of the desperate struggle, and his able services were of great value to that army of the south.

When in 1874 the Missouri State Lunatic asylum No. 2, which had been located at St. Joseph, was completed, Dr. Catlett was chosen as the physician and superintendent of the institution, and it was opened for patients under his direction and was conducted under his management until his last illness. Under his able management the asylum became a model for such institutions.

January 25, 1879, the lunatic asylum was burned down and in the fire Dr. Catlett came near losing his life. He had gone into a room for the purpose of seeing that all the employés and patients were out and while there, the door having been shut, the room became so full of smoke that he missed the door upon endeavoring to return to it, and being overcome, was about sinking when the door was accidentally opened.

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The patients were removed to the court-house and Dr. Catlett, though quite ill, remained with them day and night for two weeks and was not at home in all that time, nor until all the patients had been properly disposed. The asylum was rebuilt during the same year.

In 1877 the St. Joseph Medical college was chartered and Dr. Catlett was immediately chosen as professor of physiology and nervous and mental diseases.

When the Missouri Medical society met in St. Louis, May 3, 1886, Dr. Catlett was elected president thereof, and he was at the same time chosen by the American Medical society, as a delegate to the medical congress to be held in London, but death intervened to prevent his active participation in the important and distinguished duties to which he had thus been called by the profession of his state and Nation.

In politics Dr. Catlett was an uncompromising Democrat, and always took a deep interest in the political affairs of his city, county, state and Nation. During the greater part of his life, after having attained manhood, he was a zealous member of the order of Free Masons. He belonged to St. Joseph Lodge No. 78, A. F. and A. M., St. Joseph Royal Arch Chapter No. 14, and St. Joseph Commandry No. 4, Knights Templar. He was eminent commander of Hugh Payn Commandry No. 4, K. T. of St. Joseph after the war, and prior thereto was an active member of Lodge chapter and commandry, but withdrew from all some years before his death. He continued, however, his membership of divisions A. B. and C. of the Masonic Mutual Benefit society for the benefit of his wife and daughter until his death.

The medical associations with which Dr. Catlett was associated at the time of his death, were those of Shreveport, Louisiana, St. Joseph, Missouri, the State Society of Missouri, American Medical association and the Association of Asylum superintendents.

During his last illness his every moment's thought seemed to be given to the unfortunates under his charge in the asylum, and his inquiries and instructions concerning them ceased only when death supervened.

He died at fifty-eight years of age, full of professional honor such as few men attain in the number of years which he had reached, and being yet in the prime of life he would have attained even more distinguished honors but for having been cut off, by an acute disease which baffled all skill, after an illness of only ten days.

Having always enjoyed a lucrative practice, which his great success brought to him, Dr. Catlett accumulated a large fortune, despite his continual and unstinted acts of charity. This was enlarged by the rapid enhancement in value of his St. Joseph property. This at his death was disposed of by his will in a characteristic way. The will, like the man, was a model of strength and simplicity. It exhibited as plainly as words and actions can, how much he loved and trusted and appreciated the noble and devoted woman, his wife, who through all the trials

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and struggles of an eventful manhood, stood closely, firmly and helpfully by his side, and who still lives to honor, cherish and revere his memory, his nobility of character and steadfastness of purpose.

To her Dr. Catlett gave all his worldly possessions with the words in effect: "My debts must be paid, and then my wife, without bond or hindrance, shall take all, doing with it as she chooses. To my children I give nothing, as I know that my wife, Pamela Catlett, will do what is just and right, in her estimation, by and for each and all of them."

These were noble words and revealed a charming confidence in the wisdom of the wife and mother. They show how beautiful must have been the home life of this pair. A local journalist writing at the time said of Dr. Catlett's will: "Would that more men living, by their works and words, would evince such confidence in their wives; would that more wives, by their works and devotion, would prove worthy of such profound confidence and never faltering love. What a tenderly beautiful sermon could be preached, taking the home life of Dr. and Mrs. Catlett. He all tenderness and devotion; she all sweetness, faithfulness and love, for the text: he the mighty oak, she the beautiful ivy, clinging closely and confidingly. What a beautiful poem. How its holy rythm cheers the heart. The gentle murmur, wafted back, is music to the soul. But the oak exposed to life's blasts was struck. The finger of Jehovah touched the heart, and it ceased—and all was over. There is a world of tenderness and beauty in the lives of Dr. and Mrs. Catlett. He was a full man; she a noble and loving woman, and they lived ever lovers."

Dr. Catlett's funeral in St. Joseph was an overwhelming outward sign of the great esteem in which he was held. The casket in which were deposited the mortal remains of one universally beloved among those with whom he had walked in life, was taken to Christ church, where a great concourse of people gathered, and there it was buried in floral offerings, from the freshest bloom of beautiful May. After the solemn services of the Episcopal church had been said and the dirges had been sung, it was conveyed to Mount Mora cemetery, where it rests while the patient stars keep watch, and the seasons come and go, and until that time, when on the morn of resurrection, he who sleeps therein will arise, clad in the garments which shall enrobe those whom Jehovah loveth and who loved their fellow-men.

WILL L. VISSCHER.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

As CONTRIBUTIONS to a series of articles that are to appear from time to time in these pages upon the beginnings of things in Northern Ohio and Cleveland, we desire to direct especial attention to the sketch of the Cleveland Public Library contained in this issue, from the pen of William H. Brett, the librarian, and to the recollections of Cleveland men and measures contributed by D. W. Cross, Esq., in the October number. The latter sketch has excited unusual attention among the older residents of Cleveland —which interest, we are sure, will be extended to other articles of like character now in course of preparation.

As MR. CROSS' article was written several years ago, but modestly withheld from publication, and as no date appeared when published, the following line from a private note written by that gentleman to the editor seems in place: "There being no date given to the article, November, 1887, will be naturally inferred. In that case, 'nearly forty-five years ago' will not exactly agree with the real date the 'young man' arrived in Cleveland in the *Commodore Perry*, which was in 1836."

THE famous civil service order issued by President Hayes was not the first document emanating from the government in that direction, although none previous went the length to which he ventured, nor received the sanction of the highest official authority in the land. We have come across a letter written in 1857 by Howell Cobb, secretary of the treasury, that cannot but be of interest to students of the history of that great reform. Addressing a subordinate, he said:

March 30, 1857.

Dear Sir:—I reply to your letter at once, that you may not misinterpret my silence into an approval of your suggestions. I do not think that a citizen loses his political identity or independence by accepting office under the government. He does, however, commit himself to the service of the country to the utmost extent required for a faithful discharge of the duties of his position. His political associates ought not to expect of him any service to his party at the expense of his duty to the government. Holding, as you do, an office of great pecuniary responsibility and one requiring your constant personal attention, I cannot sanction the propriety of your absence from your post for the purpose of an active engagement in the approaching election of your state.

No one regards with more interest than I do the success of the National Democratic party at this important period of our history. But that success must not be purchased at the expense of the public interest, which might be the case if those holding high and important offices should absent themselves from their posts to conduct the canvass. Regarding your letter in the light of an application for leave of absence, I have withheld my approval for the foregoing reasons. Very Respectfully,

H. COBB,
Secretary of the Treasury.

RECENT comments in these pages upon the rise and purpose of the American, or Know-Nothing, party some thirty years ago, has caused a correspondent to remind us of an interesting episode in the Thirty-third congress, when a member—William H. Witte of

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Pennsylvania, a Democrat—sought to stem the tide of anti-foreign enthusiasm, or at least force an opinion from his associates upon the great question of the day. Many who had been elected to the house by the old parties had joined the new order, others gave it their sympathy if not support, and still others—not knowing the extent to which it might grow — were too politic to declare against it. Mr. Witte decided to bring the house to an expression of opinion upon the new order by offering a series of resolutions denouncing it. Knowing that he could never bring it to a direct vote, he proposed to make the vote upon the suspension of the rules for its adoption a test as to the standing of the members. Accordingly, on February 5, 1855, he obtained consent to read his resolutions, and did so, as follows:

WHEREAS, Discussions have been indulged in this house in committee of the whole, which, with other circumstances, lead to the conviction that there exists in this country an extensive, secret, oath-bound, political association, which seems to interfere with the purity of election and the legislation of the country. Such an association has excited the fears and induced the solemn warning of Washington in his Farewell Address; therefore,

Resolved, That in the opinion of this house, the existence of secret, oath-bound, political associations, having in view an interference with the sanctity of the ballot-box and the direction of the course of National or municipal legislation, is inconsistent with, and dangerous to, the institutions of Republicanism, and directly hostile to the genius of this government.

Resolved, That every attempt to proscribe any class of citizens on account of their religious opinions, or to favor or injure any religious denomination by National legislation, is in direct violation of the spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That while a careful and strict administration of the naturalization laws is a solemn duty, yet every interference with the guaranteed rights of naturalized citizens is inconsistent with the plighted faith of the Nation, and must diminish its growth and prosperity.

Objection was, of course, immediately raised, and Mr. Witte moved a suspension of the rules, and after some discussion — in which Mr. Jones of Tennessee, feeling, with others, that the time was not ripe for too sure and free a declaration for those who were looking forward to a political future, made the pertinent remark that "there will be no good but some harm done here to-day" — the test vote was reached. The proposition was rejected.

AN interesting statement of personal experience relating to slavery was that of the late John Malvin, for years one of the best known colored men of Cleveland. His mother was a free woman and his father a slave; consequently, the boy was never a slave, although reared in a slave-holding neighborhood. In his seventh year he was bound an apprentice to the owner of his father. "Though I was an apprentice," to quote Mr. Malvin's own words, "I was treated little better than a slave myself. For my clothing, I was supplied every year with one pair of shoes, two pairs of tow-linen pantaloons, one pair of negro cotton pantaloons and a negro cotton round jacket. My food consisted of one peck of corn meal a week. Sometimes I received a supply of salt, but they were very sparing of that luxury." Of the means to which he was compelled to resort in order to learn to read, Mr. Malvin said: "I knew an old slave who was past labor, and who lived in a cabin three miles from where I did, and who by some means had learned to read. He could read the Bible quite readily, and he consented to teach me to read and spell. We obtained light by means of pine knots, which I would go out and find in the dark by feeling with my feet. We did not dare to talk loud, lest we should be overheard, and had to confine ourselves to whispers."

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WHEN thirty-two years of age, Mr. Malvin decided to make his home in Ohio, where, "I thought," said he, "upon coming to a free state like Ohio, I would find every door thrown open to receive me, but from the treatment I received from the people generally I found it little better than Virginia." He found upon the statute books a law that decreed "that no negro or mulatto should be permitted to emigrate to this state, or settle, or acquire a domicile, without first entering into bonds of five hundred dollars, with approved security, conditioned that he would never become a town charge, and that he would keep the peace." And further along: "That no negro or mulatto shall testify in a court of justice or record where a party in a cause there pending was white. No negro or mulatto child shall enter into any of the public schools of this state, or receive the benefit of the school fund. No negro or mulatto shall be permitted to enter any of the institutions of this state, viz: A lunatic asylum, deaf and dumb asylum, or even the poor-house." "Thus I found every door closed against the colored man in a free state, excepting the jails and penitentiaries, the doors of which were thrown wide open to receive him." In the above quotations we do not claim to follow the language of the laws, but Mr. Malvin's recollection of their meaning and effect.

AN interesting paragraph in Mr. Malvin's autobiography—written some years before his death—is in relation to the purchase of his wife's father from slavery: "I opened correspondence with his master, and he replied that he would take four hundred dollars for the old man, who was then sixty years of age, and that he would take one hundred dollars down and the balance on time. I got a subscription paper and circulated it, and upon that subscription paper the public kindly donated one hundred dollars. I then made two notes, payable in one and two years, for one hundred and fifty dollars each, and procured the endorsement thereon of John M. Sterling, sen., Deacon Benjamin Rouse, Judith Richmond and Thomas Whelpley. I sent my wife to Kentucky with the money and notes, and, on paying the one hundred dollars and delivering the notes, her father was released and came with her to Cleveland." Mr. Malvin eventually paid the notes.

IN the very interesting article from the pen of General A. E. Lee, published in this magazine in August last, entitled "The Slave Lucy and the War," no mention was made of the final career of the girl after she was delivered by the courts of Cleveland to her owner and returned to her former home in Wheeling. Mr. Malvin supplies that lack: "After the trial the judge ordered the girl to be delivered up to her master, who took her back with him to Wheeling, where she was placed in jail and severely punished. When the Union army arrived in Wheeling the girl was liberated, and her master, Mr. Goshorn, who had become a prisoner of war, was incarcerated in the same jail in which he had confined Lucy."

WHEN John W. Allen peacefully passed away at his home on Prospect street, Cleveland, on October 5, 1887, the west lost one of its oldest pioneers, and this city one who in times past was counted among its most active and public-spirited citizens. Born in 1802 of a family that united worth and culture in an eminent degree, he graduated from the Harvard Law school, and in 1825 came to Cleveland and entered the law office of Judge Samuel Cowles. During the next forty years he was one of the foremost in all public enterprises and the faithful occupant of numerous public offices. His career was crowned by an election to congress, and a call to the mayoralty chair of the city. Justice could not be done to his career in any memorial that did not follow the growth of Cleveland, step by step, and show his connection with a majority of its great public interests.

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Mr. ALLEN'S labors in connection with the building of Cleveland's first successful railroad the Cleveland & Columbus, as it was then generally called, would alone stand as the monument of a most useful public man. In a paper prepared in 1884 for the Early Settlers' association, he related some interesting facts in connection with that great venture. The original charter, issued before the great panic of 1837, required a subscription of five hundred thousand dollars, with a down payment of fifty thousand dollars; but the enterprise as then proposed came to naught, and it was not until a number of years later that the real work was commenced. "At the session of 1845-46," said Mr. Allen's narration, "applications were made for several railroad charters between the lake and Columbus, which were granted, and the five hundred thousand dollars requisition for the road of the Cleveland company was reduced to fifty thousand dollars and the down payment to five per cent. on that sum, and commissioners appointed for all of them. Thus in the spring of 1846 there were three or four rival projects for a road to Columbus from the lake, either in whole or part, but none of them were unfriendly to Cleveland. We called a meeting of all the commissioners at Mansfield, and at our request they all agreed to give us six months to enable us to carry out our project, and if we were successful, they would rest quietly as to theirs. We went to work actively in getting rights of way, surveying several lines in whole or part, seeking subscriptions, collecting money by donations for expenses, etc., which we could get more readily than stock subscriptions, which last were mostly subject to conditions. When the limitation granted us was about expiring, we were not in a condition to organize, and the writer of this went to Columbus to consult our friends; four of the most prominent men made this proposition: that they would take one-half the required fifty thousand dollars and be directors, and that the writer should select four men at Cleveland and be president, and that they should provide the other half of said sum, and that a call should be made for a meeting of the subscribers at the earliest day admissible at Columbus, and that on the question of calling for payments the writer should vote with them, and that their checks in the Clinton bank, for the five per cent., should be held till they were ready to pay them."

"THE writer for himself," continues the narration, "agreed to this offer, came home, and his associates here assented, and at the meeting called the records and papers showed a full compliance with law, the officers were chosen, a corporation was formed, and out of these devices grew this road of great and immediate importance to Cleveland."

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

WE take pleasure in announcing to the readers of the MAGAZINE of WESTERN HISTORY that, commencing with this first number of Volume VII., the editorial department will be under control of Mr. J. H. Kennedy, who has terminated his various literary engagements that his whole time and service might be given to this work. Mr. Kennedy has had years of experience in editorial management in several important positions, and by study, research, reading and personal investigation, has become thoroughly acquainted with the history of our country, especially in such branches as relate to Ohio and the west. In the many articles from his pen that have appeared in these pages, he has formed so close an acquaintance with our readers that no formal introduction is needed. It remains only for the publishers to add that his contributions will be continued from month to month, and that plans for the improvement of the magazine that have been long in contemplation, will now be carried out.

The success that has crowned our efforts to gather and preserve a history of those events by which the great west was created

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and developed, has been beyond our most hopeful expectations, and the encouragement so far received leads only to renewed efforts in the future. The six volumes already in existence give some idea of our plan and purpose; but we have the courage to feel that that which has been performed in the face of those obstacles which confront any new venture, is only an earnest of that which is to be, now that we are upon a permanent foundation and have created a constituency whose practical encouragement is a sure aid to, and guarantee of, enlarged usefulness and success.

THE PUBLISHERS.

DOCUMENTS.

III.

NEW LIGHT ON THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

At a meeting of the Committee of twenty-one of the Town of Pittsburgh, on Monday morning, 4th August, 1794, report was made to them by the committee of four, who were a part of the committee of Battallions to Braddock's fields, the 2d inst., vizt: That in Committee on Braddock's fields, it was stated on the part of the Committee of four, that the three prescribed persons of the Town of Pittsburgh, vizt.: Abraham Kirkpatrick, James Brison and Edward Day were expelled the Town and had disappeared.

It was then taken into view what other persons were obnoxious, as being suspected of being friendly to the Excise Law, as might appear from letters by them written or otherwise; and on certain letters being read which had been intercepted in the Mail from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, vizt: one from Colo. Presley Neville to his father-in-law, containing in a certain paragraph, words unfavorable to the opposers of the Excise Law, tho' no persons in particular were named; but this being considered a sufficient evidence of his enmity to the cause, it was resolved that he should be expelled the Country within ten Days.

Also on letter from Gen. John Gibson to the Governor of Pennsylvania, which in a certain Paragraph evinc'd a like disposition, by a misstatement made by him in information, which information was thought not to be exact, and which he had too hastily credited, it was resolved that he should be subjected to the like sentence, and that the committee of Pittsburgh should carry into effect these measures, necessary for the public safety.

Resolved, therefore, That notice of their respective sentences be forthwith given to these persons, and that they depart accordingly, and that a Guard be ordered for each of them to conduct them to a proper distance.

Resolved also, That a copy of this minute be given to each of those persons as a passport from the country.

In behalf of the Committee,
JAMES CLOW, Chairman.

Pittsburgh, August 4, 1794.

This is to certify to all whom it may concern, That the bearer hereof, Colonel Presley Neville, has been directed to depart the country, by order of the Committee of the Battallions of Washington, Fayette, Westmoreland & Allegany counties, assembled on Braddock's fields the 2d Inst.—which sentence the Committee of Pittsburgh were to carry into effect & to furnish him with a guard to a proper distance. Let him therefore pass in safety and without molestation.

By order of the Committee of Pittsburgh,
JAMES CLOW, Chairman.

Pittsburgh, October 1st, 1794.

SIR:—When the commissioners of the United States were at this place, they were told by H. Brackenridge, Esq., in my presence, that had it not been for his interposition I would have been pro-

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scribed, at the time the people were at Braddock's fields. It is said the circumstance that induced this was facts stated by you; viz., that I had said I would suffer my own house to be made an excise office of, &c. This, if true, was what any citizen is justifiable in doing, but not being so with respect to me, I consider the lie to have been designed for my destruction, and now call on you for your authority. I would not have addressed you on this subject, had I not supposed that you were deceived in your information, and could point out the scoundrel with whom it originated, and from whom I might seek redress for the injuries intended and suffered.

I am Sir, your obedient humble servant

ISAAC CRAIG.

David Bradford, Esq., Washington, Pa.

Washington, October 5th,, 1794.

SIR:—I received yours of the first of this current month, in which you have said that Mr. Brackenridge asserted, in the presence of the commissioners of the United States, that had it not been for his interposition on your behalf at Braddock's fields, that you would have been banished.

I must inform you, that Mr. Brackenridge has either a very treacherous memory, or a strong disposition to assert falsehoods, if he asserts as you state. The truth of the case was, that he evidenced to me the strongest desire to have you banished. I shall state to you his expressions, or at least some of them. You may then judge for yourself.

The first day at Braddock's fields, Mr. Brackenridge told me the people of Pittsburgh were well pleased that the country were about to banish the persons, whose names had been mentioned; he added that they ought to go further, that little Craig ought to be banished, for he was one of the same damned junto. I replied, there appeared to be no ground to proceed against you, that there was no letter of yours intercepted, misstating facts, or the conduct of individuals, to government. Further conversation took place, which had manifestly for its object, to irritate me against you.

The next day, when the commissioners sat, Mr. Brackenridge took me aside, and mentioned to me your conduct after the burning of Neville's house; that you assumed high airs in contempt of everything that had been done by the people; that you had declared in the most positive manner, that you would keep up the letters, designating the office of inspection, at every risk; and though the people of Pittsburgh requested you to take them down, you would not. In short, that you were determined to keep the office open, in contempt of the then ruling opinion.

He told further, that he put in operation a stratagem to see whether you had the firmness to support all the vaunts and blasts you had made. He said, he went out in the street, and asked the first person he met if he had heard there were 500 of the Washington county people, coming down armed to burn Pittsburgh, because the inspection office was kept open; and the answer was, No. He asked the next he met, the same answer was received; by this means the news was spread over the town in a few minutes, that 500 armed men were approaching the place to burn it, &c. He said the letters were immediately taken down, and torn to pieces; in short, he told me you was one of the warmest sticklers for the revenue law, and that you had been as odious to the citizens of Pittsburgh, and the neighborhood, as the excise officer himself had been.

I then mentioned to Mr. Brackenridge, that he had better state to the commissioners the circumstances he had just related to me: he said it was disagreeable to him, as he lived in the same place; I replied that I would open the way, and immediately stated to the commissioners a report which I had heard, respecting your conduct after the burning of Neville's house, and stated precisely what Mr. Brackenridge had stated, one minute before, not mentioning from whom I had the report. I observed, as it was only a report, it would be improper to take it up as true, till it could be discovered whether true or false. I then called on the gentlemen from Pittsburgh, to give information, if they knew anything against you. Mr. Wilkins observed that he did not know of anything against you. Mr. McMasters to the like effect, and Mr. Brackenridge also concurred. He declined to give the narrative which he had done to me just before, though I opened the way, on what principle I know not.

I shall mention another circumstance, though it does not concern you; perhaps, obviate false insinuations, which he may be disposed to make. On the morning of the second day's meeting of the commissioners, at Parkinson's ferry, Mr. Brackenridge told me that there was a young man, who wrote in Brison's office, attending the commissioners for the purpose of presenting a petition for the return of Brison. He wished me to oppose it, suggesting reasons, that he had always been a pest to them, at Pittsburgh; that he was a great friend to the excise, alluding to a

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certain period when a number of suits were brought, or indictments preferred to the grand jury; that Brison was known to be at the bottom of the business—that he was a damned scoundrel and conceited coxcomb—that nothing could ever turn out about Pittsburgh, but he must be writing to the governor—a puppy, added he, what has he to do with the governor? it was his place to have sat in his office, and issued writs, when called on, &c. I observed to him, if he had any reasons to offer to the commissioners, why Brison should not be suffered to return, he had better offer them himself; no petition was presented. These are facts which I have stated; and I leave you at full liberty to make any use of them, you may think proper. I would have answered your letter before, but have been much indisposed.

I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

DAVID BRADFORD.

Major Isaac Craig.

HEAD QUARTERS, PITTSBURGH, Nov. 22, 1794.

SIR: I have received your letter of the 10th Inst., and maturely considered its contents.

I am concerned that the party in pursuit of Mr. Bradford were unsuccessful in efforts to arrest him, inasmuch as I fear the late convulsions of this part of the country may in a great degree be ascribed to his counsels and efforts. I hope, at the same time, that he will yet be delivered into the hands of Justice, that may expiate by his punishment, those offences which he is supposed to have committed against that country from which he derived his existance and support; but while I wish that he should be taken, I wish not that he should be destroyed; on the contrary I should be affected with great concern should I hear that he had been killed, or even treated with unnecessary severity or cruelty. It is the happiness as it is the pride of America that no person can be deprived of his property or his existance but by Law. the principles of Justice on which are founded those of the Law pronounce that before he shall be deprived of the latter he shall be confronted with his accusers, allow'd the benefit of exculpating Testimony and permitted to urge whatever he may think necessary for his defense.

Conformably to this Idea they the several offenders who have been seized in this deluded country have been regularly delivered to the Civil power which will deal with them according to their merits.

Permit me therefore to assure you, Sir, that the Information you have rec'd *that I wished Bradford to be killed rather than suffered to escape is erroneous & that I shudder at the Idea of hunting to death a fellow being.*

If by your exertions he could be sent to this place alive you would confer an Obligation on me and on the United States. at the same time in that event *I should wish him to be treated with every civility consistant with his safe custody.*

I am, &c., &c.

HENRY LEE.

D'Hebecourt.

On the back of the above letter the following note occurs:

This letter from Gen. Henry Lee to Captain D'Hebecourt, I preserve, because I greatly admire the noble and humane spirit which is displayed in every line. David Bradford was undoubtedly the master spirit, the very Cataline of that first rebellion against the National Government. His exemplary punishment would have been very useful as an example, if done legally and in strict conformity with the laws of the country, but this gallant soldier of the Revolution, shrank with horror from the idea of sacrificing even David Bradford like a wild beast.

NEVILLE B. CRAIG.

FROM Mr. Madison, Secretary of State: "The claims from which France was released were admitted by France, and the release was for a valuable consideration in a correspondent release of the United States from certain claims upon them."

From the Constitution of the United States. "Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

From Mr. Jefferson, U. S. Minister at Paris, Dec. 11, 1787; to our Minister at Madrid: "War (between England and France) being now imminent, Eden, since Lord Aukland, questioned me on the effect of our treaty with France, in the case of a war, and what might be our dispositions. I told him frankly, and without hesitation, that our disposition would be neutral, & that I thought it would be the interest of both these powers that we should be so; because, it would relieve both from all anxiety as to feeding their West India Islands; that England, too, by suffering us to remain so, would avoid a heavy land war on our continent, which might very much cripple her proceedings elsewhere;

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that our treaty (with France) indeed, obliged us to receive into our ports the armed vessels of France, with their prizes, and to refuse admission to the prizes made on her by her enemies; that there was a clause, also, by which we guaranteed to France her American possessions, might perhaps force us into the war, if these were attacked. 'Then it will be war,' said he, 'for they will assuredly be attacked." Vol. I, Jefferson's Works, p. 63, and Vol. II, same 269.

Instructions from our Secretary of State, to John Q. Adams then minister at London, Aug. 25, 1795. If after every precedent effort, you find that the order in council respecting provisions, cannot be removed, its continuance is not to be an obstacle to the exchange of ratifications. Doc. 102, No. 206.

(Such obstacles were not removed by Mr. Adams, the treaty was ratified, and the result was that many millions of dollars were lost by our shipping merchants, who were subsequently reimbursed, for such losses, by England. The French Government manifested her revengeful indignation by ordering the indiscriminate capture and confiscation of all American vessels, and this order was enforced with the utmost rigor. And yet be it said to the credit of France, that she freely acknowledged the obligation to satisfy the spoliation demands of our citizens, while at the same time she was inexorable in her demands of a political character, under existing treaties.)

Mr. Jefferson in a letter to Mr. Hammond, the British Minister, dated Sept. 9, 1796, says, as follows: "Though the admission of the prizes and privateers of France is exclusive, yet it is the effect of a treaty made long ago for valuable considerations, not with a view to the present circumstances, nor against any nation in particular, but all in general; and may, therefore, be faithfully observed without offence to any; and we mean faithfully to observe it." Doc. 102, No. 133.

On the 15 July, 1797, our Government appointed Charles C. Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, as envoys extraordinary to the French Republic, for the purpose of adjusting these difficulties. Their instructions contained the following: "The great object of the Government being to do justice to France and her citizens, if in any thing we have injured them; to obtain justice for the multiplied injuries they have committed against us; and to preserve peace. Your style & manner of proceeding will be such as shall most directly tend to secure these objects." Doc. 102, No. 307. The result of this mission was the presentation of the following proposition, dated Nov. 8, 1797, viz: "There shall be named a commission of five members agreeably to a form to be established, for the purpose of deciding upon the reclamations of the Americans relative to the prizes made on them by the French privateers. The American Envoys will engage that their Government shall pay the indemnifications, or the amount of the sums already decreed to American creditors of the French Republic, and those shall be adjusted to the claimants by the Commissioners. This payment shall be made under the name of an advance to the French Republic who will repay it in a time & manner to be agreed on." Doc. 102, No. 310.

The above proposition was offered, for the reason that the finances of France were exhausted by the war, &, therefore, she could not pay us promptly, for the spoliations. The American Envoys refused to sanction it, as being beyond their instructions, and because England would regard it as a covert aid to France during the existing war. In a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Colonel Burr, dated June 17, 1797, the former says: "We have received a report that the French Directory has proposed a declaration of war against the United States to the Council of Ancients who have rejected it. Thus we see two nations who love one another affectionately, brought by the ill temper of their Executive Administrations to the very brink of a necessity to imbrue their hands in the blood of each other." Jefferson's Works, Vol. III, p. 358.

The mission of General Pinckney and his two associates, therefore, proved a failure, and on the 22 Oct. 1799, a second mission to France was appointed, viz: Oliver Ellsworth, William R. Davil, and William Vans Murray, which resulted in obtaining from the French negotiators, Mess. Joseph Bonaparte, Fleurien, and Roderer, a new treaty. A French National Bond was pledged in favor of the Spoliation claims, which was regarded as a liquidated acknowledged debt. That bond was placed in charge of our Government as trustee of the claimants, for collection. The United States, and wisely too, paid their debt to France with said bond; and thus relieved itself of the obnoxious treaty, and from the guarantee of the French island and the use of our ports.

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AMONG THE BOOKS.

'MEN AND MANNERS IN AMERICA ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO,' edited by H. E. Scudder. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

The plan of this volume is indeed, as it has been modestly described by its editor, "as simple as could be desired." He has taken the period designated in the title, and from books then issued has taken such accounts of contemporaneous life, as "seemed likely to furnish one with a light and intelligible view of society and persons at that time." In addition he has dipped into letters, journals and volumes of reminiscences, seeking only to depict the life and the times as seen by the people of the day. In the scores of extracts and articles given one can find all the follies, vanities, fashions, passions and humors which were possessors of men and women in those days as well as these; and the several illustrations given are in accord with the spirit of the text. The book is not only readable but valuable as throwing light upon historical points that might not otherwise be understood. It fills a field altogether its own, and fills it well.

'THE MAKING OF NEW ENGLAND,' by Samuel Adams Drake. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

The opening and development of the American continent is of interest, naturally, to American readers, whether the lines of information follow La Salle in his adventurous voyage across Lake Erie, De Soto pushing up the Mississippi, or John Smith in Virginia; but after all there is a peculiar and special interest that attaches to Plymouth Rock, and the founding of New England. Adventure, conquest, exploration, lay within the motives of La Salle, Cortez and De Soto, but in the *Mayflower* was an *idea*—a germ out of which the Declaration of Independence, the defiance to kings, and the American Republic were the natural results. The Revolution commenced before the shores of America were touched; it began with the Puritans' idea that man had a right to worship God after his own conscience, and was developed a little later into the more material maxim that he also possessed the right to govern himself and make choice of his own rulers. It is therefore always an entertaining quest to follow any line of search that leads historically into the past of New England. In this book Mr. Drake has pursued a new line of information—he has shown us how New England was built, from the foundation up, adding stone by stone, and connecting one part to the other with symmetry and skill of design. Its charm lies in its manner of arrangement and treatment, while its value is in the fact that it occupies a place between the larger and the lesser histories. It is especially useful to the teacher who, engaged upon a particular topic, can read to his pupils a chapter upon the same subject, and thus fill out the bare outlines of the common textbook. The narrative fully covers the "critical periods of discovery," exploration and settlement of New England, from the earliest days to the time when "stable government, the security achieved by arms, and the development and adaptation of social or material ideas to the varied conditions of the new home, had won for the first colonists a secure foot-hold in the new world." The book is fully and admirably illustrated, and is certain to make its way along the lines of usefulness for which it was prepared.

'HALF-HOURS WITH AMERICAN HISTORY,' Vol. I. Colonial America; Vol. II. Independent America; selected and arranged by Charles Morris, author of 'A Manual of Classical Literature,' and 'Half-Hours with the Best American Authors.' Published by the J. B. Lippincott company, Philadelphia. Received of the Burrows Brothers company, Cleveland.

The best presentation of these valuable and interesting historical works, would consist of a quotation of their full table of contents, would space permit, as justice can hardly be done in any abridgment thereof. As will be noted in connection with the titles, the work is divided into two general groups, the one leading up to and laying the foundation for the other.

The first volume—Colonial America—is divided into six sections—the period before Columbus; the era of discovery; the era of settlement; progress of the colonies; the French and Indian war; and the threshold of the Revolution. The second volume—

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Independent America—is equally comprehensive and complete. Its four sections cover: The American Revolution; the Union founded aud sustained; the progress of National development; and the era of civil war. And the unique and comprehensive thing is that the work is not that of one man, but the fruits of the best labor and study of many. From Bancroft on 'The Origin of the Americans' to Long on 'The Last March of Lee's Army,' the story is told in selections from the most eminent historians of the land—Lossing, Irving, Sparks, Headley, Everett, Greeley, Draper, Parkman, and scores of others—the selected articles "presented in chronological succession, divided into historical eras and joined by connecting links, each giving in brief outline a sketch of the intermediate events." The selections have been confined to events of special interest or importance, many of them describing those striking and dramatic scenes which have become like household words to American readers; and it has been well said of this book: "A work thus arranged may be compared to a landscape, over whose dead levels the eye ranges with a rapid glance, while constrained to rest with attention upon its elevations or features of special attractiveness." The Lippincott company, always offering something new and attractive, have performed an unusually valuable service to American history by the publication of these books.

'HISTORY OF THE SECOND ARMY CORPS, IN THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.' By Francis A. Walker, brevet brigadier-general United States volunteers. With portraits and maps. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This elegantly printed, illustrated and bound volume of seven hundred pages is what its title describes—a history of the famous second corps and of its brilliant achievements, from the pen of one well qualified by ability and information for the task he has so well accomplished. From the Peninsula and Fair Oaks to Petersburg and Appomattox, the story is graphically told, and with a fairness and candor that must compel the respect of even those who may take issue with some of General Walker's deductions and conclusions. In addition to the history of the corps, the work embraces a vast amount of statistical and personal matter that adds not only to the interest of the story, but to the historical value as well. It is a book that every student of the war should have.

'BEN HARDIN: HIS TIMES AND CONTEMPORARIES, WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS SPEECHES.' By Lucius P. Little. Received from Robert Clarke & Co., publishers, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The part played by Kentucky in opening a pathway to the rich possibilities of the Mississippi valley and beyond, has always been conceded to have been honorable and important, but the fulness of its value is only understood as the modern biographer and historian study into the rich lore of the past, and give to the world the result of their investigations. The half apology Mr. Little makes for the production of this work is altogether needless. He not only gives us a mass of useful and interesting information concerning Hardin and his associates, but also lets in many sidelights of information that suggest the directions in which deeper researches can be made. The spirit in which the author approached his work is best explained in his own language: "I have selected Mr. Hardin, of all that galaxy of great men among whom he flourished, not because he was necessarily greatest, but rather because his genius, more than that of any other, was indigenous to his age and its surroundings. He was the product of his time, imbued with its spirit, and in sympathy with its thought and sentiment. His career was a long and successful one. At its outset he became famous. Until the end—at the bar, on the stump, in state and National councils—he extended, widened and strengthened his early prestige. Always a mighty, intellectual force, he had the good fortune to impress himself and his characteristics on his day and generation as few have done." His life, from 1784 to 1852, was spent in the region that now treasures his fame among its best possessions, and he left an impress all along that long series of years. It is the best commentary upon Mr. Little's work to say that while he has approached his task in a spirit of love and admiration, he has shaded nothing, withheld nothing, and laid on not a line of color that was not deserved. The book is well written, well printed and handsomely bound and illustrated. It is, in short, one of the most important additions to the history of the great West that has been given to the public for a long time.

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Magazine of Western History.

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A FRIEND OF MRS. ANN HUTCHINSON.

II.

When we remember the excesses of sects in Europe whose views resembled Mrs. Hutchinson's, we are inclined to judge charitably the conservatism of the dominant party in Boston and to sympathize in a degree with their dread of the influence of persons who taught a moral and political freedom so broad that it seemed to lead to license and the abrogation of all law. Theories of "soul liberty" sown broadcast in Europe in the sixteenth century had often borne dead sea fruits as evil as those of the French Revolution; and there was no American Republic of the nineteenth century, proclaiming liberty to all and allowing equality to take care of itself, to present the peaceable fruits of righteousness as a result of "following the principles of the reformation" with logical precision to all their conseqences, as was the aim and pride of the friends of Mrs. Hutchinson. To this new party whose theories in regard to religious and political liberty were certainly far in advance of the views held by their neighbors, the men whom they found in power in Massachusetts were "priest-ridden magistrates," and the clergy they regarded as "the ushers of persecution," "popish factors," and "under a covenant of works," sometimes going so far as to call them Pharisees and hypocrites, and accusing them of setting up a court of high commission similar to the ecclesiastical court which had driven them across the Atlantic. They sympathized with the feeling of the Episcopal minister, Mr. Blackstone, an emigrant not of the Antinomian party, who when urged by the Massachusetts people, by whom he was highly esteemed, to unite with the Congregational church, replied: "I came

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from England because I did not like the Lord Bishops; but I can't join with you because I would not be under the Lord Brethren." Mrs. Hutchinson's party detested despotism in every form or degree. Carried to their logical results, their theories would have made each man literally a law unto himself.

But fanatics trained in a Christian community are usually restrained by education and public sentiment. Their morality is of a better quality than their intellectual theories, and they do not follow the latter to their legitimate consequences. With one or two exceptions, the false doctrine of the party did not result in evil conduct. One of the party, it is true, Captain Underhill, the famous leader in the Pequod war, was banished, as the opponents of the Antinomians delighted to record, for gross immorality. Underhill had the effrontery to tell the reverent and pure-hearted Winthrop that "the spirit had sent into him the witness of free grace while he was in the moderate enjoyment of the good creature called tobacco," that is, while smoking his pipe, "since which he had never doubted his good estate, and neither should, though he should fall into sin." Probably Mrs. Hutchinson and the majority of her friends would have declared that they did not belong to the party which was called by her name. Any one who has read in the diaries and letters of the noble Winthrop the record of his abhorrence of evil and bitter repentance for the smallest fault, of his awful reverence for God and all holy things, can imagine the horror and disgust with which he listened to Underhill, whom he doubtless regarded as a fair representative of his party. His logical mind well versed in metaphysics and theology could conceive of no result but immoral practice from what he regarded as an immoral creed.

Mr. Coggeshall's friendship for Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson, but still more his sense of justice and disapproval of "the stringency of regulation and lack of latitude even in non-essentials," produced by the desire for uniformity in creed and ceremonial prevailing among civil and religious leaders, brought him into conflict with ministers and magistrates. The party to which he belonged were at first called opinionatists, but soon from the "disregard to the law both as an evidence and a means of grace" with which they were charged, were called Antinomians. Callender says that they were "Puritans of the highest form," high church Calvinists. Such questions as the nature of the soul, resurrection of the body, the believer's union with the Holy Spirit, and the most difficult and abstruse Calvinistic doctrines, which were differently interpreted by the two parties, were discussed at every fireside and wherever men and women met, and the controversy pursued with all "the exquisite rancor of theological hatred." Many of their distinctions and explanations were mere logomachy, and Cotton Mather says, "'tis believed that multitudes of persons who took in with both parties did never to their dying hour understand what their difference was." Often both parties were really "of one mind, the one speaking of the abstract, the other speaking of the concrete," as had also been said in regard to the ancient Nestorian controversy. Writing of his grand-

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father whom he thought, and we are inclined to agree with him, resembled the amiable and peace-loving Melancthon in character, he says: "Nor indeed am I without vehement suspicion that Mr. Cotton was really one with his antagonists, whatever seeming difference there was between them." He could easily believe that, though "interest, prejudice and faction put them into such quarrelsome heretications one against an other," "these good men might misunderstand each other."* If he had judged all the Antinomians as charitably, he would have foreborne to call them hypocrites and liars because they sometimes said to their opponents: "Nay, don't mistake me, for I mean the same that you do; we differ only in words."† Boileau, describing the victims of the controversy about the words Hoomonsion and Homoionsion, calls them "martyrs for a diphthong," and the phrase might be figuratively applied to the Antinomians, so slightly did their theological system differ from the Calvinism of the orthodox party. One who has witnessed the struggles, the animosities, the unfair theological debates, the social ostracism of party by party in a village where two small churches of different denominations, there being room for but one, are fighting for a foothold, can imagine the bitterness and all uncharitableness that filled many hearts in Boston at this time. Political strife was added to theological controversy. Friends and even families were divided in opinion and sometimes became open enemies.

The Hutchinsonians "frequenting the lectures of other ministers did make much disturbance by public questions and objections to their doctrines." The other side railed at Mrs. Hutchinson, "the prime seducer of the whole faction," denounced "her scandalous, dangerous and enchanting extravagances," her promises of peace and comfort and spiritual perfection to those who adopted her views, and compared her to the pythoness out of whom St. Paul cast the spirit of divination. And Cotton Mather tried to persuade himself that his grandfather Cotton never accepted her doctrines. He associated with her simply from the desire to do for the New England prophetess what St. Paul did for the ancient soothsayer. Even the good qualities of the Antinomians were misrepresented. "They appeared wondrous holy, humble, self-denying and spiritual, and full of the most charming expressions imaginable," but these virtues were assumed for the sake of winning disciples! These cunning sectaries "acquainted themselves with as many as possibly they could, and carried their acquaintance with all the courtesies and kindness they could contrive to ingratiate themselves in the hearts of others, especially the new-comers into the place." This charge of a sort of religious dema-

* "In the height and heat of all the difference, when some ships were going from hence to England, Mr. Cotton in the whole congregation advised the passengers to tell our countrymen at home 'That all the strife here was about magnifying the grace of God; the one person seeking to advance the grace of God within us to sanctification; and another person seeking to advance the grace of God towards us to justification,' and Mr. Wilson stood up after him declaring on the other side that 'he knew none that did not endeavor to advance the grace of God in both.'"—*Magnalia.*

† But such charity he would have agreed with a fanatical Presbyterian of that age in describing as "a cursed intolerable toleration."

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gogism and that of interrupting speakers at public meetings, were about the severest accusations recorded against them! The enmities engendered by political and theological divisions interfered with affairs of government and seriously retarded such important public business as the collection of taxes, the distribution of town lots and prosecution of the Pequod war. On a fast day ordered by the general court on account of the religious dissensions and the Pequod war, Mr. Wheelwright preached a sermon which his enemies said, "fanned the flame of dissension instead of quenching it, thus perverting the object of the fast and adding contempt of court to the crime of seditious preaching." The original manuscript of the sermon, or a part of it, is now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical society. An endorsement states that "it was left in the hands of Mr. John Coggeshall, who was a deacon in the church in Boston." The leading Antinomians spent the fast day with Mr. Wheelwright's church, instead of going to the Boston meeting to hear themselves berated by Mr. Wilson. For preaching this sermon Wheelwright was, by the consent and advice of the clergy, tried by the general court and convicted, though sentence was deferred, of an attempt to excite dissension and of contempt of court. The Antinomian, Governor Vane, and some of his party protested, but without effect. The Boston church justified and defended the sermon, and presented a petition in Wheelwright's favor, which was pronounced a seditious libel and rejected. At this time the Boston church, with the exception of Mr. Wilson and four other members, adhered to Mrs. Hutchinson's party. The language of the rejected petition was respectful, though earnest and forcible, and the modern reader discerns in it no evidence of presumption or sedition. John Coggeshall was in full sympathy with the opinions expressed in it, as will be seen further on.

So exasperated against each other were the two parties, that for the sake of avoiding conflicts and tumults and also to remove the voters from "the immediate sphere of Mrs. Hutchinson's influence," it was thought wiser to hold the court of elections (May, 1637,) at Cambridge, then called Newtown, instead of at Boston, the usual place of meeting. The people who, probably on account of the Indian war, were ordered to come armed to the election, were wild with excitement, and soon became an angry mob on the point of proceeding from bitter accusations to blows and bloodshed. Fortunately, before matters had reached that extremity the Boston minister, Mr. Wilson, who was short of stature, climbing a tree that he might be plainly seen and heard by the tumultuous crowd, made an earnest speech, and his eloquence probably changed the course of events, prevented the two sides from attacking each other and seriously or even fatally injuring many present, and induced a number to desert their own leaders and join the conservative ranks.

So great was the effect of Wilson's speech, that Governor Vane and his party, who, hoping they would gain by the delay, had endeavored to put off the choice of the governor and assistants until the election day should be over,

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were forced by the clamor of the freemen to proceed to an immediate election. This was their last struggle for political power. Vane and the liberals were defeated and Winthrop and his adherents were victorious. The Antinomians, though according to their opponents convinced and confounded, were not crushed, but were as persistent in their errors and "as busy in nourishing contentions as before." The vergers who had escorted Vane to the election at Cambridge and who were accustomed to attend him to and from meeting on Sunday, refused to walk before Winthrop. They threw down their halberds "so as the new governor was fain to use his own servants to carry two halberds before him, whereas the former governor had never less than four." And later, when, dreading the influence on the community of the large accessions to their party which the Antinomians were expecting from England, a law was passed forbidding the inhabitants to rent a house to a new-comer or to entertain him in their own dwellings for more than three weeks, the people of Boston, on Governor Winthrop's return from the general court at Cambridge, refused to go out to meet him or to show him any of the customary attentions. But he soon regained his well-deserved popularity. Numerous pamphlets in manuscript (there was no printing-press in the colony) were published by Wheelwright, Vane, Winthrop, the church and the general court, and kept the two parties in an embittered and excited state of mind.

The day after the election Wheelwright appeared before the court to receive his sentence but was again respited. "The prisoner remained firm, inviting sentence of death, but threatening an appeal to the king in case the court should proceed." This course was a great mistake, for such an appeal was considered almost in the light of an act of treason to Massachusetts. The colonists dreaded above all things the interference of England in their internal affairs. Immediately the majority which had been with the Liberals or Antinomians changed sides, and the legalist or prelatical party was in the ascendant. Even Mr. Cotton, hitherto a warm friend of Mrs. Hutchinson, found in the threatened appeal to the king a convenient pretext of excuse for reconciling himself to the now dominant conservative party. "Having," to quote his grandson, "like the moon in its eclipse with an exemplary patience held on his course of serving the church of God until the strength of the enchantments attending this hour of temptation were a little dissolved, he recovered all his former splendor among the other stars." The following August a synod, the members of which were entertained at the public expense for eight weeks, met at Cambridge where a list of eighty-two erroneous opinions and nine unsavory speeches were condemned. In November, at the next general court, Wheelwright was banished. He removed to New Hampshire and thence to Maine, where he ended his days. A few years after his banishment from Massachusetts, on an acknowledgment of his errors and expression of penitence, he was granted the freedom of the colony. John Coggeshall was made of firmer stuff.

At the court which banished Wheelwright, Coggeshall made himself heard,

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boldly and emphatically asserting his liberal principles and defending his friends, as we learn from the following note by Savage to a passage in 'Winthrop's Journal,' alluding to Coggeshall. "This gentleman," Savage says, "was of high consideration, representing Boston in the first, second, third, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth courts, in the records of which his name is sometimes written by the secretary as it was probably pronounced, Coxcall. He was elected to the twelfth, but with Aspenwall, as we find 'Colonial Records,' I. 202, "affirming that Mr. Wheelwright is innocent and that he was persecuted for the truth, was in like sort dismissed from the court and order was given for new deputies to be chosen by the town." It is a satisfaction to know that when the new deputies elected were also rejected for their liberal views, the town refused to choose other representatives.

Ellis, in his 'Life of Mrs. Hutchinson,' gives an interesting account of Coggeshall's course: "Mr. John Coggeshall, another Boston representative and a deacon in the church, had not signed the petition, but upon the ejectment of Aspenwall, he stoutly told the court that it had better treat him in the same way, as he approved the remonstrance, and had already put his name to a protest." At the close of Wheelwright's trial: "Deacon Coggeshall was called to account for several reproachful and troublesome deeds and words, and stood strenuously for liberty and justice." The same court from which he was expelled disfranchised him. "Being convented for disturbing the public peace, he was disfranchised [November, 1637], and enjoined not to speak anything to disturb the public peace"—that is anything, however moderately expressed, in defense of his friends or his principles.

The real originator and leader of the Antinomian party, as already stated*, was Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, and her trial followed that of Mr. Wheelwright. Her theology has been described as "Calvinism run to seed," and it was certainly erroneous and dangerous in its tendencies. Antinomian means against law, yet we

* Mr. Coggeshall's testimony:

In the hope of adjusting the difficulty between the two parties, Mr. Cotton suggested a friendly meeting of all the elders in the Massachusetts Bay colony at his house, and an interview took place. Mrs. Hutchinson was present and explained her peculiar views, supposing the confidence she reposed in the ministers was to be held sacred. Her words were used against her at her trial by the general court. She opened her defense by calling three witnesses, Leverett, Coggeshall and John Cotton, who testified as follows:

Governor Winthrop: Mr. Coggeshall was not present?

Mr. Coggeshall: Yes, but I was, only I desired to be silent till I should be called.

Governor Winthrop: Will you . . . . say that she did not say so?

Mr. C.: Yes, I dare say that she did not say all that which they lay against her.

Mr. Peters: How dare you look into the court and say such a word?

Mr. C.: Mr. Peters takes upon him to forbid me. I shall be silent.

Governor W.: Well, Mr. Leverett, what were the words? I pray speak.

Mr. Leverett: To my best remembrance . . . . Mr. Peters did, with much vehemency and entreaty, urge her to tell what difference there was between Mr. Cotton and them, and upon his urging her she said: "The fear of man is a snare, but they that trust upon the Lord shall be safe." "And that they did not preach a covenant of grace so clearly as Mr. Cotton did." Mr. Cotton intimated that his brethren, in their anxiety to make out a case, had colored material facts.—Adams's 'Emancipation of Massachusetts.'

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know that, as a rule, her friends were moral and law-abiding citizens. She was herself of "such profitable and sober carriage," so much loved by all classes of society for her womanly graces of character and the courtesies that "engentle humanity," but above all for her many good deeds, for her self-denying charities and valuable gratuitous services as a physician* and nurse, that it was sometime after her theological soundness was suspected before anyone could muster the courage to accuse her of heresy. So great was her magnetism in public and private, the tones of her voice were so persuasive, her arguments were so forcible and conclusive, and her manner so delightful, that few could resist her influence, and her opponents, finding their efforts to destroy her power of no avail, were ready to believe her guilty of using the spells and enchantments of a witch to ensnare her disciples and win them from their orthodox teachers. Of course, in common with all dead in earnest people of extravagant notions, she has been pronounced insane by a few writers, but probably the truth about her is that she was simply of an unusually enthusiastic temperament, even living at times, it may be, as has been the case with other mystics and religious leaders of ardent faith, in a state bordering on religious ecstasy. She established weekly meetings for women in her own house, similar in character to modern "Bible readings," having first prepared the way for them by giving the conversation at the "gossipings," as the customary gatherings of her sex at each other's houses were called, a religious tone. She spent much of the time in commenting on the sermons of the ministers, occasionally criticising them severely, and sometimes promulgating "recondite doctrines and enthusiastic subtleties" and fanciful interpretations of Scripture, or was accused of doing so by the pastors whom she had dared to accuse of teaching false doctrine. Often as many as sixty women attended these assemblies, and from them were disseminated many of the opinions afterwards denounced as heretical. She not only obtained unbounded influence over the women of Boston, but became the leader of a large political and religious party formed of some of the most prominent men in the town, for as Cotton Mather says, "these women, like their first mother Eve, soon hooked in their husbands also!" Mrs. Hutchinson's trial lasted two days, and was conducted in the form of questions and answers between the court and the accused, this mode being chosen in the hope, which was not realized, of entrapping her into an admission of error. With dauntless courage and cool self-possession she faced her judges, and en-

* Even her enemies admit her medical knowledge and skill as a doctor, and that she was well supplied with drugs and surgical instruments. Many country ladies of the seventeenth century had sufficient knowledge of medicine and surgery to attend their families and poorer neighbors when suffering from disease or accidents. The medical skill of Mrs. John Eliot of Roxbury, Massachusetts, increased her husband's influence among his parishioners. In some instances he converted former enemies into warm, life-long friends by sending his wife, without their solicitation, to prescribe for them when they were ill. Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, in her delightful biography of her dear colonel, tells us with charming *naivete* how successfully she practiced medicine at the same period in her English country home and elsewhere. See Mather's 'Magnalia,' 'Memorial History of Boston,' under "Medicine," and 'Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson,' by his wife Lucy.

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dured without flinching the painful ordeal of her examination by these stern, puritan heresy hunters, no doubt occasionally gratifying a slightly unsaintly feeling of impatience and anger natural to outraged human nature by puzzling questions and rejoinders addressed to her persecutors, but never at a loss for a witty or an acute and discriminating answer to their arguments. The court drew inferences from her abstract notions, and insisted that the opinions thus deduced were the legitimate results of her theories and were the views which she really held, and accused her of falsehood when she denied their charges and explained her creed. The strength and clearness of her intellect, her command of language and her mastery of logic and theology excited the surprise and admiration of her enemies. "Even the report," to use the language of Arnold's 'History of Rhode Island,' "given by Welde, one of her prosecutors and judges, leaves her at the end of the second day unscathed by the dialectics of the court."

On the morning of the second day she defended herself in a long speech, explaining her doctrine of inward revelation and seeming almost to yield to the delusion that she was inspired, unwisely aggravating the court by asserting that it was revealed to her before she left England that she was coming to America to suffer persecution, a prophecy of which the trial now in progress was a fulfillment. The indignant members of the court, who already considered her "like Roger Williams and worse," and "guilty of weakening the hands and hearts of the people towards the ministers," "saw now an inevitable necessity to rid her away." Sentence of banishment was pronounced upon the intrepid woman, but she was allowed to reside till spring at a private house in Roxbury, where no one but her relatives and the ministers were permitted to visit her.

"She shattered the case of the government in a style worthy of a leader of the bar."—Adams's 'Emancipation of Massachusetts.' Yet she was in feeble health and was "made to stand till she was exhausted, her trial lasting through two weary days of hunger and cold." While at Welde's, in Roxbury, worn out by her trial and tormented by daily visits from the elders, her reason seems to have tottered, for her talk "came to resemble ravings, and her words, when brought before the church court, were extravagant, excited and passionate." After a week's rest at Mr. Cotton's, her mind recovered its tone, and "when she again appeared she not only retracted the wild opinions she had broached while at Joseph Welde's, but admitted that what she had spoken against the magistrates at the court, by way of revelation, was rash and ungrounded."

The accounts of her trial confirm the reports of her "great intellectual endowments and masculine energy," and the high estimates of her character which have come down to us not merely from friends but from orthodox and hostile biographers. Johnson, the author of 'Wonder Working Providence,' styled her "the masterpiece of woman's wit;" Winthrop said that "she was a woman of ready wit and bold spirit;" Cotton Mather characterized her as "a gentlewoman of a haughty carriage, busy spirit, competent wit and a violent

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tongue;" Roger Williams had a good opinion of her; Belknap describes her as "a woman of masculine understanding and consummate art."

Doubtless, like most persons of unusual mental gifts, original character and pronounced views, she had the defects of her good qualities—a warm temper as well as a warm heart, and a command of stern and cutting as well as of sweet and persuasive words, great faults as well as great virtues—among the faults, perhaps, as Hildreth says, "a great love of power." But the noble traits predominated. We know that she was a tender wife and mother, taking good care of her house and large family, and we can easily imagine that her mystical piety spiritualized and sanctified the common domestic duties of her life. The charming gifts which fascinated and revolutionized Boston society no doubt elevated and brightened the tone of the little Rhode Island community to which she was banished, making her home delightful to guests and relations, and exile from the centre of intelligence and refinement in Massachusetts a little less unbearable to educated "gentlefolks" like the Coggeshalls, Coddingtons† and others resembling them, who settled at Portsmouth, Rhode Island.

The husband of Madame Guyon said that the only fault he had to find with her was that she loved God too well. Love for the church left little room in her heart for individuals, though bound to her by the ties of relationship. Mrs. Hutchinson's relatives and connections by marriage were devotedly attached to her, and were among her most enthusiastic disciples. Her husband told an inquisitorial church committee sent from Boston to Portsmouth that he "thought her a dear saint and servant of God," and that he was more closely bound to her than to the church.

January 19, 1638, the same court which banished Mrs. Hutchinson, fearing, though there seems to have been no grounds for their apprehensions, armed resistance to their authority, and the inauguration by the leaders of the liberals of a Democratic revolution in the colony, ordered the principal men of her party to deliver up their arms and ammunition before the thirtieth of January, unless they would acknowledge their sin in subscribing the seditious libel (the really respectful and moderate petition in favor of Wheelwright) before two magistrates. Seventy-five names, John Coggeshall's among them, are enumerated as the objects of "this astonishing order," as Arnold calls it. To add to their humiliation they were compelled to themselves carry their arms to the house of Mr. Keayne, who was appointed to receive them. If they failed to do so or bought others, they were liable to a fine of ten pounds. In March, 1638, many of the signers of the "seditious petition" were "proceeded with in a church way by admonition," and proving obdurate, were excommunicated. Mrs. Hutchinson was also summoned before the church. John Coggeshall was one of those who defended her. Though, probably, like Mr. Coddington, he was "not one of her worship-

† The accessions to the colony appear to have been for the most part from a superior class in point of education and social standing.—'Arnold's Hist. of R. I.', Vol. I.

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ers," he was her warm friend and stood faithfully by her in Massachusetts and Rhode Island when she needed support and assistance.

A list of twenty-nine theses was presented at her examination, all of which she defended. It was hoped that she would recant, but she refused to acknowledge herself in error, and "the church with one consent cast her out." Her former friend and adherent, Mr. Cotton, gravely admonished her at this trial, and also endeavored privately to convince her that her opinions were heretical. She was exhausted in mind and body by her examination by the general court and the learned and subtle elders of the church, and there followed a time of physical weakness and suffering and of perplexity and doubt. Many of her old friends were now opposed to her; even Mr. Cotton, who had endured much for her sake, had deserted her. She and her followers were a defeated band of excommunicated heretics and banished rebels. No wonder that for a time a despairing loneliness and sadness almost overwhelmed her. But she was a woman of strong purpose and brave heart, and she soon rallied from her depression, regained, if it was ever really shaken, her faith in her peculiar creed and her confidence in her own judgment, and made her way through the woods to Rhode Island, still cherishing a feeling of opposition to the rulers of Massachusetts and to their political and religious theories,* and declaring that her trial was "the greatest happiness next to Christ that ever befell her." In Rhode Island she and her husband were both prominent and influential in church and state. She remained in Rhode Island till her husband's death, in 1642, when she removed to Hurlgate in the Dutch jurisdiction, now Eastchester, Westchester county, New York. In 1643 the poor woman and all her large household of sixteen persons, except one child, were murdered by Indians. Some of her opponents, whose feelings were perverted and rendered cruel by bigotry, agreed with the savagely fanatical Welde that this tragedy was "a special providence on this American Jezebel," and note with exultation that her family were almost the only victims, on this occasion, of the Indians.† But many tears for her dreadful fate were shed by men and women who loved her tenderly and well as a dear relative and friend, or reverenced her as a saint and benefactor.

* Bancroft notes the resemblance between Mrs. Hutchinson's views and the system of "philosophic liberty on the method of free reflection" given to the world by Descartes, a refugee from his country in 1637, the year that she was tried and banished. Both "asserted that the conscious judgment of the mind is the highest authority to itself." In France, as in New England, the dominant party in church and state was actuated by the principle expressed in Governor Dudley's couplet:

"Let men of God in Courts and Churches Watch
On Such as do a Toleration Hatch,"

and naturally the American prophetess and the French metaphysician, whose philosophical systems involved the broadest tolerance and unlimited freedom of thought, were forced to go into exile, though the latter went of his own accord and was not sentenced by a court.

† In his account of the Antinomians, Mather says: "While these things were managing there happened some very surprising prodigies which were looked upon as testimonies from heaven against the ways of those greater prodigies the Sectaries." These horrible and disgusting prodigies, one for each heresy, the curious will find minutely described in the 'Magnalia' and 'Winthrop's Journal.'

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About the same time that Mrs. Hutchinson left Boston, March, 1638, John Coggeshall, as Callender tells us, "was exiled and retired with his blameless associates to Rhode Island, which they had just before purchased [through the influence of Roger Williams] from the natives. In that peaceable settlement he became an assistant and [in 1647 under the parliamentary patent] presided over the colony in a spirit of heterodox charity." The Antinomian controversy, as it was called, seems to have been even more a political than a theological movement. Arnold and Ellis tell us that "it recruited its ranks from the most accomplished as well as the most liberal citizens of Boston, and was for a time far larger than the other party." "It was a struggle of freedom of thought against the spirit of formalism;" "a demonstration of the masses against spiritual dominion;" "a protest of the people in opposition to the clergy;" an assertion of Roger Williams' doctrine of soul liberty; a rebellion of democracy against aristocracy; an attempt to sever the union of church and state and overthrow the theocracy founded by the first settlers of Boston, and John Coggeshall and the other founders of Portsmouth, Rhode Island (then called Aquiday or Aquidneck), endeavored to practice in their new colony the principles for which they had suffered persecution* in Massachusetts. Their purpose was, as the first agreement they signed proves, to lay the foundations of a *Christian* state (later they went beyond this) "where all that bore that name might worship God according to the dictates of conscience, untrammeled by written articles of faith and unawed by the civil power."

In the spring of 1639, a year after the banishment of the Antinomian party from Boston, the church at Aquidneck, on Portsmouth, Rhode Island, was formed by the exiles. It was "in faith and ordinances an independent Congregational church of the Puritan Pedo-Baptist order." Reports, however, of Mrs. Hutchinson's great influence in this church and of many irregularities of faith and discipline reached the Boston church this summer, and they sent a deputation of "four men of a lovely and winning spirit" to make one more effort to reclaim her and her followers. While at Portsmouth the committee was entertained at the house of

*It will not do to judge the Boston ministers and general court wholly by nineteenth century standards. We must remember that noble as they were in character and far in advance as were their theological, educational and political views of those held by the majority of the inhabitants of the world at that period, toleration was not one of the virtues they *professed*. The first settlers of Boston "founded a colony for their own faith without any idea of tolerating others." The Simple Cobbler of Agawam wrote in the almost universal spirit of that age when he said: "He who is willing to tolerate any religion or discrepant way of religion besides his own, unless it be in matters merely indifferent, either doubts of his own or is not sincere in it." It has been suggested ('Memorial History of Boston') that the safety of the state, which they thought imperiled, rather than the desire to put restraints on conscience, was the motive of the course pursued by Boston magistrates against the exiles to Rhode Island. It is amusing to notice how almost invariably writers of the present day, descended from members of *either* party, are biased (often unconsciously) in favor of their own ancestors. Governor Winthrop wrote of the Antinomians: "Those brethren are so divided from the rest of the country and their opinions and practices, that it cannot stand with the public peace for them to continue with us." The cause of their exile seems to have been political rather than religious.

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Mr. John Coggeshall. But the people would not call a public meeting to receive the commissioners, though the latter urgently requested them to do so; would not acknowledge the authority of the Boston church nor hear their letter read. And Mr. Coggeshall, as spokesman of the refractory brethren who held a private meeting to discuss the matter, sent the committee word that "they did not know what power one church had over another church." The members of the committee were reduced to the necessity of pursuing their inquiries privately from house to house. But they did not receive the answers they desired. Instead of accusations of heresy and misconduct, they heard only praise or defense of the leading members of the Aquidneck church, and in spite of their reputation for amiability and powers of persuasion, returned to Boston in a baffled and exasperated state of mind.

John Coggeshall was one of the three elders of Portsmouth elected January 2, 1638, by sealed ballots, "to assist the judge in his judicial duties; to frame the laws; to have the entire charge of the public interests, and with the judge to govern the colony."* The judge and elders were to "rule and govern according to the general rule of the Word of God," and were to give account once every quarter of the year to the people of the colony assembled in a mass meeting. Coggeshall served as an elder from 1638 to 1640. He and William Hutchinson (the husband of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson)† were chosen June 27, 1638, treasurers for one year, of Portsmouth. He was one of the settlers, February 28, 1639, of Newport. At this time he had "assigned to him a large tract of land bordering on the sea, east of what is now known as Almy's Point." He also retained land which had been assigned to him at Portsmouth. The town lots at Portsmouth contained six acres. One of his farms was sold by his great grandson, Daniel, grandson of Joshua Coggeshall, in 1743, ninety-six years after his death, for 6,500 pounds current money of New England, to the founder of the celebrated Redwood library at Newport, to Abraham Redwood, who married Martha Coggeshall. It is still in the possession of his descendants. It became Mr. Redwood's country residence, where he lived "in a style of opulence becoming his fortune, mixed with the elegant simplicity of the quaker." His town house and country house both indicated the riches and taste of the owner. His botanical garden, hot houses, green houses and grounds were stored with valuable and beautiful indigenous and foreign plants.‡ The two colonies of Portsmouth and Newport were united March 12, 1640. The office of elder was abolished; the chief was called governor instead of judge, and four assistants were elected. John Coggeshall served as an assistant from 1640–1644.‖ His sons, John and Joshua, held important offices in the colony after his death, and the former is sometimes mistaken for his father.

No one was "accounted a delinquent

* Ellis' 'Life Ann Hutchinson.'

† She was the daughter of an English clergyman named Marbury, and was born at Alford, near Boston, England, and was collaterly related to Dryden and Swift. She *married an estimable man of standing and wealth*—L. R. Marsh.—Mag. Amer. Hist.

‡ Newport Historical Magazine, Vol. I., No. 1.

‖ Turner's 'Settlers of Aquidneck.'

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for doctrine" in Rhode Island, and the people were accused of agreeing "in but one thing, that they were to give one another no disturbance in the exercise of religion." Though the majority of the people were sensible and moderate in their views, many fanatics, holders of strange, new theories and advocates of wild, political schemes, who would have been unsafe in Massachusetts, sought a refuge in Rhode Island and sometimes proved troublesome to rulers in state and church. The charitable and unprejudiced though somewhat credulous Governor Winthrop heard many reports, some of them false, which distressed him greatly, of the doctrines and conduct of the Antinomian exiles from Boston. He writes in his *Journal*, April 21, 1641: "Troubles arose in the island by reason of one Nicholas Easton, a tanner, a man very bold, though ignorant. He, using to teach at Newport, where Mr. Coddington, the governor, lived, maintained that a man hath no power or will in himself, but as he is acted by God, and that seeing God filled all things, nothing could move or be but by Him, and so He must needs be the author of sin, etc., and that a Christian is united to the essence of God. Being shown that blasphemous consequences would follow hereupon, they professed to abhor the consequences, but still defended the propositions." "There joined with Nicholas Easton, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Coggeshall and some others." This party, he says, seceded from the Puritan church and became either Baptists or Quakers. Savage says in a note to the above: "All three of these willful heretics were gentlemen of high esteem in civil life, and at different times governors of the colony." Mr. Easton, "the tanner," as we learn elsewhere, was an intelligent, energetic man, who showed his foresight and prudence by selecting a business which would be very profitable in a new country. John Coggeshall "was a man of good abilities." Mr. Coddington was Mrs. Hutchinson's "friend, but not one of her worshipers." He opposed the proceedings of the general court against her and Wheelwright, but his exertions proving unavailing "he relinquished a prosperous business as a merchant in Boston and his large property and improvements in Braintree, and removed to Rhode Island, April 26, 1638." Before he emigrated from England he was appointed one of the assistants in the Massachusetts government, and he served several times in Boston as an assistant, selectman and deputy to the general court. He owned a large estate at Newport. He was appointed in 1651 governor of Rhode Island for life. *

At a meeting of the whole people of Rhode Island, at Portsmouth, May 19 to 21, 1647, to unite the four towns, Providence, Warwick, Newport and Portsmouth, under one government, John Coggeshall was chosen moderator of the assembly. At this meeting, the union having been consummated, he was elected by ballot the first president of the colony of Rhode Island. Among the assistants chosen were Roger Williams of Providence and William Coddington of Newport. In their charter they declared their government a Democracy and promised to maintain religious liberty and toleration without qualification. "All

* Sheffield's 'City of Newport.'

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men may walk," their laws declared, "as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God." They believed that "men could be better converted by love than by force," and on the seal of the colony was engraved an anchor with the appropriate motto, "*Amor Vincet Omnia.*"

Winthrop records, July 26, 1647, how these commissioners were sent to Warwick, Rhode Island, to require satisfaction for supposed damages to Indian property from some in those parts, who were accused of eating up all the Indians' corn with their cattle. Mr. Coggeshall, and other Rhode Island magistrates, forbade the Massachusetts appraisers to intermeddle, asserting that Warwick was not within the jurisdiction of the latter colony, whereupon "the men returned and did nothing." "Neither did Mr. Coggeshall and the other magistrates pay any attention to a second warrant." John Coggeshall died at Newport, aged fifty-six, November 27, 1647, the year of the above occurrence, so that we find him to the last firmly defending what he regarded as the liberty and rights of the people of his colony. He was buried in the Coggeshall burying-ground on the west side of Coggeshall avenue. Some of his descendants have distinguished themselves in military and civil life.

NOTE.—The following works are quoted or referred to in this article: Winthrop's 'Journal,' Mather's 'Magnalia,' Ellis' 'Life Ann Hutchinson,' in Spark's Library; Bancroft's 'United States,' 'Memorial History of Boston,' Hildreth's 'United States,' Turner's 'Settlers of Aquidneck,' Arnold's 'Rhode Island,' Sheffield's 'City of Newport,' Savage's 'Genealogical Dictionary,' Newport Historical Magazine, 'New England Genealogical Register,' Belknap's 'American Biography,' 'Life and Letters of John Winthrop,' Welde's 'Rise, Reign and Ruin,' 'Simple Cobbler of Agawam', Johnson's 'Wonder Working Providence,' Callender's 'Sermon,' Fuller's 'Worthies of England,' 'Lives Duke and Duchess of Newcastle,' 'Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson,' 'D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature,' Adams's 'Emancipation of Massachusetts,' Magazine American History.

For some important dates and facts in regard to John Coggeshall, the writer is indebted to Colonel Thomas Lincoln Casey, U. S. A.

MARY D. STEELE.

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HISTORY OF OHIO.

XII.

THE WEST TAKEN POSSESSION OF BY THE CONQUERORS.—PONTIAC'S WAR.

It was on the ninth of September, 1760, that "his excellency, Jeffery Amherst, esq., major-general and commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces in North America," informed "Major Robert Rogers, commanding his majesty's independent companies of ranges," of his intention of sending him to Detroit to relieve the French garrisons at that post and at "Michilimakana or any others in that district." On the twelfth he received his instructions, and on the thirteenth he embarked at Montreal, with Captain Brewer, Captain Wait, Lieutenant Brehm, Assistant Engineer Lieutenant Davis of the royal train of artillery, and two hundred rangers, about noon, in fifteen whaleboats. The major was directed to take farther orders from Brigadier-General Robert Monckton, who was upon the waters of the Ohio.

Already, notwithstanding their destruction by fire at the hands of the French the year previous, Presquisle and Le Bœuf had been garrisoned by the English, who had erected a new fort at Venango:—Colonel Henry Bouquet commanded at Presquisle; General Monckton, at Pittsburgh. Major Rogers reached Presquisle on the eighth of October, where he left his force and, with two officers and "three other men," proceeded to Fort Pitt, waiting on General Monckton on the morning of the seventeenth for orders. He got back to Presquisle on the thirtieth; and, having been reinforced from Fort Pitt by Captain Donald Campbell with a company of Royal Americans, and by deputy Indian agent, George Croghan, from Pittsburgh, with a number of Indians, "dispatched Captain Brewer by land to Detroit, with a drove of forty oxen, supplied by Colonel Bouquet." He sent with Brewer, "Captain Montour with twenty Indians, composed of the Six Nations, Delawares and Shawanese, to protect him from the insults of the enemy Indians." The captain also had a bateau to ferry his party over the creeks, and two horses. "Captain Wait was, about the same time, sent back to Niagara for more provisions, and ordered to cruise along the north coast of Lake Erie, and halt about twenty miles to the east of the strait between Lakes Erie and Huron, till further orders." Rogers embarked for his destination on the fourth of November, with his command.

On the seventh the major reached the mouth of a river which he calls "Chogage," but which, from his journal, it is impossible to identify. Here he met with a party of Ottawa Indians, just arrived from Detroit. "We informed them,"

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says the major, "of our success in the total reduction of Canada, and that we were going to bring off the French garrison at Detroit, who were included in the capitulation. I held out a belt and told them I would take my brothers by the hand and carry them to Detroit to see the truth of what I had said. They retired and held a council, and promised an answer the next morning. That evening we smoked the calumet, or pipe of peace, all the Indians smoking by turns out of the same pipe. The peace thus concluded, we went to rest, but kept good guards, a little distrusting their sincerity. The Indians gave their answer early in the morning, and said their young warriors should go with me, while the old ones staid to hunt for their wives and children. I gave them ammunition at their request, and a string of wampum in testimony of my approbation, and charged them to send some of their sachems, or chiefs, with the party who drove the oxen along shore; and they promised to spread the news and prevent any annoyance from their hunters."*

Major Rogers and his rangers were then fairly on what is now Ohio soil. No body of soldiers under the British flag had ever before set foot on this territory; none had ever before moved so far to the westward. They passed "Sandusky lake," as the bay was still called, on the nineteenth of November, encamping near a small stream some distance beyond. From this point Lieutenant Brehm was sent with a letter to Captain Belètre, the French commandant at Detroit, informing him that Rogers was approaching with English troops to take "possession of Detroit and such other posts" as were "in that district," all of which "now belong to the king of Great Britain." Belètre was also informed that the major had with him the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letters to him directed, for his guidance on the occasion.

At the mouth of Portage river, in what is now Ottawa county, Rogers found several Huron sachems who told him "that a body of four hundred Indian warriors was collected at the entrance into the great strait," in order to obstruct his passage; and that Monsieur Belètre "had excited them to defend their country;" that they were messengers to know the major's business, and to know if the person he had sent forward had reported the truth that Canada was reduced. Rogers, of course, confirmed the account, and that the fort at Detroit was given up by the French governor.

On the twenty-third of November Rogers reached Cedar Point, in what is now Lucas county, Ohio, at the entrance of Maumee bay, where he made a camp, meeting here some of the Indian messengers to whom he had spoken two days previous. They informed him their warriors had gone up to Monsieur Belètre, who, they said, was a strong man and intended to fight him. At a camp made on the twenty-fourth, about twenty-four miles on the way from Cedar Point, sixty Indians came to the English, congratulating Rogers on his arrival in their country, and offered themselves as an escort to Detroit, whence they had just come. They gave information that Lieutenant Brehm was confined by

*One of the Ottawa chiefs was Pontiac, who had several conferences with Rogers. But of these hereafter.

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Belètre and that the latter "had set up a high flag-staff with a wooden effigy of a man's head on the top and upon that a crow;" that the crow represented Belètre, the man's head, Rogers, and that the meaning of the whole was that he (Belètre) would scratch out the major's brains. But the Indians told him, as they said, that the reverse would be the true explanation of the sign—Rogers would scratch out *his* brains!

The letter from Vaudreuil and the capitulation, when shown Belètre, were sufficient. Detroit, on the twenty-ninth of November, was given up. The Canadian militia were called together and disarmed. The French garrison, at the time of the surrender, consisted of three officers and thirty-five privates; there were also seventeen English prisoners in the fort. The French soldiers were sent to Philadelphia; thence they returned to France. "The inhabitants seem very happy at the change of government," wrote Campell, on the second of December, "but they are in great want of everything." "The fort," added the captain, "is much better than we expected. It is one of the best stockades I have seen, but the commandant's house and what belongs to the king are in bad repair." A lieutenant and ensign were sent with twenty men to bring the French troops from Fort Miami, at the head of the Maumee, and from Fort Weatanon, upon the Wabash. "I ordered," says Rogers, "that, if possible, a party should subsist at the former [fort] this winter, and give the earliest notice at Detroit of the enemy's motions in the country of the Illinois." At a Shawanese town on the Ohio a few French soldiers had stopped after the destruction of Fort Duquesne, and had since remained there.* These were sent for, a Mr. McGee and a French officer being dispatched for that purpose. The words of Rogers are: "I sent Mr. McGee, with a French officer, for the French troops at the Shawanese town on the Ohio." What the result of this was is unknown. It is probable the force moved down the Ohio, where was a fort called Massac or Massiac. What was surrendered to the English west of Niagara were the posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac and the posts and places *dependent on these.* While, therefore, it included a Shawanese town on the Ohio, and Fort Weatanon upon the Wabash, it did not take in the Illinois and Vincennes. As provisions were scarce, Rogers directed Captain Brewer to repair with the greatest part of the rangers to Niagara, detaining in Detroit a lieutenant and thirty-seven men, whom he expected to proceed north with. But the forts above Detroit—Michilimackinac, St. Marie at the "Sault," Green Bay, and St. Joseph of Lake Michigan—owing to the lateness of the season, could not be summoned.

Leaving Captain Campbell with his company in command of Detroit, Rogers, on the twenty-third of December, having previously "made a treaty with the several

* Post, in his second journal of 1758, in speaking of the destruction of Fort Duquesne, immediately before the arrival of General Forbes, says: "The French had demolished and burnt the place entirely, and went off; . . . the commander is gone with two hundred men to Venango, and the rest [are] gone down the [Ohio] river in bateaux to the Lower Shawanese town, with an intention of building a fort there." It is therefore highly probable that a detachment stopped at the mouth of the Scioto.

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tribes of Indians living in the neighboring country," started for Pittsburgh with the few rangers he had left, marching around the west end of Lake Erie. On the second of January, 1761, he arrived at Sandusky bay—"Lake Sandusky," as the major calls it. He had reached the Wyandot town of Sunyendeand, where he "halted to refresh." On the third, after traveling in a southeasterly direction nearly eight miles, he reached the head of what is now known as Cold creek, in Margaretta township, Erie county, where was a small Wyandot town of only ten houses. "There is," wrote Rogers, "a remarkable fine spring at this place, rising out of the side of a small hill with such force that it boils above the ground in a column three feet high. I imagine it discharges ten hogsheads of water in a minute."*

Taking, from the Wyandot town, a southeasterly course, Rogers, on the seventh, came to an Indian village called at that time "the Mingo Cabins"—afterward "Mohican John's town," in the present township of Mohican, Ashland county, O. "There were," says the major, "but two or three Indians in the place; the rest were hunting. These Indians have plenty of cows, horses, hogs, etc." The eighth was spent there—"to mend," wrote Rogers, "our moccasins and kill deer, the provisions I brought from Detroit being entirely expended. I went a hunting with ten of the rangers, and by ten o'clock got more venison than we had occasion for." On the thirteenth what is now called the Tuscarawas river was reached, at a point opposite the mouth of Sandy creek, where there was a Delaware Indian village known as "Beaver Town," from one of the Delaware chiefs called Beaver.† It was afterward usually spoken of as "the Tuscarawas town," or simply "Tuscarawas," being situated in what is now Lawrence township, Tuscarawas county, Ohio. "There are," wrote the major, "about three thousand acres of cleared ground around this place. The number of warriors is about one hundred and eighty." Fort Pitt was reached on the twenty-third—or, rather, the Alleghany river opposite. From this point Rogers dispatched his party of rangers, under a lieutenant, to Albany, while he took "the common road to Philadelphia," from Pittsburgh, going thence to New York, "where," says he, "after this long, fatiguing tour, I arrived on the fourteenth of February, 1761."

When, on the eighth of September, 1760, articles of capitulation were signed surrendering Canada to the English, it was stipulated that the savages or Indian allies of his most Christian majesty, the king of France, should be maintained on the lands they then inhabited, and if they chose to remain there they should not be molested on any pretense whatsoever, for having carried arms and served that sovereign. Besides this, it would be, of course, the true policy of the British to conciliate, as soon as possible, the Indians of the west—make treaties with them and bestow presents with a liberal hand. To this end Sir William Johnson, on the fifth of July,

* For a further description of this spring and the changes since made in it in utilizing its waters, see W. W. Williams' 'History of the Fire Lands, comprising Huron and Erie Counties, Ohio' (1879), p. 490.

† In cotemporaneous accounts he was usually styled "King Beaver."

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1761, left "Fort Johnson" for Detroit. Another object in view was to regulate the trade at the several posts in the Indian country, and to see that they were properly garrisoned. But these forts were all outside of what is now the state of Ohio. The French post upon the Sandusky, as we have already seen, had been evacuated a number of years before, while the few French soldiers at the Lower Shawanese town doubtless left there in January (if they had not before), 1761, at the summons of the party sent by Major Rogers from Detroit demanding their surrender.

At Fort Stanwix Sir William received information of the discovery of a plot at Detroit of the Indians to rise against the English. The plan was this: the Six Nations—at least the Senecas—were to assemble at the head of French creek, within striking distance of Fort Presquisle; part of the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanese, were to meet on the Ohio; and all, about the latter end of June, were to surprise Niagara and Fort Pitt and cut off the communication everywhere. The project was exposed to Captain Campbell by the Hurons.

Johnson did not reach Niagara until the twenty-fourth of July. Here he remained for some time. Before this it had been determined to erect a fort at Sandusky; but, in writing a letter to General Amherst from Niagara, Johnson expressed fears that in so doing it would alarm the Indians; however, he hoped to have time enough at Detroit to reconcile them to the English establishing themselves there.* On the seventeenth of August Sir William proceeded to the south end of the carrying-place, at Niagara falls, and two days after, "at four o'clock, embarked with the Royal American party and the Yorkers, under the command of Lieutenant Ogden — the Royal Americans commanded by Ensigns Slosser and Holmes, with four battoes, and the former with eight battoes and one birch canoe, with the Mohawks, etc., making in all thirteen boats."† Detroit was reached on the third of September.

There were soon gathered in Detroit to hold a grand council with Sir William, Indians of the Huron, Pottawattamie, Wyandot and Chippewa nations; also numbers of Shawanese, Delawares and other savages from the Ohio, as spectators. "Indians from regions far beyond the [Lake] Superior also came, that with their own eyes they might behold the man whose house was the fire-place of the dreaded Iroquois." The chief topics adverted to in the council by Johnson were the recent plot to destroy the English and the desire of his people to cultivate, through an honest trade, amicable relations with all the nations. The answer of the Indians "was very satisfactory."

Already had detachments with their officers been assigned to the different posts dependent on Detroit:—Michilimackinac; St. Marie, at the "Sault;" La Bay (Green bay); St. Joseph, at the mouth of the river of the same name, where it empties into Lake Michigan; Miami, at the head of the Maumee river; and Weatanon, on the Wabash. The instructions given to the

* See 'Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.,' by William L. Stone, Vol. II., p. 146.

† From Johnson's "Diary" in the volume just cited.

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officers were judicious. Strict justice and impartiality were to be observed toward the Indians. No traders were to be allowed to go to any nation of savages except where there was a garrison; and each trader must be properly provided with a passport from the superintendent of Indian affairs or from his deputy. Major Henry Gladwin of the Eightieth regiment was left in command at Detroit, with Captain Donald Campbell as second.

On his return, Sir William halted a day at Sandusky to examine the proposed site of the block-house or fort, there to be erected. He records that, on Monday, the twenty-first of September, he "set off from Cedar Point [the eastern side of Maumee bay] at six o'clock. Rowed till three [against] a contrary wind, along a narrow, low sand-beach, with drowned land and meadows within—full of ducks and geese. Arrived at the carrying-place of Sandusky, which is on the east side of a fine river [Portage river, in Ottawa county, Ohio, as now known]; which river runs southwest [N. E.] and is pretty large. Encamped here, as none of my boats are in sight. It is a pleasant place and full of game."

But his record of the next day—the twenty-second—is of more value in an historical way. "I sent my boats [which had all arrived] round the point and ordered them encamped at the east side of the entrance of Lake Sandusky [Sandusky bay] into Lake Erie, which is about a mile across—there to await my coming. Then I crossed the carrying-place [the stretch of land between Portage river and the north side of the bay] which is almost opposite one of the Wyandot towns [Sunyendeand], about six miles across the lake here [that is, from the south end of the portage path]. I sent Mr. [George] Croghan [Deputy Indian Agent from Pittsburgh] to the Indian town [Sunyendeand, after crossing the bay], and went down the lake [bay] in a little birch canoe to the place [at or near the mouth of Cold creek, in Margaretta township, in what is now Erie county] where the block-house [or "fort," as he had previously called it] is to be built by Mr. Myer. This place is about three [English] leagues from the mouth of Lake Sandusky [Sandusky bay] where it disembogues itself into Lake Erie. They have a view of all boats which may pass or come in from said post [that is, the fort which was to be built]. It is about three miles from another village of Hurons [Wyandots, located at the spring at the head of Cold creek, in the township just mentioned], and fifteen by water from [Sunyendeand] the one opposite to the carrying-place, and nine by land. The Pennsylvania road comes by this post [the site of the fort that was to be]. This is one hundred and seventy miles from Presquisle [now Erie, Pennsylvania] and forty miles from Detroit." * Johnson reached home on the thirtieth of October. The fort at Sandusky was immediately erected, and before the close

* This extract from Johnson's "Diary" (see Stone's 'Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.' Vol. II., p. 466) settles the important question as to the site of Fort Sandusky (which was soon after erected). It must have been at or near the mouth of Cold creek, "a short distance out on the trail to Fort Pitt" from the shore of the bay. Compare also, Hutchins' map in 'Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians,' Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co., 1868. The same map is re-produced in Parkman's 'Pontiac,' Vol. II.

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of the year received (probably from Detroit) a garrison of twelve.

The year 1762 for the governor of Pennsylvania was a busy one. War was declared against Spain by Great Britain on the fourth of January, which created great alarm for the safety of his province, as the first mentioned power was then in possession of a powerful navy; but what occupied a larger share of his time was conferring with western tribes to the end that all their captives might, if possible, be ransomed. It was determined to hold a grand council at Lancaster in August, and many of the western nations were invited to send deputies to the meeting.

At this time Frederick Christian Post was residing on the north side of the Tuscarawas river, on what is now known as section twenty-five, Bethlehem township, Stark county, Ohio, in a log cabin of his own building, he having for a companion John Heckewelder, scarce twenty years of age. Immediately across the stream south, was the Delaware village of Beaver town, sometimes called Tuscarora-town, or Tuscarawas, already mentioned. Post came to the Delawares in 1761, having in view their civilization and conversion to Christianity. It was then he built the house just mentioned. It was his idea also to establish a mission school, and to this end he returned to his home in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to engage a suitable instructor. Young Heckewelder tendered his services and was accepted. This accounts for his presence on the Tuscarawas. On the eighth of March, 1762, they started, reaching the Delawares on the eleventh of April. Post went among the Delawares independent of the Moravian church, though with their consent and under the approval of the governor of Pennsylvania, by whom he was solicited to bring some of the western Delawares, with captives held there, to the council to be holden at Lancaster. He resolved to comply with the request, leave Heckewelder behind, who was to be engaged principally in teaching Indian children to read and write.

"I was very busy," wrote Post on the twenty-sixth of June, "all day in consulting about our journey and in preparing for the same. As they have no corn in town, and a great many Indians are gathered there, Beaver killed a bull, but they had soon done with it." On the next day he records that the Indians had some sharp disputes with some who were not willing to let their prisoners go; "but, as they insisted upon it in very strong terms, they at last submitted," and took them all along. Post and his Indians reached Lancaster on the eighth of August. He did not return to his mission-house upon the Tuscarawas, although journeying nearly there before turning back. He saw trouble ahead; and young Heckewelder, from "fear of war," also went over the mountains in October. Thus failed the first attempt to found a mission (if it really was an attempt) among the Indians on the soil of Ohio; but a Roman Catholic missionary had preached the faith to the band of Wyandots upon Sandusky fifteen years before. At the Lancaster treaty there were representatives of the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Weas, Tuscaroras and Kickapoos, from the west, and a large number of northern savages. Governor Hamilton, while thanking them for the

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large number of captives they had brought in, at the same time assured them that *all* must be delivered up before the western nations could expect to enjoy the blessings of peace with their brothers, the English.

During this year another plot was concocted by some of the western chiefs against the English, but this, like the previous one, was "nipped in the bud." But the mere fact that such machinations were possible showed to thinking people, especially to those having a considerable knowledge of western affairs, that the nations of the trans-Alleghany country must be managed with great prudence and justice, else a general uprising might be the result. And was that prudence and justice exercised towards them? We shall soon see. However, before farther pursuing our inquiry on this subject, let us cast a glance over the western country and count these savages, who so recently had been brought back (as it was fondly hoped) to British interest. On the River Scioto and other branches of the Ohio there were three hundred men of the Shawanese; in the several villages of the Delawares, on and about the Susquehanna, Muskingum and Beaver, and thence to Lake Erie, six hundred men; in the two villages near the Sandusky fort, on Sandusky bay, two hundred Wyandot men; opposite Detroit, in a village—the seat of a Jesuit mission—two hundred and fifty men of Wyandots, or Hurons; near Detroit (about a mile below the fort), one hundred and fifty men—Pottawattamies—while there were two hundred in the neighborhood of Fort St. Joseph, at the mouth of the river of the same name; about Detroit, Michilimackinac and St. Joseph were five hundred men of the Ottawas, while near the two first mentioned places were more than seven hundred men of the Chippewas. There were of the Menomonees on the west side of Green bay, in what is now Wisconsin, over two hundred men; not far distant from these were three hundred and sixty men of the Winnebagoes, three hundred Sacs, and three hundred and twenty Foxes. The number of men of the Miamis, in the vicinity of the head of the Maumee river, was two hundred and thirty; the number of Kickapoos and Mascoutins near the fort at Weatanon, was two hundred and seventy, while upon the Wabash, farther down, or near the fort just named, were one hundred men of the Piankeshaws and two hundred of the Weas. Evidently so large a number of men who could be suddenly transformed into warriors was a force not to be despised, could they be brought to act in (anything like) concert.

The signing of the treaty of peace at Paris on the tenth of February, 1763, carried over to the English "Canada, with all its dependencies" and all the country on the left side of the "Mississippi, from its source to the River Iberville," thus including the whole of the trans-Alleghany region; so that now the Mississippi was the western boundary of the British colonial possessions, which included, of course, Vincennes upon the Wabash and the Illinois country. And this area was the home of the various Indian tribes just mentioned, besides some not enumerated. The proclamation of the king of the seventh of October following, that no governor or com-

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mander-in-chief of any of the colonies in America should grant warrants of survey or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean, from the west or northwest, or upon any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by the king, were reserved to the Indians, was a move in the right direction, so far as conciliating the savage tribes was concerned, creating, as it did, an Indian domain, upon which there was to be no intrusion by white settlers. Within this domain was included the whole (and much more) of what is now the state of Ohio. But, as we shall now see, this proclamation came too late.

"Englishman," said an Indian chief at Michilimackinac to an English trader, as early as in the spring of 1761, "although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us. We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods, these mountains, were left us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will not part with them." He declared to the trader that the red men were still at war with his king, as no treaty had been made with them—no presents sent them. However, the visit of Sir William Johnson to Detroit, already described, took from them any excuse of not having been invited to treat with the English.

But a spirit of parsimony prevailed on part of the British government in dealing with the savages, which kept alive the bitterness engendered in their breasts by the war. Then, too, the English fur-traders plundered the Indians everywhere by their extortions, while the officers and soldiers of the various garrisons were cold and harsh and brutal toward them. As a consequence, the two plots had been laid, already spoken of, both of which was discovered in time to prevent their fulfillment. Of course, the French were secretly foistering this hostile feeling. Traders, *habitans*, *coureurs de bois*, urged the Indians upon all occasions, when it would not, probably, meet English ears, to take up arms against their oppressors. The one thing more than all others to increase the jealousy of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, and even the Senecas, was the constant intrusion of settlers upon their lands. The tide was setting in, they clearly saw, with great rapidity across the Susquehanna, and if not checked, the Ohio would soon be reached by them in force. Everywhere, then, in the Ohio country and upon the lakes to the northward and northwestward, extending northeastwardly even to the homes of the Iroquois, there was, at the end of the autumn of 1762, an irritation among the savages foreboding anything but a continuation of peaceful relations with the English.

There had been for some time past a kind of league, offensive and defensive, existing among some of the western nations, the chief of which were the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies and Wyandots (or Hurons) of Detroit. In sympathy with these were the Menomonees, Winnebagoes, Sacs and Foxes, Miamis, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankeshaws and Illinois Indians. The head chief of this confederacy was Pontiac, an Ottawa. He had been told by the Canadians that the armies of the French king were already advancing to recover Canada. He believed what he

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had heard, and to the end that French ascendancy in the west might be restored and a check given to British encroachments, resolved to arouse the nations and strike the latter in aid of the former. The tribes which finally banded against the English included not only those belonging to the Ottawa confederacy (for such it was termed), but the Delawares and Shawanese, which were allies of the Six Nations, and to these we must add the Senecas, their head chief being Guyasutha.* The blow was to be struck at a certain time in the month of May, 1763, to be indicated by the changes of the moon. "The tribes were to rise together, each destroying the English garrison in its neighborhood, and then with a general rush the whole were to turn against the settlements of the frontier."

The fort at or near the mouth of Cold creek, on the south side of Sandusky bay, already spoken of as having been erected in the fall of 1761, was garrisoned in May, 1763, by a small number of privates† of the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment of Foot, commanded by Ensign Christopher Pauli.‡ On the sixteenth of May a band of Wyandots living in the village in the vicinity, reinforced by a detachment of the same nation from Detroit, approached the fort.

Paully was informed that seven Indians were waiting at the gate to speak with him. As several of the number were well known to him, he ordered them without hesitation, to be admitted. Arriving at his quarters, two of the treacherous visitors seated themselves on each side of the commandant, while the rest were disposed in various parts of the room. The pipes were lighted and the conversation began, when an Indian who stood in the doorway suddenly made a signal by raising his head. Upon this the astonished officer was instantly pounced upon and disarmed, while at the same moment a confused noise of shrieks and yells, the firing of guns, and the hurried tramp of feet, sounded from the area of the fort without. It soon ceased, however, and Pauli, led by his captors from the room, saw the parade ground strewn with the corpses of his murdered garrison. At nightfall he was conducted to the margin of the lake, where several birch canoes lay in readiness, and as, amid darkness the party pushed out from shore, the captive saw the fort, lately under his command, bursting on sides into sheets of flame.‖

If any of the garrison of Fort Sandusky escaped immediate death by the tomahawk or rifle besides the commandant, it was only that they were taken to the Wyandot village near by to suffer the awful tortures of the stake.

It may be here premised that a week before this tragedy of the wilderness was enacted, the savages under Pontiac had commenced a siege of the fort at Detroit at the head of a considerable force of Ottawas, Pottawattamies and Wyandots (Hurons). Ensign Pauli was taken there, "bound hand and foot, and solaced on the passage with the expectation of being burnt alive. On landing near the camp of Pontiac, he was surrounded by a crowd of Indians, chiefly squaws and children, who pelted him with stones, sticks and gravel, forcing him to dance and sing, though by no means in a cheerful strain. A worse infliction seemed in store for him, when happily an old woman, whose husband had lately died, chose

* His name is variously given—Kiashuta, Kiyashuta, Kiosola, etc.

† The exact number is unknown, but it was probably twelve. See Stone's 'Johnson,' Vol. II., p. 477.

‡ In the British army list for 1763 (p. 173), his name is spelled "Pauli." See also MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. II., p. 649. Parkman writes "Paully."

‖ Parkman's 'Pontiac,' Vol. I., p. 271.

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to adopt him in place of the deceased warrior. Seeing no alternative but the stake, Pauli accepted the proposal; and, having been first plunged in the river, that the white blood might be washed from his veins, he was conducted to the lodge of the widow, and treated thenceforth with all the consideration due to an Ottawa warrior."* But Pauli did not remain long as the husband of this Ottawa squaw. One afternoon in June, a man was seen at Detroit running toward the fort by the garrison, closely pursued by Indians. On his arriving within gun shot, the savages relinquished the chase. "The fugitive came panting beneath the stockade, where a wicket was flung open to receive him." It was Ensign Pauli, who had, at the risk of his life, embraced the first opportunity of escape.

As early as the thirteenth of May, Lieutenant Cuyler, with ninety-six men and a plentiful supply of provisions and ammunition, had left Fort Niagara to the relief of Detroit. Coasting along the northern shore of Lake Erie, he proceeded onward without accident until Point Pelée was reached. Here, while encamped, the party were attacked by a band of Wyandots; about sixty of their number were killed or taken; and all their boats, except two, were captured. Lieutenant Cuyler, with between thirty and forty men, some of whom were wounded, made his way with the two boats by the islands in the lake to Sandusky, expecting to find there a British garrison. But a few charred pieces of timber were all that greeted his eyes. The party immediately left the spot and proceeded to Niagara along the south shore of Lake Erie, carrying with them the news of the destruction of Fort Sandusky.

It must not be supposed that the fury of the savages in the west was directed solely against the English posts; the fur-traders were everywhere murdered—very few escaped. Particularly was this the case in the Ohio region. "In the late Indian war, about the year 1763," says the Moravian Loskiel, "there being a general appearance of peace, a numerous body of traders ventured to go with a great quantity of goods into the country of the Hurons [Wyandots upon Sandusky bay]. The latter heard of it, and sent a party of warriors to meet them; but perceiving that the traders were too powerful for them, they had recourse to the following strategem: they told the traders that the war having broken out afresh, a large body of warriors had set out to kill and plunder them; but that they, moved with compassion, came with all haste to prevent it, and to point out a mode by which they might escape with their lives, namely, that they should suffer themselves to be bound and kept by them as prisoners. When afterwards the other troop, whom they declared to be very near at hand, should come and see that they were prisoners, they would do them no harm. Then they would escort them with safety into their villages, and not suffer them to lose any of their goods. The traders foolishly believed them; they suffered themselves to be bound, and even assisted in binding each other; but no sooner had they done this than they were all murdered by their pretended friends. The Hurons [Wyandots] enriched themselves with the spoil and

* Parkman's 'Pontiac,' Vol. I., pp. 270, 271.

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boasted everywhere of their address in deceiving the white people." *

While these scenes of wholesale murder were being enacted in what is now northwestern Ohio, the eastern and northeastern region saw deeds scarcely less sanguinary. "We lived," says John McCullough, then (May, 1763) a captive to the Delawares, "about a mile out of Mohoning [now written Mahoning]. There were some traders at *Kseek-he-oong*, or Salt Licks [in Weathersfield township, Trumbull county, Ohio], early in the spring. A nephew of my adopted brother had stolen a horse from one Thomas Green, a trader; he pursued the thief to Mohoning; he was gone out trapping when Green came after him. Green waited three days on the Indian's return with the horse. The third night, about midnight, there came an alarm, which was notified by hallooing *Quaah*, still repeating four halloos at a time at certain intervals. When we heard the alarm my oldest brother went off to the town to see what was the matter. In about two hours he returned. Green asked him what was the matter. He told him that it was some foolish young fellows that had done it for diversion. Green did not seem to be satisfied with the answer. However, about sunrise, *Mus-sough-whese* (an Indian, my adopted brother's nephew, known by the name of Ben Dickson among the white people) came to our house; he had a pistol and a large scalping-knife concealed under his blanket, belted around his body. He informed *Ket-tooh-ha-lend* (for that was my adopted brother's name) that he came to kill Tom Green, but *Ket-tooh-ha-lend* endeavored to persuade him off."

"They walked out together," continues McCullough, "and Green followed them, endeavoring, as I suppose, to discover the cause of the alarm the night before. In a short time they returned to the house and immediately went out again. Green asked me to bring him his horse, as we heard the bell a short distance off; he then went after the Indians again and I went for the horse. As I was returning I observed them coming out of a house about two hundred yards from ours; *Keh-tooh-ha-lend* was foremost, Green in the middle. I took but slight notice of them until I heard the report of a pistol, [when] I cast my eyes toward them and observed the smoke and saw Green standing on the side of the path, with his hands across his breast. I thought it had been him that shot. He stood a few moments then fell on his face across the path. I instantly," concludes McCullough, "got off the horse and held him by the bridle. *Keh-tooh ha-lend* sunk his pipe-tomahawk into his skull. *Mus-sough-whese* stabbed him under the armpit with his scalping-knife. He had shot him between the shoulders with his pistol. The squaws gathered about him and stripped him naked, trailed him down the bank and plunged him into the creek. There was a fresh in the creek at the time which carried him off. *Mus-sough-whese* then came to me (where I was holding the horse, as I had not moved from the spot where I was when Green was shot) with the bloody knife in his hand. He told me he was coming to kill

* 'History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America.' P. I., pp. 99, 100.

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me next. He reached out his hand and took hold of the bridle, telling me that that was his horse. I was glad to parley with him on the terms and delivered the horse to him. All the Indians in the town immediately collected together and started off to the Salt Licks [in, as we have seen, the present Trumbull county, Ohio], where the rest of the traders were, and murdered the whole of them and divided their goods amongst them and likewise their horses."*

At Tuscarawas, the Delaware Indian village opposite the mouth of Sandy creek, in the present Tuscarawas county, Ohio, of which mention has already been made, there were fourteen white men when the news came of the capture of Sandusky—a trader named Calhoun and thirteen men in his employ. It was the twenty seventh of May. The Delawares told Calhoun that the Ottawas and Chippewas had taken up the hatchet and advised him immediately to depart for Fort Pitt. The men were induced to leave not only the merchandise but all their arms behind. They were given three guides, who led them into an ambuscade at the mouth of Beaver. Calhoun and two of his men alone made their escape; the others were killed on the spot.† It is probable that by the first day of June there was not a single English trader left alive in what is now Ohio. Everywhere they were slaughtered with remorseless cruelty. Soon all the posts in the west were captured, except Forts Niagara, Pitt, Ligonier and Detroit. The one at the head of Green bay was evacuated: its garrison being protected by neighboring Indians reached Montreal in safety, while the post of Ste. Maria, at the Sault, had been left without defenders the previous winter. All along the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia the horrors of an Indian war again reigned supreme.

The siege of Detroit begun by Ottawas, Pottawattamies and Wyandots, was still continued by Ottawas and Chippewas (the first two tribes mentioned having withdrawn from Pontiac), when, in July, a force from Niagara under command of Captain Dalzell, consisting of two hundred and ninety men, with several small cannon, proceeded westward to succor the oppressed garrison. Coasting the south shore of Lake Erie, they reached the site of Fort Sandusky on the twenty-sixth. All was a solitude. Dalzell moved up the Sandusky to a point at or near what is now Fremont, Sandusky county, Ohio, for the Wyandots had deserted Sunyendeand and their village at the head of Cold creek for this place and for another site farther up the river, afterward known as Upper Sandusky, the other being called Lower Sandusky. They had built villages at these two locations, the lower one being burned by the captain to the ground and all the corn found growing destroyed. This was the only Indian settlement within the limits of what is now the state of Ohio ever devastated by the British. Dalzell soon after left the Sandusky for Detroit; the Wyandot town farther up the river he did not, from some unexplained cause, attack. The reason was, probably, the lowness of

* 'Loudon's Indian Wars,' Vol. I, pp. 328–330.

† Parkman's 'Pontiac,' Vol. II., pp. 6, 7. McCullough gives a different version of the affair, but not so trustworthy. See Loudon's 'Indian Wars,' Vol. I., pp. 330, 331.

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the water in the Sandusky, and the distance (over forty miles) away.

In May, 1763, Fort Pitt, at Pittsburgh, was commanded by Captain Simeon Ecuyer. There were in the fort three hundred and thirty soldiers, traders and backwoodsmen. Besides these, there were about one hundred women and a greater number of children, most of them belonging to the families of settlers who were preparing to build their cabins in the neighborhood. On the twenty-second of June the fort was beset by the savages. From this time until the twenty-eighth of July the post was "pestered." with them, as they had been for some time previous. On that day "they mustered their whole force, in number about four hundred, and began a most furious fire from all quarters on the fort, which they continued for four days and great part of the nights." Suddenly, on the first day of August, they abandoned the siege and marched to the eastward. They had heard of the near approach of a reinforcement for the garrison, and they had gone to attack it.

Colonel Henry Bouquet had, at the end of June, reached Carlisle, Pennsylvania, on his way to Fort Pitt. His force in July, when ready to proceed on his march, did not exceed five hundred men. At Bedford he was reinforced by thirty backwoodsmen, whom he had the luck to engage. His troops and convoy defiled along General Forbes' road made in 1758. On the second of July Fort Ligonier, in what is now Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, was reached. The Indians having blockaded that post for weeks retired on the approach of the English. On the fifth, when within a half a mile of Bushy Run, Bouquet was attacked by the savages. Before the day had ended about sixty soldiers, besides several officers, had been killed or disabled. During the night the men slept upon their arms. The next day the troops were assailed even more furiously by a force equaling their own, than on the first. Just at the moment when all seemed lost, the gallant colonel "snatched victory from the jaws of defeat" by a masterly stratagem. The enemy were repulsed and retired in the greatest confusion. Fort Pitt was then quickly relieved.

While these events were transpiring in western Pennsylvania, Sir William Johnson was securing the friendship of the Iroquois, the Senecas only excepted. Bouquet's victory did not hinder the trans-Alleghany savages from resuming their marauds into the settlements, nor even the hostile Delawares upon the upper waters of the Susquehanna from like barbarities. However, the borderers, now greatly encouraged by the decisive battle of Bushy Run, began to act on the defensive and, as a consequence, were frequently victorious. But the Senecas, at the Devil's Hole, near the falls of Niagara retaliated with a revengeful ferocity on a convoy and about eighty regulars sent from the fort below. Let us now take a view of events transpiring in the Ohio wilderness in which we are more immediately interested.

"Mohoning," says the captured McCullough, in speaking of a small Delaware Indian town on the Mahoning river a considerable distance above its junction with

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the Shenango, forming the Beaver river. "Mohoning lay on the frontier;* as they [the Delawares] had evacuated all their towns to the north of it when the war commenced. Shortly after the commencement of the war, they plundered a tan-yard near Pittsburgh, and carried away several horse-loads of leather; they also committed several depredations along the Juniata; it happened to be at a time when the small-pox was in the settlement where they were murdering; the consequence was, a number of them got infected, and some died before they got home, others shortly after. Those who took them [it] after their return were immediately moved out of the town and put under the care of one who had had the disease before. In one of their excursions they took some prisoners—amongst them was one of the name of Beaty, whom they beat unmercifully when they took him to Mohoning. They set him to making bridles for them (that is, to fill old bitts), of the leather they took from Pittsburgh. He appeared very cross; he would often run at the little fellows with his knife or awls when they came to look at him where he was at work. However, they [the Indians] soon took him off to *Cay-a-haw-ge* [Cuyahoga], a town not far distant from Lake Erie."

"We remained," continues McCullough, "in Mohoning till shortly after the memorable battle of Bushy Run. We then moved to *Cay-a-haw-ge*. The day before we got there they [the Indians] began to be alarmed at Beaty's behavior. They held a council and agreed to kill him lest he should take some of their lives. They led him about fifty or sixty perches out of the town, some walking before and some behind him. They then shot him with arrows! I went out the evening after we got there, along with some little fellows to see him. He was a very disagreeable sight to behold. They had shot a great number of arrows into his body, then went off and left him exposed to the vermin!"

Before the middle of November, 1763, the siege of Detroit was practically raised, and Pontiac with some of his chiefs and with his chosen warriors retired to the Maumee river, within what is now the state of Ohio. There, during the winter, he nursed his wrath. He had learned from a letter written by the French commandant at Fort Chartres, in the Illinois, that the Indians must not expect assistance from the latter or any of his countrymen. The proud and haughty chief, however, resolved that he would renew hostilities with the coming in of spring. But the resolution he did not keep; his power as a savage chieftain was rapidly approaching its end.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

*The Delaware Indian town of Mahoning (or "Mohoning," as McCullough calls it) is indicated on Hutchins' map of Bouquet's expedition. It is evident that the village was within what are now the limits of Trumbull or Mahoning county, Ohio—probably the last mentioned.

[*To be continued.*]

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OHIO FIFTY YEARS AGO!

THE legislature of Ohio of 1837–38 held its regular annual session during the first year of the Presidency of Martin Van Buren. Its session commenced December 4, 1837, and ended March 19, 1838. It was held at a time of general pecuniary embarrassment and of great excitement among the people on the currency question. The public mind was in a constantly agitated, unsettled condition by reason of the very general, indeed the almost universal suspension of specie payments by the banks during the preceding month of May.

The "pet banks," as those were derisively called which were known as the fiscal agents of the government, "went under" in the general crash, and closed their doors, as well as those that had not attained the position of government favorites. There was substantially no redemption of their issues by the banks with specie at this time, and as there was virtually next to no metallic currency paid out by the banks in redemption of their notes, there could of course be little or no gold and silver currency in circulation.

Irredeemable paper money, issued by banks in a state of suspension, and an unauthorized "shin-plaster," "red-dog" or "wild cat" currency issued by irresponsible individuals, firms, companies, corporations and towns, constituted nearly the entire currency circulating among the people at this time. No wonder then that in such circumstances and in the midst of such surroundings the currency question should be the all-absorbing one, not only among the politicians, but also among the masses generally. It was a time of agitation, of restlessness, and all classes and conditions of people shared in the all-pervading excitement of the times, because all felt that they had interests to be affected by the anomalous nature and condition of our currency, the precariousness of the existing condition of things, and the uncertainties overhanging the financial outcome.

The general, the almost universal suspension of specie payments by the banking institutions of the United States, especially by the fiscal agents, those which were collecting and disbursing the revenues of the National government, was a severe blow to the Van Buren administration. It was felt to be all the severer because it came so soon after the close of President Jackson's second Presidential term, and so soon after Van Buren's inauguration. Indeed, it was not only a great blow to the Van Buren party, but to all parties, and to all sections of the country and to all classes of people everywhere, east and west, north and south.

It has always been a well-known matter that President Van Buren was not a man of the stateliness, the stamina, the power, the massiveness and strength of character, the force of will, the overpowering influence with the people, or had any near approach to the popularity with the masses

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enjoyed by General Jackson, his immediate predecessor.

Indeed, few men identified with American history or with the Presidential office have ever been as liberally endowed with noble, courageous qualities and manly characteristics, or enjoyed to an equal extent the confidence of the American people, or the power to control them, as he of the Hermitage—the hero of New Orleans.

At the preceding Presidential election (in 1836) President Van Buren had received a bare majority of the popular vote, nearly as many being cast against him as in his favor. Personally he was not a man of remarkable strength with the people—not a man of popular qualities, not the kind of man to attract others to him or to whom they would be apt to cling warmly. Van Buren was *not* like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, nor had he the attractive qualities of James A. Garfield.

From various causes Mr. Van Buren had encountered a large amount of popular odium during his long and successful career as a public man, especially during the recent Presidential election contest. He had been United States senator, governor of New York, secretary of state, minister to England, vice-president of the United States, and had just reached the highest position known to our Constitution, but the reputation of a somewhat selfish politician clung to him. Men were disposed to ascribe sinister motives to him, and he never succeeded to high positions after his election in 1836. In 1840 he was defeated by a large majority for President, by General Harrison, and in 1844 he failed of a nomination, being defeated by Colonel James K. Polk of Tennessee, and in 1848 he accepted the Free-Soil nomination for President, but received no electoral votes.

Soon after the general suspension of the banking institutions of our country, in 1837, President Van Buren issued a proclamation calling an extra session of congress, which convened on the fifth of September. He had addressed to that body an elaborate message in which he strongly recommended the enactment of a law commonly known as the "sub-treasury law," which was to serve as the remedy to meet the crisis resulting from general suspension of specie payments by the banks, in the month of May of said year. That measure, as suggested to congress, required payments to be made in specie of all indebtedness to the general government, dispensed with all non-specie-paying banks as fiscal agents of the government, and required that duty to be performed by a principal sub-treasurer and local sub-treasurers.

The recommendations of the President were not approved by congress in special session, or at least were not enacted into a law, though elaborately discussed, but were given the "go by" at the extra session, a motion to lay on the table prevailing, and the whole subject "going over" to the regular session by an adjournment of congress until the first Monday of the ensuing December.

The people of Ohio did not vote in approval of the sub-treasury measure, as recommended by President Van Buren, at their election in October, 1837, hence

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both the senate and house of representatives contained a majority of Whigs. I give a list of both state senators and representatives, as showing to some extent who, in both parties, were uppermost in Ohio at that time, and what topics were, half a century ago, the chief subjects of legislation.

The following list gives the names and residences of the law-makers of Ohio just fifty years ago! The number of those of them who are still living it is safe to say is very, very small, and the number of them who are still in public life it is very certain is smaller still.

STATE SENATORS IN 1837-38.

NAME.	COUNTIES.
Charles White	Adams, Brown and Scioto
James Rogers, Athens, Meigs, Lawrence and Gallia	
Thomas Shannon	Belmont
Elijah Vance	Butler and Preble
James Thompson	Columbiana and Carroll
John H. James	Clark, Champaign and Logan
Douty Utter	Clermont
Simeon Fuller	Cuyahoga
Samuel Spangler	Fairfield and Hocking
John Arbuckle	Fayette, Madison and Greene
Benjamin F. Wade	Ashtabula and Geauga
William C. Walton	Monroe and Guernsey
John H. Gerard and William Oliver	Hamilton
Isaiah Morris	Highland and Clinton
John K. Campbell	Huron
Samuel Stokely	Jefferson
Peres Sprague	Knox, Coshocton and Holmes
William W. Gault	Licking
Curtis Bates, Lucas, Wood, Hancock, Henry, Van Wert, Allen, Shelby and Hardin.	
Hezekiah Gorton	Marion, Crawford, Union and Delaware.
James Moore	Medina and Lorain
William J. Thomas	Miami, Darke and Mercer
James Steele	Montgomery
Samuel J. Cox	Muskingum
William Hawkins	Perry, Morgan and Washington
John L. Green	Pickaway and Franklin
Daniel Upson	Portage
William McLaughlin	Richland
John I. Van Meter	Ross, Pike and Jackson
David E. Owen	Seneca and Sandusky
David A. Starkweather	Stark
Leicester King	Trumbull
Thomas C. Vincent	Tuscarawas and Harrison
George J. Smith	Warren
George Wellhouse	Wayne

REPRESENTATIVES IN 1837-38.

William Kendall and Nelson Barrere	Adams Brown and Scioto.
Marvin Leonard and O. H. Fitch	Ashtabula
David Jones	Athens and Meigs
Ephraim Gaston and Isaac Green	Belmont
William B. Van Hook and Jacob Matthias	Butler
William Johnson	Carroll
Edwin L. Morgan	Champaign
Charles Anthony	Clarke
Thomas J. Buchanan	Clermont
George Collings	Clinton and Highland
Thomas Cannon, George Smith and Jacob Roller, Columbiana.	
James Matthews	Coshocton
John A. Foote and Leaverett Johnson	Cuyahoga
Elijah Carney	Delaware
William Medill and John Grabill	Fairfield
French W. Thornhill	Holmes and Coshocton
Batteal Harrison	Fayette and Madison
Alfred Kelley and Robert Neil	Franklin
John Clark	Gallia and Lawrence
Seabury Ford and Thomas Richmond	Geauga
Isaac S. Perkins	Greene
Isaac Parrish	Guernsey
A. F. Carpenter, James Given and James J. Faran, Hamilton.	
John Gruber	Harrison
James Hoagland	Holmes
Philo Clark	Huron
Samuel McNary	Jefferson
Marvin Tracy	Knox
John Stewart and Isaac Smucker	Licking
James Crew	Logan
Eber W. Hubbard	Lorain
Otway Curry and Stephen Fowler	Union, Marion and Crawford.
John Codding	Medina
Hiram Bell	Miami, Darke and Mercer
Peter Witten	Monroe
Ezra McKee	Morgan
Robert A. Thruston	Montgomery
David Chambers and Joseph McCune	Muskingum
William Trevitt	Perry

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William B. Thrall.....Pickaway
Solomon Day and William Wetmore.....Portage
John Quinn.....Preble
Robert Lee.....Richland
James Hughes and Daniel Ott.....Ross, Pike and Jackson.
Samuel Treat.....Sandusky and Seneca
James Cook.....Shelby, Allen, Hardin, Putnam, Paulding and Van Wert.
Matthew Johnson and Jacob Hostetter.....Stark
John C. Woodruff and Tracy Bronson....Trumbull
George N. Allen.....Tuscarawas
Anthony H. Dunlevy.....Warren
Walter Curtis.....Washington
William Peppard.....Wayne
Parley Carlin..Wood, Lucas, Henry, Hancock and Williams.

In view of the commercial embarrassments of the country caused by the bank failures and depreciation of our paper currency, the standing committees in both branches of the Ohio legislature on finance and the judiciary, and the select committees on banks and the currency, fifty years ago, were altogether the most important in that body, inasmuch as legal, financial and currency questions and measures would be referred to them for consideration; hence it was that the ablest men in both the senate and the house were placed upon them. Thus were the talents of the Kelleys, the Medills, Collings, Dunlevys, Farans, Parishes, the Fords, Chambers, Footes, Thrustons, the Hubbards, of the house of representatives, utilized, as were also the talents of the Stokelys, Wades, Greens, the Smiths, the Starkweathers, the McLaughlins and others of the senate.

Common school education and benevolent institutions also commanded at this session an unusual amount of attention and legislation, the distinguishing feature given to the school law being the provision for a permanent state superintendent and the placing of Samuel Lewis in that position. The committees to whom these matters were appropriately referred were also appointed with special reference to their capacity and fitness.

Thomas Morris and William Allen were the members of the United States senate from Ohio fifty years ago. The last named gentleman remained in the senate until 1849, and the first named was succeeded by Benjamin Tappan in 1839. Mr. Allen was a special champion of the "sub-treasury," or, as it was sometimes called, the "Independent Treasury bill" of President Van Buren, which was the principal measure of his administration. That measure, as I have stated, failed of adoption at the extra session of 1837, but was renewed at the regular session of said year, and repeatedly recommended in his annual messages until and including that addressed to congress in December, 1839, and became a law June 30, 1840. The Ohio senators, first Thomas Morris and last Benjamin Tappan, voted with William Allen in support of the Independent Treasury bill from beginning to end—from 1837 to 1840.

Ohio was represented in the popular branch of congress while the sub-treasury measure was under consideration in that body, in 1837–38, by Alexander Duncan, Taylor Webster, Patrick G. Goode, Thomas Corwin, Thomas L. Hamer, Calvary Morris, William Key Bond, Joseph Ridgway, John Chaney, Samson Mason, James Alexander, jr., Alexander Harper, Daniel P. Leadbetter, William H. Hunter, John W. Allen, Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings, Andrew W. Loomis, Charles

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D. Coffin, Daniel Kilgore and Henry Swearingen.

Ohio was represented in the lower house of congress in 1839, and on the thirtieth of June, 1840, when the Independent Treasury bill became a law, by Alexander Duncan, John B. Weller, Patrick G. Goode, Thomas Corwin, Jeremiah Morrow, William Doane, Calvary Morris, William Key Bond, Joseph Ridgway, William Medill, Samson Mason, Isaac Parrish, Jonathan Taylor, Daniel P. Leadbetter, George Sweney, John W. Allen, Joshua R. Giddings, John Hastings, David Starkweather and Henry Swearengen.

A majority of Ohio's members in the Twenty-fifth congress were opposed to the bill to organize the sub-treasury, and a majority in the Twenty-sixth favored it.

Ohio apparently changed position several times on the sub-treasury question while it was pending in congress. General Joseph Vance, a Whig, was governor of Ohio in 1837–38. In October, 1838, he was superseded by Wilson Shannon, a Democrat, who himself was defeated at the state election in October, 1840, by Thomas Corwin, a Whig, which was followed in November of the same year by casting the vote of the state by a large majority for General William H. Harrison for President of the United States.

That Ohio was rather inclined to "change front" frequently on the sub-treasury question is further corroborated by the fact that the Whigs had control of the legislature in 1837–38, the Democrats in 1838–39, and the Whigs again in 1840–41; and the Democrats were again successful in 1842.

A half century ago the writer made the acquaintance of a very interesting Ohio historical, literary and philosophical society, became one of its members, attended some of its meetings and became personally acquainted with many of its members; gentlemen they were for the most part, of literary and scholarly attainments —heard some of their addresses read, their lectures delivered, and became somewhat familiar, and have remained so since, with whatever productions of a literary, historical and philosophical character the above-named society had then issued, and also as well as with those subsequently published.

The Philosophical and Historical Society of Ohio was incorporated in 1831, and organized in December of said year. Fifty years ago the institution, as it then existed, was in its palmy days. It was an instrumentality that then was and through many subsequent years continued to be, as it had been in previous years, a valuable and convenient agency or medium for keeping up communion and an interchange of views on current topics of interest between the historians, literarians, philosophers and scientists, as well as statesmen of Ohio.

Judge Benjamin Tappan of Steubenville, who was a member of the state senate of Ohio as early as 1803, was the first president of this society, elected in 1832, and delivered the first annual address before the members in December, 1832, to their very general acceptance; and there were but few if any of its members more capable of imparting information or instruction to his fellow-members than the honored president of the society, Judge Tappan.

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Honorable Arius Nye of Marietta read a paper to the society, and they adopted it by publication as a portion of its literature, at the annual meeting held at Columbus in 1836. The author of this address, Judge Nye, was an early settler of Ohio, and identified with the legislation of the state many years before this time, both as senator and representative, and with the judiciary of the state in after years.

Judge Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati became president of the society in 1838. He wrote a series of seven letters or papers of a historical nature for the society which were published, and probably made him the largest contributor to its literature, as he was one of its most honored members. His letters bore date in 1837–38. Judge Burnet was a New Jerseyman, settled in Cincinnati in 1796, and soon acquired an excellent reputation as a lawyer, served three years as a member of the territorial council, some years as a member of the state legislature, was supreme judge, and in 1828–31 served as United States senator.

General William H. Harrison wrote one of the most elaborate papers ever read before the society. It was written about half a century ago, under the title of "The Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio." It occupied fifty pages of a volume of the society's publications. General William H. Harrison first identified himself with the "territory northwest of the River Ohio" as an aid to the commander-in-chief in the Northwestern army, commanded by General Anthony Wayne, in 1793–4. He was afterwards secretary in 1798–99; in 1800 delegate to congress—from 1800 to 1813—governor of Indiana territory, subsequently member of the senate of Ohio, then member of the United States senate, and some years a member of the popular branch of congress, and again of the senate of Ohio, and at last was elected, in 1840–41, President of the United States, dying in April, 1841, after one month's service in said office, and lies buried at North Bend, on the banks of the Ohio river!

Timothy Walker, an eminent lawyer, member of the Cincinnati bar, delivered the annual discourse before the society in December, 1837; and James H. Perkins, esq., of Cincinnati, also delivered an address to the society near the close of the same year, to which I listened with much pleasure.

General James T. Worthington, a son of one of the early-time governors of Ohio, on the night of the twenty-second of December, 1837, read an essay to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio on "The Origin and Progress of Political Communities," which I distinctly remember hearing read, although it was an event that transpired in "Ohio fifty years ago."

Honorable Thomas Ewing of Lancaster was probably Ohio's most distinguished lawyer and statesman "fifty years ago." He had served a full term in the United States senate, commencing March 4, 1831, and ending on March 4, 1837. An address, in pamphlet form, delivered by him some time after the close of his senatorial term, as included between the above dates, came under my eye, as did also one in pamphlet form delivered by his immediate successor in the United

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States senate, Colonel William Allen, before the Calliopean Society of the Granville college, now Denison university, late in 1836.

As Ohio literary pointers fifty years ago, permit me to mention other addresses in pamphlet form delivered by Ohio men fifty years ago or more. I recall one by John H. James, a state senator, which was read before the Historical and Philosophical society on the twenty-fifth of December, 1835, containing strictures on the prevailing systems of education.

Another was an address delivered before the graduates of the Union Literary Society of Miami university, in 1837, by Samuel Galloway, afterwards secretary of state and a member of congress.

Still another I recall, delivered as an introductory lecture at the Willoughby university in October, 1837, by Ralph Granger, esq.

I name another, that of William Johnston, delivered at Columbus, February, 1838, a few months more than fifty years ago! The author (Mr. Johnston) was then a member of the legislature from Carroll county, and afterwards became a judge.

A pamphlet appeared in Ohio, almost a half century ago, which carried on its title page a no less responsible and influential name than that of John McLean, a judge of the supreme court of the United States, being a "charge" delivered by him to the grand jury of the United States circuit court at a term of said court held in 1838, being an admonition to our northern border patriots to refrain from all officious intermeddling with Canadian affairs, and especially not to emancipate the *oppressed* patriots of Canada until they manifest an unmistakable desire for outside sympathy and kind offices, in that regard, from the Ohio side of Lake Erie!

Dr. S. P. Hildreth of Marietta wrote a paper for the society in 1835, which was subsequently published as a pamphlet.

Mr. John W. Van Cleve, a historian of Dayton, wrote the next paper for the Historical and Philosophical society, and this was succeeded by one of a historical character by a member of the society from Washington county.

The next paper was written by Mr. James McBride, an early settler in the Great Miami valley, an author and an archæologist, and he soon followed it up with an elaborate paper on the ancient fortifications, embankments and mound-builders' works generally, in Butler county, Ohio, which took the form of a pamphlet, fifty years ago.

To the era of half a century ago belong three very important and valuable Ohio pamphlets, whose authors were Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., Honorable Thomas S. Grimke, LL. D., and Dr. Daniel Drake. Dr. Beecher was president of Lane seminary in Cincinnati; Mr. Grimke was a South Carolina philanthropist and scholar, but died in Ohio; and Dr. Drake was an eminent physician in Cincinnati for a half century, and was most of that time connected with medical colleges in Cincinnati and elsewhere, and engaged many years as editor of medical journals and also in authorship generally. In 1834 an address that he delivered at the forty-fifth anniversary of the first settlement of Cincinnati appeared in pamphlet form and is now before me. He was also the author

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of an address delivered at the Miami university near the date of the one above named. It also appeared in pamphlet form and had an extensive circulation in Ohio about the period or era above mentioned. He was very entertaining and scholarly—instructive as a platform lecturer and effective as a writer. I heard an address delivered in the hall of the house of representatives, at Columbus, by Dr. Daniel Drake, late in December, 1837, but do not remember now whether it was by invitation of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical society, or in answer to a call from the legislature, which was then in session, or in response to the citizens generally. Members from those classes were present, but I do not know that this address appeared in pamphlet form.

But there is now before me an address in pamphlet form, delivered in the Medical College of Ohio, on chemistry and geology, in 1838, by Professor John Locke, M. D., who was a scholarly gentleman and of acknowledged scientific attainments. He was a professor in the Medical College of Ohio, and afterwards a state geologist.

A eulogy on Harvey D. Little, delivered at Columbus by Warren Jenkins in 1833, and a college address delivered in 1836 by Rev. L. L. Hamline (afterwards Bishop Hamline), are now under my eye, both pamphlets bearing date more than half a century ago!

Reference might be appropriately made in this connection to the board of geologists of Ohio of 1837, and to their reports as contributions to the literature of our state half a century ago. The board was composed for that year of Principal W. W. Mather, Dr. S. P. Hildreth, Dr. Jared P. Kirtland, Professor C. Briggs, jr., and Colonel Charles Whittlesey, topographical surveyor.

The writer hereof had some acquaintance with members of three generations of descendants of Governor St. Clair, more than half a century ago, and being also somewhat acquainted that long ago with Judge Burnet, and having had opportunities of conversation with him, hour after hour, while he was engaged in writing his letters to the Historical and Philosophical society, he being then its president, I found him communicative and entertaining in conversing about Governor St. Clair's administration of affairs in the Northwest territory, which was also the subject of his letters to the society. Judge Burnet, as a member of the territorial council and personally, had been a very warm friend of the governor, made himself a very affable and attractive conversationalist to me.

My acquaintance, though limited and brief in some cases, extends into the past full fifty years, with Judge Tappan, Thomas Ewing, William Allen, Judge McLean, General Harrison, Thomas Corwin, William Stanbery, Governors Lucas, Vance, Medill, Bartley, Shannon, and other old-time statesmen, judges, legislators, politicians and fellow-members during the first decade of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical society; and other pioneer acquaintances of the long ago, seem to afford the writer some justification for drawing upon his memory while preparing a magazine article like the present.

The writer witnessed some oratorical displays fifty years ago, more or less, on the part of nearly all the above named

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gentlemen, having heard Thomas Ewing and William Stanbery at the bar as early as 1830; General William H. Harrison on the stump in 1836; Colonel William Allen on the stump also in 1837; William Medill and Alfred Kelley in the legislative halls in the same year, and Wilson Shannon and John Brough in 1838.

I close by asking, by way of remembrance of a friend of half a century ago, the re-publication of a little specimen of Ohio early-time poetical literature—a gem of Ohio poetry—written in Ohio by an Ohio poet, by one that was "a native and to the manor born"—and was written just fifty years ago! It has a history, very brief, and I will give it as briefly, and ask you to make the poem the closing pages of this, a semi-centennial paper, on Ohio semi-centennial history!

Otway Curry, one of the earliest of Ohio-born poets, was elected in 1837 a member of the Ohio legislature by the counties of Marion, Crawford and Union. Dr. Stephen Fowler was his colleague.

While quietly occupying his seat one day, in temper most genial, as Christmas was approaching, an inspiration came upon him, while his thoughts might have been on "affairs of state intent;" he was in truth wooing the Muses and destined soon to come under the influence of the sacred nine, a condition into which he was quite liable to fall, and when thus poetically overcome would soon be soaring among the stars.

Before adjournment for the day my poetical friend brought to me for friendly criticism the "Armies of the Eve," as the product of his day's wooing of the Muses, just before Christmas, fifty years ago!

THE ARMIES OF THE EVE.

Not in the golden morning,
Shall faded forms return,
For languidly and dimly then
The lights of memory burn:

Nor when the noon unfoldeth
Its sunny light and smile,
For these unto their bright repose
The wondering spirit wile:

But when the stars are wending
Their radiant way on high,
And gentle winds are whispering back
The music of the sky—

Oh, then those starry millions
Their streaming banners weave,
To marshal on their wildering way
The Armies of the Eve:

The dim and shadowy armies
Of our unquiet dreams,
Whose footsteps brush the feathery fern,
And print the sleeping streams.

We meet them in the calmness
Of high and holier climes;
We greet them with the blessed names
Of old and happier times.

And marching in the starlight
Above the sleeping dust,
They freshen all the fountain springs,
Of our undying trust.

Around our every pathway,
In beauteous ranks they roam,
To guide us to the dreamy rest
Of our eternal home.

Anterior to the earlier years of the semi-centennial epoch (1837–87), which is the subject of this paper, it was the writer's pleasure to send his youthful magazine contributions to the Western Monthly Magazine, published and edited by Judge James Hall in Cincinnati, Ohio, and now while near the end of the closing year of said semi-centennial epoch, it is his pleasure to select, by your leave, the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY as the medium through which to communicate with the reading public.

ISAAC SMUCKER.

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INTO THE WILDERNESS—THE STORY OF REBECCA BOONE.

AFTER the discovery and first settlement of America, as after Babel, the Creator seemed to whisper anew to the spirit of man, "go scatter abroad and possess the earth," and every breast stirred with the desire to push forward into some undiscovered country. Many a man moved by this spirit, together with the love of the chase, gave up a comfortable home and well-improved farm to carry his family into uncleared territory, with everything to begin over again. "What folly!" we exclaim; and yet, suppose it had not been so.

Into the valley of the Yadkin, in North Carolina, while still quite frontier-like in its primitive simplicity of life, came the family of Mr. Bryan. And soon a thrifty farm bespoke his energy and good management. He had a daughter, a blithesome lassie with rosy cheeks and laughing lips, and withal as fleet of foot and bright of eye as the deer which lurked at their doors. Their simple home was on the crest of a pretty knoll, surrounded by poplar trees and laurels. At the foot of the hill flowed a mountain stream, beyond which stretched dense forests, the home of wild game and the delight of the huntsman. One evening Rebecca Bryan strayed down to the banks of this stream with her little brother to while away some leisure moments. They had not been long there when a bright glare of light flashed across the stream, far into the forest, and presently the sound of horses' hoofs was heard. The young nimrods of that region had a rather cruel method of hunting after dark and finding the deer by "shining the eyes," as it was called. That is, one of them would ride in front carrying a pan of blazing pine knots, while the other followed with his gun. The gentle animal resting in some quiet shelter would be startled into stupidity by the blinding light, and instead of fleeing would remain motionless gazing upon it as if charmed to its own doom; thus that it was readily discovered and shot by the gleam of its soft, bright eyes.

Rebecca Bryan did not know of this singular custom, so hearing sounds and seeing the light, with a warning of silence to her companion she drew close into the thicket and peered through it to see what it all might mean. She saw the foremost horseman with the blazing pine knots, and then she saw a second one quickly alight and point his rifle directly at her. Little dreaming he had mistaken her for a deer, she yet fully realized her danger. Motioning her brother to follow she leaped the fence and sped across the field in the direction of the house, followed in hot pursuit by the young hunter, who, having a presentiment that it was a different kind of deer from what he had been seeking, was yet none the less anxious to see the end of the chase. He reached the house almost as soon as she did, for she was still panting from fright and her rapid race, and her little brother, who had only seen

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the dark figure following them across the field, was giving his own version of the affair—that they had been chased by a panther—when she stood face to face with her terrible pursuer. For a moment they looked into each other's eyes, his bold heart quailing at thought of the deed he might have done, and then received the father's brief introduction, "Rebecca, this is young Boone, our neighbor's son."

But this was not the end of that hunting exploit. By and by young Boone managed to convince the fair Rebecca that her shining eyes had pierced his heart. So there was a mutual surrender —a wedding, and a new home made a little farther out towards the frontier, and Rebecca Boone entered upon her womanly destiny of housekeeping, home-making, ministering to the comfort, and helping in every possible way him for whose love she had left father, mother and all that was dear to her. As Daniel Boone was as active and diligent and careful as she, they had soon gathered around them every comfort attainable or desirable in that region of country, and he could, besides, indulge as time permitted in his favorite pastime of hunting.

Some years had passed in happy content; baby voices babbled about the house and welcomed the father's incoming steps, and little helpful lads followed the mother eager to do her bidding. To the eldest the father had already deputed many of his own lighter duties, and as a reward for good behavior would sometimes take him hunting. In 1768 they had a visitor—a wandering adventurer named Finlay. He proved immensely entertaining, especially to his host, and was invited to spend the winter, which he did. What wonderful stories he had to tell of the vast country beyond the mountains. He himself had trod the enchanted land, and most pleasantly he beguiled the long winter nights with tales of the Indians, the buffalo, the abundance of game which he had seen with his own eyes, and Boone was filled with longing. The springing up of human habitations close about him fettered and fretted his soul. He had no taste for luxury nor for the absorbing interests of commerce, society and the like. All he wanted was free vent for his hardy vigor. This restless beating against the cage of approaching civilization was no accident. Boone felt that he must go and see this marvelous land for himself, and go he did.

We of this silken-hose generation who scare at the sight of a tramp or faint at the sound of a gun, wonder what the women of those days were made of. Perhaps of the same material as ourselves, but then!—ah, well, they did not have to meet the severe exactions of that tyrant, society, which so often tries the temper and dilutes the affections. They were strangers to the depressing computations of the visiting list—to the problem of how to have the longest and keep them all in friendly humor with the least expenditure of entertainment and linguistic powers. Their nervous systems suffered no drain from late hours and over-pandered appetites. Their brains were not taxed until memory reeled with keeping six hired helpers, half as many seamstresses and a couple of dressmakers constantly employed. But quietly serving themselves and those dear to them, with

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untroubled thoughts they filled the measure of their daily tasks and were ready to enjoy whatever social pleasures came. As there were no super-refined pleasures, there were no exaggerated trials or terrors; so after all, life has its compensations. Yes, Rebecca Boone let her husband go. It is doubtful whether she could have prevented it if she had tried; but for all her strength she was a woman, and her heart ached to see him depart. Her two sons were old enough to help her a good deal in those sturdy times, and her wee girlie would be company; but there were no mails to tell her daily or weekly of her husband's safety, and it would be easy, if there were time, for a woman, a wife, to brood over the horrible fates he was rashly daring. How glad she was when she found his brother was going to join him! She little knew how utterly alone her husband would else soon have been. Stuart, his last companion, was killed soon after his brother's arrival.

Long months again roll round and in May the brother returns for ammunition. He had left her determined pioneer alone in the vast wilderness of Kentucky, surrounded by unnumbered savage foes, whom he might meet at any moment, and having no ammunition could only escape by flight, and with only the memory of his dead friends for company. After a few weeks Squire Boone returned to his brother. One would think the loving messages, clothed though they may have been in unpolished language, with the more substantial tokens of her unceasing care for his comfort, would have drawn him irresistibly back to his wife, old home and friends. But who can measure the spell of this wild, untrammeled liberty of life, the unfettered, untamed beauty of nature, and her unfailing, ever new resources. Eight or nine months longer they remained. Then there was one glad woman in North Carolina that all the changes, the roughnesses, the uncouth dress could not move.

And now the hero who had the wonderful tales to tell was the husband—the father. Imagine how those boys would drink in the story of his encounter with the ferocious bear, his race for life with the four Indian pursuers, of his captivity and escape, and how his wife's heart would ache again as he told of the lonely weeks of his brother's absence, when, as far as he knew, he was the only white man within hundreds of miles. In fact, for three years he had not beheld a white face save that of his brother and the friends who had been killed.

About two years he lingered in the old neighborhood, and then—he had sold his farm and was ready to start back to Kentucky with his family. The boys were more eager than he, and his wife nothing loth, for anything were better than the dreadful absence with its unbroken silence and suspense.

The little party set out September 25, 1773. Their route lay across the corners of North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Mountains and valleys lay in their path, with only the landmarks left by the Boone brothers to guide them. But this expedition was not for glory or fame, and no record was kept for the world to read. In Powell's valley, in the extreme southwestern corner of Virginia, they stopped to rest awhile, and here in some hospitable

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home, perhaps that of Mr. Martin, they aired their enthusiasm and gathered up new recruits for the expedition. Five families, we are told, and forty well-armed men joined them here. This was encouraging, especially to the women, who could not but feel that in numbers was greater strength and safety. A week or ten days more brought them almost to the land of their hopes.

"Once through the gap and beyond this range of mountains and you will see Cain-tuck-ee for yourself," said the leader of the party as with untiring feet he walked beside his wife, his face all aglow with the gladness of return to his beloved wilds. But even as he spoke a warning of danger was wafted to his acute and ever alert ear. Was it a broken twig dropped from some distant tree by the restless breeze, or was it the crafty, noiseless foot of the savage that he knew so well?

Ere he could signal silence to the rest of the party, a wild, unearthly yell broke upon the still solitude of the mountain forests, and several of their number fell as if pierced by mocking, invisible demons of the air. Then dusky forms, made hideous with gleams of war paint, darted from tree to tree discharging showers of deadly arrows from every direction. However, the Boone brothers, whom no surprise could deprive of self-possession, quickly arranged the party for the defence of the women and children, and the unerring rifles gave back their quick response, watching for the dark faces to peer from behind the trees and giving them deadly welcome, until the savages fled in terror from the fatal fire.

And *this* was Cain-tuck-ee, the boasted paradise!

Who will blame, if a mother's heart cowered on the threshold, for there lay her first born son in the agony of death, a victim to savage hate. And as they knelt beside the body, Daniel Boone, the fearless, and his brave, true wife, he had not a word to say, for this was the first break in his home circle, and "the beginning of his strength" lay lifeless before him. When they had paid the last duties to the dead, unable to resist the mother's pleading glance that rested upon their little tribe, he who had been the moving spirit of the whole party turned aside in full consent with the others from their purpose of colonizing the wilds of Cain-tuck-ee, and went back to the nearest settlement on the Clinch river. For with all their enthusiasm this sad adventure warned them it was not best to introduce women and children into a new country until some provision had been made for their safety. Here on the Clinch, Rebecca Boone remained with her children for some two years. But her husband could no longer be content under the restraints of settlement life. Besides, his fame had reached the governor of Virginia, and when a guide was needed to conduct a party of surveyors home from the falls of the Ohio, where could one be found better qualified than the cool, intrepid pioneer hunter? One expedition of this kind followed another. Nobody knew so well how to fortify a station to fight the subtle foe, or to treat with them for the purchase of their lands. The negotiation of a treaty with the Indians was at length entrusted to him by a new com-

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pany just leaving North Carolina under Colonel Richard Henderson, with the intention of making another attempt to settle the beautiful country of which they had heard so much. The company succeeded in purchasing from the Indian claimants all lands south of the Kentucky river, and Daniel Boone, with a small party, was then dispatched to mark a road and select a location for the adventurers. Sojourning thus for nearly two years on the border land of the Indian country, Rebecca Boone became somewhat immured to thoughts of danger and to the scenes and hardships of a borderer's life. So when her husband once more came back and told of the trace they had marked and cut, and the fort they had built in the fairest portion of the beautiful land, she was willing, like the true wife she was, to follow him again whithersoever he might lead.

And truly, as their small cavalcade filed along the narrow roadway so carefully marked by her husband, she could not but acknowledge that he had in no wise overrated the delights of this new region. Noble forest trees of every kind, still in the glory of their summer prime, overshadowed them, breaking away at times into scenes of wild and picturesque beauty as they crossed some rock-begirt stream. Gentle-eyed deer came fearlessly to drink from the babbling brook near the path, then sped away into their native depths startled by the unwonted sights and sounds. Flock after flock of wild turkeys, all looking as if they had been fattened for a Christmas dinner, went scurrying off into the thickets at their approach. If less pleasant sounds occasionally greeted them as the dusk drew on, and fiery eyes glared ominously in the distance, she had but to look at the trusty rifle, alert eye and sinewy form of her husband and fear was gone.

Perhaps the home which Daniel Boone had prepared for his family would not appear very inviting to us in these days of super-comfort in house-building and house-furnishing, for it was only a cabin of rough logs with the daylight peeping in through all the cracks. And as for furniture, it had, as yet, little or none; but a woman's willing hands can soon bring a measure of comfort out of very small beginnings, and evolve an atmosphere of home out of almost any surroundings—if her heart be there; and Rebecca Boone was second to none in housewifely skill, else the inveterate hunter, the independent pioneer would not have so longed for her presence and her deft womanly handicraft about his wilderness home. They had not forgotten to bring bedticks with them and these were soon filled with the fresh fragrant leaves from the forests and covered with the bear and buffalo skins already provided by the husband—most luxurious beds to people as tired as they must have been when ready to try them. They even managed, by a simple contrivance, to raise them from the floor by the help of a pronged support at one corner and making the logs of the cabin do duty on two sides. A few three-legged stools and a rough table was all that was considered necessary to begin on in those days. This was one of a number of cabins and what were called block houses, built around a large open square with tall, close palisades where the cabins did not meet, and large, strong gates.

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Such was the fort. Outside a considerable area had been cleared even of the cane and papaw, that nothing might be left within gun shot which could conceal an enemy.

One large elm, however, was spared for beauty and convenience, of which Colonel Henderson, in his journal, writes with the most enthusiastic admiration, calling it the "divine elm." Under its green canopy, with its graceful leaf branches ever whispering of divine care and protection, they erected a rude pulpit and held divine service. It also served them for a council chamber, within whose shadow at noon a hundred persons could "commodiously seat themselves." There were also, a little farther off, three notable sycamores, two of which are said to have measured twenty feet around the trunk. How magnificent the forests must have been, presided over by such giants as these.

The inner square was a clean turf of the native wild clover. Here the whole community gathered in the evenings to enjoy together such simple pleasures and athletic amusements as suited their various fancies.

For awhile Rebecca Boone and her daughter seem to have been the only females in the fort. At Harrodsburg there were three mothers of families, with whom they had traveled part of the way from the Clinch. No doubt it would have been very delightful if they could have met occasionally and gossiped a little over their mutual housekeeping experience and the exploits of their respective husbands. But alas! they were fifty miles apart, and a trip of that length in those days was something to be thought of a long time and would hardly be undertaken for the indulgence of a few hours' chat. Perhaps, however, Mrs. Boone and her daughter found a compensating pleasure in being *belles* among the chivalrous knights of early Kentucky; or, better still, when the cooking, mending, etc., was all done for their own household, they could find many helpful ways of making themselves agreeable to the other fathers, brothers and husbands whose families had not yet arrived. When in a short time Colonel Callaway's wife and daughters were added to their number, what a joy it was. The fathers had been old friends and the girls soon grew as intimate as three girls could be, with a three-fold enjoyment of all the healthy, hearty pleasures their wilderness home afforded, while Mrs. Boone also found a congenial companion in the mother. Everybody found plenty to do, and while enjoying the deliciously bracing weather of the early autumn and feasting their eyes on the richly changing colors of the forests, they did not forget that the winter was coming. The cabins were thoroughly daubed, fuel stored away in abundance, and every possible preparation made for planting the crops in the spring. Nor was there lack of novelty and excitement for every day of their lives. Instead of balls and parties or the planning and construction of their winter wardrobe, they looked forward to the coming home of the hunters. The game had already been scared off to such an extent that they sometimes had to go fifteen or twenty miles and be absent for several days to get a good supply, but an eager little audience always awaited them on their return ready to listen to the recital of each one's adven-

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tures. Sometimes it was a contest with a fierce wildcat, sometimes a narrow escape from a cunning panther or the encounter with a herd of buffaloes. Each skin and carcass had its own story to tell, and women's hearts all the world over applaud deeds of daring, encouraging them with sparkling eyes and cheeks that glow. Such incidents as these and even a race with Indians were quite ordinary occurrences, yet such as one never grows accustomed to or tires of hearing when the hero is one dear to us.

Thus the winter passed, the spring opened, and all began to think of gardening. Each spot was chosen and marked off, the trees cut down or girdled and the brush burned. Then the ground was broken up and softened, after which it was turned over to the wives and daughters. So every bright day found them busy planting the seed brought with them from the older settlements, inhaling fresh vigor from the virgin soil and appreciating these days without the fort with somewhat of the keen relish that city children do a picnic; howbeit, it was necessary to keep a constant eye on the forests and the nearest gate of the fort.

The Indians were evidently very much enraged at these invasions of their hunting grounds, and yet all this winter and spring passed without any serious disturbance at Boonsborough. The men, of course, never went anywhere without their inseparable companions, the rifle and the knife, but the girls could hardly realize the dangers that might lurk in every bush or canebrake along the river's bank, and sometimes ventured thoughtlessly to rash distances away from the fort. The two daughters of Colonel Callaway with Jemima Boone learned a severe lesson on this point in the early summer of 1776, which caused the greatest alarm and distress in the fort as well as to themselves. An account of it is given below in the words of a grandson of the elder Miss Callaway, the venerable Dr. Rivers of Louisville, and written by special request:

Much of romance is connected with the early history of Kentucky. Daniel Boone was a marvel of tact, energy, boldness in the face of danger, and noted for his love of the wild forest and of adventures where no civilized foot had ever trodden. He was a pioneer such as may never be seen again. He was an Indian fighter of the boldest type. He had associated with him in the first settlement of Kentucky many brave and daring spirits. This was before the Revolutionary war and when a wilderness had to be crossed in passing from North Carolina or Virginia in order to reach the dark and bloody ground. The grandparents of the writer were among those who joined Daniel Boone in his wild venture to separate himself from civilization and build up a colony in the heart of the vast wilderness of Kentucky. They were not then married. Their names were Samuel Henderson and Elizabeth (called Betsy) Callaway. On a bright morning in May three girls determined to seek recreation and left the monotony of Boone's fort for the purpose of a boat ride on the Kentucky river. They were Jemima Boone, Elizabeth (or Betsy) Callaway and Fanny Callaway, her sister. They were strong and brave and felt that they could "paddle their own canoe." So they loosed the rude boat from the bank and were soon enjoying the romance of a ride on the sparkling waters of the Kentucky river. Seeing some beautiful wild flowers on the west bank of the river they incautiously paddled their canoe to the shore that they might obtain each for herself a nice bunch of flowers. While they were landing, some red men of the forest, who were secreted near, among the bushes, rushed down to the beach and made all three of the girls prisoners. No sooner had they captured them than they started off with their fair victims into the pathless forest toward the setting sun. The girls kept their presence of mind and moved off, obedient to silent orders and without arousing the wrath of their captors. My grandmother perceived at once their great danger and determined to do all in her

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power to lessen it. She took her pocket handkerchief and, without being observed, tore it into shreds and threw the pieces on the ground that they might be a guide to the braves in the fort, who she knew would be sure to follow for their rescue. When the handkerchief gave out she, with seeming carelessness, would now and then break a twig and drop it in their track. This she continued during the rest of their short captivity. Some few hours after the capture the fort was thrown into great alarm, and the cry was, "Our girls are captured, and we must to the rescue!" A band of eighteen brave men, led by my grandfather, Samuel Henderson, soon started in pursuit. He was then engaged to be married to one of the fair prisoners. His heart was with her whom he loved better than life. He was young, enthusiastic, talented and brave. A fine specimen of a man, nearly six feet in height and weighing one hundred and seventy pounds, he was fit to be a hero, and courageous enough to confront any danger that he might save the girls, and especially his betrothed, from worse than death. On they rushed, these young men, regardless of fatigue or danger. Guided by the shreds of linen torn with so much presence of mind by Betsy Callaway, they found little difficulty in following right on the track of the savages. Then the sprigs broken and scattered by the same deft hands gave additional zest and activity to the pursuit. The young men were all well armed for that day, but the fear was that the Indians might see them in their near approach, and scalping the girls, might make their escape. They had now been in pursuit some twenty-four hours, and the Indians had been in possession of their prey more than thirty hours. They knew by the freshness of the broken twigs that they were nearing the precious objects of their pursuit, whom they were soon to rescue or to see scalped and left dead. As though it were providential, the Indians had become careless, feeling they were sufficiently distant from the fort to regard their prizes secured; and no longer fearing pursuit, they encamped, tied the girls each to a tree, and all except five (who were left as guards) had gone hunting. The girls were all near each other. Those who were with them were busy preparing what food they had for themselves and their prisoners. The nearest one was more than fifty yards from the girls. The young men saw their opportunity. Two or three of them fired but missed the savages. In another moment the girls were rescued and their savage captors running at full speed from those who would have sacrificed life itself to save these jewels of the wilderness from those who were too savage to admire either their beauty or their worth. The air was rent with a shout of joy and the wilderness exhibited a scene of gladness such as never before had lighted up its primeval gloom. The girls were unharmed. (Among the traits of the American Indian, especially in the olden time, was a sacred regard for woman's virtue.) Unharmed, except with swollen feet and hands sore from breaking the twigs which served so useful a purpose in securing their rescue, the girls rejoicingly started with their proud captors back to their parents and friends at the fort, I guess, wisely determining not again to attempt to paddle their own canoe. In two weeks after this there was a marriage in the fort. Squire Boone, the brother of Daniel Boone, was a Baptist preacher, and he was called upon to perform a marriage ceremony for the first time in the history of the colony. The parties to this contract were Samuel Henderson and Betsy Callaway. These were the first white people ever married in the state of Kentucky. The first child born of this pair was a girl and was named Fannie, who afterwards married Mr. Gillespie, who was president of Chappel Hill, North Carolina. My mother always told me that her sister Fannie was the first white child ever born in this commonwealth. After her birth, about 1777, my grandfather returned to North Carolina to take part in the Revolutionary war. He rose to the rank of colonel and was said to be a brave officer. He died in Franklin county, Tennessee, whither he and his brother-in-law, Colonel Richard Callaway, had removed in the early part of this century. My grandparents reared a large family, some six daughters and four sons. Of these all are dead except Colonel Alfred Henderson and his sister, Mrs. Endosia Estill, who are both living in Texas at a very advanced age. My parents were married in 1807 and lived together more than fifty years without a death in their family. My mother always took the deepest interest in Kentucky. Her oldest brother, Richard Henderson, died in the town of Henderson about the year 1814. His children and grandchildren still live in that city. It was from the lips of my mother, who lived until her ninetieth year, that I learned all the facts stated in the above narrative. She used to gather her children around her and give to us the stirring incidents in the history of the pioneers of Kentucky.

Yes, two weeks after the capture and rescue of the girls the fort was again in a grand state of excitement. No alarm of savages this time but the imperative whis-

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perings of a tiny god who does not confine his influence to "society" and "high culture." Samuel Henderson, the stalwart hero of the rescue, would wait no longer for his promised bride. Perhaps he coveted the right to say his beloved should never go boating again without him.

What, marry out in the wilderness! Yes; why not? There was the preacher, good Squire Boone, and plenty of people to make a jolly wedding. But—a wedning with no tailor, dressmaker nor milliner within hundreds of miles! Nay even spinning and weaving had scarce begun in Kentucky. Yet even so, each girl friend, and even the bride herself, had but to take down from the peg behind the door (her wardrobe), and shake out her best linsey petticoat, and see that the linen or linsey short gown, all homespun, to be worn with it, was clean and neat for the occasion. So they were independent, you see, of dressmakers. And though this outfit was neither dainty nor fine, it at least left untrammeled the free, graceful motions of nature.

Early on the eventful day each cabin was busy and bustling. The ceremony must needs be performed before dinner. That was the fashionable hour in those days, and of course *all* must participate, for in a community like this, shut up within fort walls and cut off, in a measure, from other associations, joys and dangers were shared by all as if they had been one family. The sun was nearing its noonday strength when the excitement began to culminate in one of the larger corner cabins, that occupied by Colonel Henderson, elder brother to the expectant groom. Here the young gallants of the fort and perhaps some from other forts were collected. Flanders Callaway and Captain John Holder you may be sure were there. They were lovers also, respectively, of the other two maidens of the quandam captivity, and the romance of that little episode was to be fittingly completed some of these days by two more weddings, each of a rescued maiden to one of her brave rescuers. And Colonel John Floyd, the handsome young widower, he certainly would not miss seeing the last of the thoughtful little lassie he had helped to recapture from the savages.

Picture them to yourself, those men of early days, grand specimens of nature's athletes, every one of them "with nerves of iron and sinews of steel," and a cool, self-possessed strength and good nature, equally ready to face a bear, elude a savage or dance at a wedding. Their costume was in keeping. The short breeches, leggings and moccasins were made of dressed deer skin, and the hunting-shirt, so universally worn, was of homespun linsey, like the girls' dresses. This hunting-shirt was a loose frock coat reaching half way down the thighs, with large open sleeves and a cape, and worn with a leather belt fastened behind. All the edges were decorated with fringes made of a raveled piece of cloth of some (once) bright color, which gave quite a handsome appearance. Add the tomahawk at one side, the scalping-knife in its sheath at the other and the inevitable rifle in hand or within easy reach, and the pioneer stands complete before you, prepared for whatever may happen. Some of the ceremonies

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afterwards in vogue, as running for the bottle, were probably omitted on this occasion, for even if whiskey had been introduced at this early date, there was lack of space in the fort for the race, and the recent raid of the savages and the occasional indications of their lurking presence rendered it more prudent to confine their fun within fortification limits.

At another cabin might have been found the pretty sun-browned lassie, with cheeks like the blush on twin peaches and a soft light in her bright eyes. Her two companions in pleasure and danger were with her, her sister Fannie and Jemima Boone, and they were discussing, with nimble fingers, some flowers hastily gathered while out milking in the morning under shelter of the guns and watchful eyes of their "braves." Just enough to decorate, in their own simple fashion, themselves and the cabin where the wedding feast is laid. In a very short time the delicious fragrance of the wild roses wafted to the eager senses of young Henderson reminded him of his own sweet rose that had so nearly been snatched from his grasp.

The brief ceremony was performed by Squire Boone, who was a Baptist preacher, immediately on the arrival of the groom and his party, after which came the wedding dinner. Not delicate dishes and confectionery, but good substantial food such as vigorous appetites crave and over which Mother Callaway and Mother Boone and whatever other mothers were in the fort at the time had been busy all the morning. Beef, bear's meat, fowls and venison, with such vegetables as they had been able to raise, set out on a four-legged wooden slab, as smooth as an ax could make it, for a table, and served in wooden bowls and trays, with wooden spoons. The carving was done with the ever ready knife at each belt, and they ate as they pleased, or as best they could. Perhaps there were enough left of the pewter spoons and tin cups brought from their old homes to supply an honored few, and the crystal nectar dipped from the bubbling spring under the "divine elm" was a beverage as refreshing as it was harmless.

The guests sat on long, wooden benches, with a three-legged stool at each end of the table, and however served or however eaten you may be sure they made a merry meal of it.

When dinner was over, as the cabins were rather small, they adjourned to the green, where on the smooth sward they danced the hours away until the sun went down and the moon and stars came out to light the jolly scene. If a stray fiddler had found his way to the wilds of Kentucky, no doubt he was there making the forests echo to the sound of jigs and reels and merry-go-rounds. It was the usual custom to keep up the dancing until the next day, but on this occasion they were doubtless more moderate, for when Betsy Callaway became a matron there were probably but two young ladies left in the fort, as the Boones and the Callaways seem to have been the only families there at that time, and the rest of the children must have been small. So much for the first wedding of Kentucky.

We cannot doubt they were all more careful from this time, and we do not hear of any more similar accidents at this fort. Daniel Boone himself was notably cau-

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tious, though so fearless, and would naturally seek to impress his own spirit and principles upon his family. But whether it was that this incident excited among the Indians a new thirst for blood, or that its failure aroused their spirit of revenge, for months afterward they kept the garrison in a continual state of alarm. None could venture outside the palisades for any purpose whatever, except at the risk of life. In April a regular attack was made upon the fort by a large body of the Indians, and though driven off, they reappeared in July with still greater numbers. There were no fainting nor screaming women in that fort, you may be sure. If terror they felt, it rather inspired them with true courage to help those who were defending them, to load their guns, to bring them water, to help them watch, and even, if need be, to fire the guns themselves. Although the Indians were beginning to be pretty well supplied with guns, and in this, as in almost every instance, greatly outnumbered the garrison, their attack was again repulsed, and for a little while after there was comparative tranquillity.

Whatever was left in the gardens was brought into the fort and stored away, the winter supply of wood secured and the hunters went out as of old, only taking care always to leave a sufficient guard at home. There was one need common to so many forms of animal life which they began to feel sorely—that was salt. Its importance was always considered in the choice of a location for a settlement, and it had not been forgotten here; but the salt lick near which Boonsborough had been built did not prove a sufficient supply, so the garrison found themselves obliged, in January, 1778, to send a party to Blue licks for more. They fully appreciated the danger of the undertaking and carefully deliberated over the number and choice of the men who should be sent. Of course Boone must be one, and with twenty-seven others of their best and bravest they set out, leaving some anxious hearts behind.

Rebecca Boone had seen her husband start off with a little handful of men into the unknown wilds of Kentucky, and though the parting grieved her sorely, she had very little idea of the perils that awaited him there. Even after that first fearful encounter with the Indians which she herself had witnessed, she only half guessed the meaning of death or captivity at their hands. But now visions of torture and cruelty haunted her. She knew it all only too well. She had the most implicit faith in her husband's sagacity as well as courage, but *could* they get there and back without being discovered? and if discovered, could not the Indians at any moment outnumber and overpower them? Her fears were by no means unreasonable, as the result proved. As the salt had to be evaporated from the water it was a matter of time, and while Boone was hunting to get provisions for them the Indians came upon him and captured first him and then the whole party. Taken thus at a disadvantage, none escaped except a few who had gone back to the fort with the salt already made. All the rest were carried off—who could tell whither, or to what fate?

Truly, those were times to try the soul of a woman. The months of agony and suspense were almost insupportable. Be-

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sides, Rebecca Boone must needs be dependent in great measure upon the bounty of the other hunters, for now, woman-like, she felt that she could never be willing to see her son go out with the rest. As day by day the certainty of her husband's death grew stronger, her thoughts began to turn back to the home and friends of North Carolina, and finding at last a safe opportunity she gathered up her little family and returned.

It had been only five years since she left, yet what a lifetime it appeared to look back upon, and how long it would take her to tell all she had seen and known. As she talked her heart would go back in happy memories to the bountiful land which her noble husband had so bravely struggled to win for the white man. Yet it had proved cruel to her, for it had drunk the blood of her first-born son and now of her husband. The comforts of civilized life are more to a woman than to a man, and she comes back to them with more of a relish after being deprived of them for awhile, and yet, in the mind of Rebecca Boone, all the hardships and privations of her life in Kentucky were so indissolubly connected with her husband that she could not think of them without regret. People who have known so much that is real in life are apt to be less demonstrative, especially in sorrow. And so we can picture the wife of the pioneer back in the haunts of her girlhood, going quietly through with her duties with no outward bewailings but with a true wife's unforgetting love for her lost hero. But behold! hath the dead come to life again! or is it the spirit of the departed that stalks so boldly into her presence on an autumn day!

Ah! she knows it is real flesh and blood when she sees that quiet smile and feels his strong arms about her once more. And—yes—after lingering a year or two in the old settlement she is ready to follow him back again to their home on the banks of the Kentucky; for she knows now that the loneliest wilds of the west, with his protecting love and care, can never be so desolate as any other home without him. We might well leave her there on her glad return in the midst of the pleasant reunion with old friends and enjoying to the full the honors paid to her husband because, in her absence, by a daring escape and timely warning, he had saved the fort from utter destruction. Or we might go on to tell of the many after-deeds of daring and self-sacrifice by which he proved himself worthy of their gratitude and admiration. Truly, stirring events did by no means cease, but the gradual encroachments of civilization and white settlements drove the Indians farther and farther back into their native forests, rendering life in that region much safer. They also, alas! brought with them the lessening of the game, the limiting of the free life, political discord and increasing litigation over the land titles, which luxuries the independent old forester did not at all enjoy, especially as he became himself the victim to the extent of losing, by some trivial legal flaw, nearly all of the land which he had so long considered his own. Thus in course of time his wife is again called upon to leave her home and follow him, first to the borders of West Virginia,

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then farther west, where he can have once more no enemies to contend with save nature, nature's creatures and the red-skins—foes much more to his fancy than lawyers and lawless speculators. Here, in the new wilds of Missouri, they lived the remainder of a long life and died in the midst of their children and grandchildren.

More than twenty years after, the slumbering patriotism of Kentucky awakened to the fact that the brave pioneer couple, to whom perhaps the state owed more than to any other one man and woman, were sleeping their last sleep in the soil of another state. The subject was broached in the legislature and measures adopted for having the remains brought to Frankfort. Kentucky enthusiasm at once took fire. An immense crowd gathered from every part of the state to receive and conduct the honored dust to the spot prepared for it, forming a procession more than a mile in length, the most distinguished living pioneers being selected as pall-bearers.

Thus the aged couple were at length laid to rest with fitting, though tardy honors, in a spot beautified both by nature and art, and in the heart of the country they had loved so dearly. And shortly after a handsome monument was erected to mark the graves of "the brave old pioneer" and "his good old spouse." Yet a still nobler, more lasting monument to their memory has been left us by one of Kentucky's poetic sons, Theodore O'Hara, when he sang:

A dirge for the brave old pioneer;
Knight-errant of the wood;
Calmly beneath the green sod here,
He rests from field and flood;
The war-whoop and the panther's screams
No more his soul shall rouse,
For well the aged hunter dreams
Beside his good old spouse.

A dirge for the brave old pioneer!
Hushed now his rifle's peal—
The dews of many a vanished year
Are on his rusted steel;
His horn and pouch lie mouldering
Upon the cabin door;
The elk rests by the salted spring,
Nor flees the fierce wild boar.

A dirge for the brave old pioneer!
Old Druid of the West;
His offering was the fleet wild deer,
His shrine the mountain crest.
Within his wildwood temple's space
An empire's towers nod,
Where erst alone of all his race
He knelt to nature's God.

A dirge for the brave old pioneer!
Columbus of the land!
Who guided freedom's proud career
Beyond the conquered strand:
And gave her pilgrim sons a home
No monarch's step profanes,
Free as the chainless winds that roam
Upon its boundless plains.

A dirge for the brave old pioneer!
The muffled drum resound!
A warrior is slumb'ring here
Beneath his battle ground.
For not alone with beast of prey
The bloody strife he waged,
Foremost where'er the deadly fray
Of savage combat raged.

A dirge for the brave old pioneer!
A dirge for his old spouse!
For her who blest his forest cheer,
And kept his birchen house.
Now soundly by her chieftain may
The brave old dame sleep on,
The red man's step is far away,
The wolf's dread howl is gone.

ANNIE E. WILSON.

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LORENZO DOW, THE ECCENTRIC ITINERANT PREACHER.

AN Ohio farmer many years ago saw at his kitchen doorway a strange looking man with long hair hanging over his shoulders, a book under his arm, his shoes and clothes dusty and stained with travel, and his whole appearance indicative of hard living, hard work and scanty fare. The stranger begged for a piece of dry bread. He was asked to remain for dinner but declined, and when the bread was given him took it to a stream of water near by, sang a hymn, prayed, moistened his bread and ate it, and then went on his way. Some days afterward another farmer, further south, saw the same man leaning against his gatepost, and apparently very weak and hungry. On being noticed and accosted he responded that all he wished was a chance to preach. It was granted, and when the neighbors had gathered in the evening they listened to a powerful revival sermon from the text: "I was a stranger and ye took me in: hungry, and ye fed me."

This man was Lorenzo Dow, on one of his remarkable journeys through the south and west. Such a mass of exaggerated and insignificant anecdotes have been told of this great and eccentric missionary revivalist that it is hard to imagine or discover him just as he was. Yet there are safe sources through which a picture of him may be obtained. That he was no humbug, every point in his life and character goes to show. He was earnest to the very verge of fanaticism. The atmosphere in which he was raised was one of extreme religious fervor, and he showed signs of its effect from his earliest years. While at play one day when but four years of age, he "suddenly fell into a muse about God and heaven and hell," about which he had even then heard much. When his companion observed his abstraction and asked him concerning it, Lorenzo responded: "Do you say your prayers?" "No." "Then I will not play with you; you are wicked," and into the house he went. When but twelve years old he began to have those dreams, or half trances, which followed him all his life and in which he placed such implicit belief. He thought on this occasion that the prophet Nathan came to him and told him he would die at twenty-two. It made a deep impression on his mind and remained to harass him until after that period was passed.

When less than fourteen years of age a conviction of his lost condition came upon him and carried such a weight of woe that he determined to put an end to his life and know the worst. He loaded a gun and went into the forest, but before putting his idea into execution the thought came to him that if he would wait some means of relief might be granted him. About that time the Methodists made their appearance in the neighborhood. One of them, Hope Hull, preached with such power that when Lorenzo heard him he was terribly affected. "I had liked to

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have fallen backward," to use his own language, "but saved myself by catching hold of my cousin, who sat by my side; and I durst not stir for some time for fear lest I should tumble into hell. After the assembly was dismissed I went out of doors; all nature seemed to wear a gloomy aspect, and everything I cast my eyes upon seemed to bend itself against me and wish me off the face of the earth. I went to the funeral of one of my acquaintances the same day, but durst not look on the corpse for fear of becoming one myself; I durst not go near the grave lest I should fall in and the earth come in upon me." This condition of mind remained for some time. He half expected to see the devil pick him up and carry him off bodily. One night he dreamed that Satan and an assistant came into his room, bound him with chains and carried him to a place of torment. Out of all this agony came peace at last, and when the conviction came to him that he could be saved, "the burden of sin and guilt and the fear of hell vanished from my mind as perceptibly as an hundred-pound weight falling from a man's shoulder."

When he heard the call to preach he was amazed and terrified, and tried to believe that it was but a false call from Satan. He tried as many devices of escape as Jonah, but they were of no use. Many difficulties lay in the way, but he finally mastered them all and commenced his wonderful itinerant career. Even then he had hours of the deepest doubt and most severe buffetings of spirit. On one occasion he dreamed that he had an interview with Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and was much concerned to know what it might imply. Again, he sets these words down in his diary: "Satan pursues me from place to place. Oh! how can people dispute there being a devil! If they underwent as much as I do with his buffeting, they would dispute it no more." He notes a case of faith cure even in those early days, in that of one Mary Spaulding, who had been "suddenly and miraculously restored from an illness which had confined her to her bed about the space of nine years."

During the first eight months of absence from home he traveled over four thousand miles, through heat in the valleys and cold on the mountains; frequently sleeping with a blanket on the floor, where he could see the stars through the roof, while the frost was sharp and nipping; going through rain and snow, often with no path at all, traveling all night sometimes to reach his appointments, preaching from ten to fifteen times a week, and often cold, hungry and in want. This describes the main features of all the working years of his life. Once, in the space of twenty-two days, he traveled three hundred and fifty miles, preached seventy-six times, visited many at their houses, and spoke to a number of class meetings.

Because he was not recognized by many of the ministers of his church at that time, he gave up the name of Methodist. He was afraid he would become insane, and many called him "the crazy preacher" from the start. He was at times eccentric to the borders of lunacy, and one cannot marvel that many odd and unfounded stories got afloat concerning him. One day as he was riding along he became so depressed in soul that he leaped from his

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horse, knelt in the wet grass and prayed aloud. He began, at one time, to question a young woman about the condition of her soul. He met with cool answers. "Well," said he at last, "I'll pray to God to send a fit of sickness upon you, if nothing else will do, to bring you to good; and if you won't repent, to take you out of the way, so that you shall not hinder others."

"If you'll pray for such things as this," was her answer, "you can't be the friend to my soul you pretend to be, and I'll venture all your prayers."

She was angry at first, then grew restless and uneasy, became troubled in mind, and finally was one of Dow's most zealous converts and friends. He asked another woman to pray. She responded that she did not have time. "Then I'll buy your time," said Lorenzo, whereupon she agreed to give one day for a dollar. She supposed he was in jest, but he threw the dollar in her lap and went away. She called after him to take the money, but he refused, and added, "If you go to hell it may follow and enhance your damnation." She put off the task for ten days, when, "her conscience roaring loud," as Dow says, "she took the day and read two chapters in the Bible and retired thrice to pray to God to show her what she was and what he would have her to be. Before night she felt distressed on account of her soul, and before long found the comforts of religion."

One evening when he had a houseful of young men he placed his back against the door so none of them could escape, and preached to them with such fervor that some cried aloud for mercy. A young woman with whom he was talking suddenly broke away from him and ran. He followed her to the house of a neighbor, and sitting down in a door, would not let her out until she had chosen to serve either God or Satan for a fortnight. She chose the latter, saying: "I can't keep the other." Lorenzo solemnly called on God to witness, and added: "I'll pray God that you may be taken sick before the fortnight's up." Before night she grew uneasy, soon broke her promise, and became a convert and a member of the church.

A man whom he had offended by plain preaching came into church and tried to pull his nose. Dow dodged, whereupon the women arose *en masse* and put the intruder out of doors. In his diary Lorenzo sets down many incidents which show the peculiar bent of his mind and the tenor of his belief. In illustration:

> A reprobation preacher sought to do us harm, when I publicly besought God, if he was a true minister, to bless his labors and make it manifest; but if he had jumped presumptuously into the work that God would remove him, so that he should not hurt the people. Shortly after he fell into a scandalous sin, and so his influence was lost. . . . As I entered the meeting-house, having an old borrowed great-coat on and two hats, the people were alarmed, and thought it singular that I did not bow to every pew as I went toward the pulpit, which was the custom there. My hat being taken from me without my consent, and two others forced upon me, I was carrying one to give to a young man. I besought God in public that something awful might happen in the neighborhood, if nothing else would do to alarm the people. A company of young people going to a tavern one of them said, "I will ride there as Christ rode into Jerusalem." Instantly his horse started, ran a distance, and threw him against a log. He spoke no more until he died, which was next morning. . . . In Alford I preached Methodism, inside and outside. Many came to hear; one woman thought I aimed at her dress. The next meeting

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she ornamented far more, in order that I might speak to her. But I, in my discourse, took no notice of dress, and she went away disgraced and ashamed.

Lorenzo had determined to marry no woman who would object to his traveling, and when he came to his courtship it was pursued after his own peculiar plan. One, S. M., of Western, kept a house for preachers, or "Methodist tavern," as it was called by the people. When Dow preached in that neighborhood M. asked him to come to his house, and added, "My daughter will be glad to see you." Lorenzo remained there all night, but not a word passed between him and Peggy, who was an adopted child. He went to his appointment, and while he was preaching he felt "an uncommon exercise" to run through his mind. He pondered on it, and before evening he asked M. if he would object to Lorenzo's talking with the girl about matrimony. The reply was, "I have nothing to say, only I have requested her, if she has any regard for me, not to marry so as to leave my house."

On reaching the house Dow abruptly asked the wife what they had been doing in his absence. She told him, and added that Peggy was resolved that she would never marry, except to a preacher, and that he must keep on traveling. Just then Peggy came into the room. Lorenzo repeated this remark, and asked her if she had made it. She answered in the affirmative, whereupon Lorenzo said: "Do you think you could accept of such an object as me?" She made no answer, but retired from the room. He went away, but returned in a few days, when he told her he would be back again "in a year and a half or so" and receive her answer! After he had been south some time the family removed to that section, and he was quietly married to Peggy in the fall of 1804.

During the closing months of that year and the early ones of 1805 he crossed Ohio and went into the Mississippi valley, preaching at Pittsburgh, Steubenville and Wheeling on the way. He makes this entry: "I have been in each of the seventeen states of the Union." Of Chillicothe, then the capital of Ohio, he writes: "Stayed with the governor two days. No slavery can be introduced here. There are lands laid off for schools in great magnitude." Once he traveled all night, until ten o'clock on the following morning, stopped at a place called Bethel, finished his sermon, stepped from his pulpit to an open window, jumped out, mounted his horse, rode seventeen miles, making nearly eighty miles of travel and five meetings without sleep. He had been threatened on one occasion, and thus describes the outcome: "A chump of wood being thrown in through the window, I leaped out after the man. He ran and I after him, crying 'Run! Run! Old Sam [Satan] is after you!' He did run as for his life, and, leaping over a fence, hid among the bushes. Next morning I cut Old Sam's name on the wood, nailed it to a tree, and called it Old Sam's monument." One young man who had led in the attack had, according to Lorenzo, the end of his nose bitten off; another was flung from his horse and killed, while several others were "remarked to be followed with chastisement from the Lord."

In recording his experiences in England, he gives a view of the religious divis-

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ions of the day. There were seven varieties of Methodists alone, saying nothing of other denominations; one, Old Society; two, Kilhamites; three, Quaker Methodists; four, Whitefield's Methodists; five, Revivalists or Free Gospelers; six, Welsh Methodists, commonly called "Jumpers;" seven, Church Methodists. He tells of one Margaret Keen, who had "accurately dreamed of Bonaparte's disaster" before it occurred. Of Pittsburgh even in that early day he says: "Pittsburgh has become famous in the New World, and by nature combining with art promises to be one of the great manufacturing towns in America. Seven or eight glass works in the neighborhood, and as many places of worship." "One thing is observable, that for hundreds of miles on the Kentucky side the people were dilatory at night and morning in coming to meeting, but on the opposite side [Ohio] the thing was quite different. The only thing as a reason that I can assign for this is slavery."

The concluding entries in his diary are as follows: "In a few weeks I expect to start for the west again, but where I may be this time twelvemonth is very uncertain to me; whether in England, Sierra Leone, in Africa, West Indies or New England, or eternity; but the controversy with the nations is not over, nor will it be until the divine government be reverentially acknowledged by the human family." His troubled and remarkable career came to an end at Washington, D. C., on February 2, 1834.

J. H. KENNEDY.

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THE MAKING OF THE GREAT WEST.*

THERE never was in the history of man, and there never can be again, so important a geographical event as the discovery, conquest and settlement of the American continent; and could the story be told with such fullness as all the detailed incidents in each of the avenues of approach could furnish, nothing more marvelous in romance or more thrilling in the wars and conquests of the dark ages, could be found and written to the edification and instruction of mankind. One indeed needs an elevation from which to view all the roads leading across ocean to America before he can gain the faintest idea of the grand events that commenced in the sixteenth century, and have had their continuance on into the present. Columbus merely touched the outer shore, and sailed back to Spain to find that Diaz, the Portuguese mariner, had found the Cape of Good Hope. Great events these—and greater still in their effect upon Spain and Portugal, whose monarchs cooly proceeded to divide between themselves "all the unknown lands and seas to the east and to the west of a meridian line which should be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores;" a partition which received the sanction of the greatest power in Europe, when Pope Alexander VI confirmed it by special decree. With De Soto in Florida and upon the broad Mississippi, Cortez in Mexico, and Pizarro in Peru, Spain indeed made a secure and profitable foothold upon the new land her adventurous adopted son had discovered. But the prize was not to be drawn home and divided without claimants. Quoting from Mr. Drake in the admirable work mentioned below: "The newly awakened spirit of discovery would not down at the bidding of prince or pontiff, let him be never so great or powerful. Once aroused it was sure to find ways by which some part of the benefits to accrue to mankind from this grand discovery should not be monopolized by a single nation. We might even say that all the nations of Europe instinctively felt this to be their opportunity—the opportunity of the human race." France was not last in the field, and when Jacques Cartier raised the cross and the banner of France over the new land, and took possession of it in the name of his king, there was another strong and courageous claimant upon the soil. England was not far behind, while the lesser nations of the old world made such ventures and laid such claims as their courage would permit or their means of defense allow them to make good.

* 'The Making of the Great West: 1512–1883.' By Samuel Adams Drake. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

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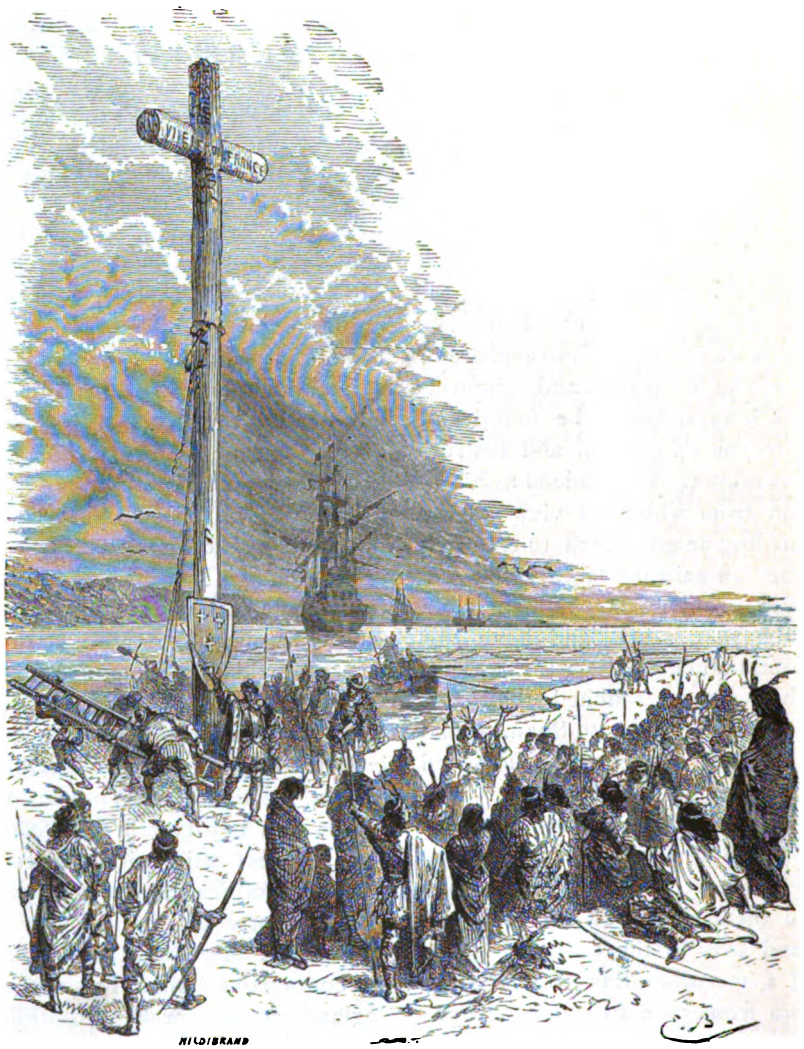
The struggle of the three great nations for supremacy, and the evolution



CARTIER TAKING POSSESSION FOR FRANCE.

—or perhaps fore-ordination—by which America became a people, is told by Mr. Drake, in the book already quoted, as we have never seen it told before. It is not so much a history as a bird's-eye view; and it is to commend and encourage historical narration of that character that this brief sketch is

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written. He follows new lines of travel, and casts the trivial and unimportant far into the background. It is a fascinating and marvelous journey—across the history of this great west—did we but read aright the signs blazed all along the way. The exploration of New Mexico; the conquests and collisions of sword and gown in California; the westward movements by the great inland waterways; the labors and experiences of Joliet, Marquette and La Salle as they carried the name of France and the cross of Rome across the great lakes and into the wilderness beyond; the triumph of France when the grand prize of Louisiana was securely within her grasp; the daring of Henry Hudson; and the final birth of a great nation upon the soil consecrated by such valor, and darkened by the commission of so many needless errors and grievous wrongs.

CAVELIER DE LA SALLE.

One commendable feature in Mr. Drake's work and the method of his history, lies in the space given to questions now so far in the past as to be considered impartially, and yet near enough to lie within the memories of men now alive. These things have had a wonderful force upon the rapid development of the west, and no consideration of the question can be reasonably had without them. Who can measure the effects of the explorations of Zebulon Pike in the valley of the Arkansas; the discovery of gold in Colorado by James Pursley of Kentucky, who had gone to St. Louis in 1799—"lured by the thirst for adventure for which men of his class willingly give up all the comforts of civilized life; he was one of those men who, like Daniel Boone, thought it time to move on when he could no longer fell a tree so that its top would lie within a few yards of the door of his cabin;" or the events that happened in the humble saw-mill of Captain Sutter, on the south fork of the American river, in far-off California? Mr. Drake's description of that wonderful event is worthy of quotation in full:

> One evening when all within the fort wore its usual quiet, a horseman rode up in hot haste and asked to see Sutter alone. This was James W. Marshall, one of Sutter's men, who had charge of the mill above. Seeing by his manner that something unusual was the matter, Sutter led the way into his private room, and turned the key in the lock. With much show of mystery Marshall then handed his employer a packet, which being opened, was found to contain a handful of yellow metal, in flakes or kernels, which he said he had taken from the mill-race and asserted to be gold. By the light of a candle the two men bent over the little heap of shining particles in eager scrutiny. Sutter would not believe it was gold. Marshall was sure it could be nothing else. Aquafortis was then tried without effect. The metal was next weighed with silver, in water. All doubt was removed

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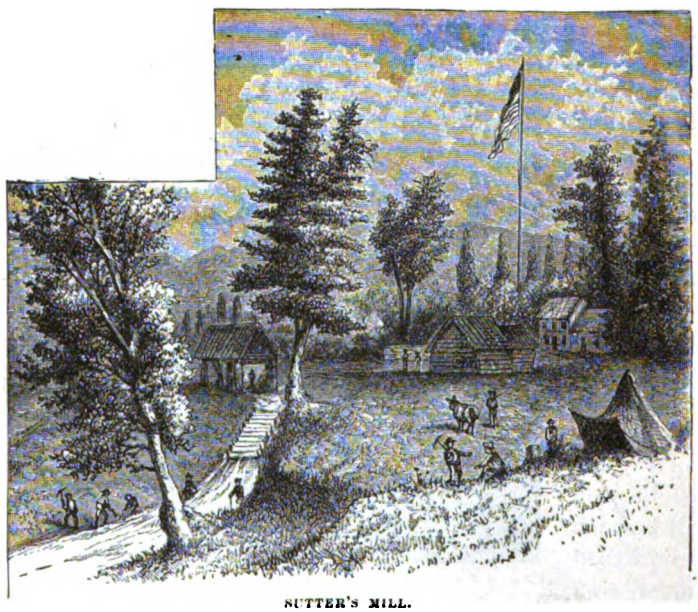
It was indeed gold, yellow gold, that Marshall had found. His story, briefly told, was to this effect. They had started the mill, when the tail-race was found too small to carry off the water. In order to deepen it the whole head of water was then let into the race, thus washing it out to the required depth. It was while looking at the work the water had done that Marshall saw many shining particles lodged in crevices of the rocks, or among the dirt

tlers and Indians of the neighborhood next caught the infection. Gold was quickly found at a point midway between Sutter's fort and mill, called the Mormon diggings, on Feather river, and in the gulches above the mill site. From these districts the first miners began to straggle down to San Francisco with pouches of gold-dust in their possession. Men who had hardly known what it was to have a dollar of their own, suddenly lived



SUTTER'S MILL.

the water had carried down before it. All at once it flashed upon him that this might be gold. Gathering up what he could without risk of detection, he had started off for the fort without making his discovery known to any one. Sutter saw his happy pastoral life of the past on the point of vanishing. He made an idle effort to keep the discovery a secret, at least till he could set his house in order. It was soon known in the household and at the mill. From this little mountain nook it was borne on the wings of the wind to the sea-coast, and from the sea-coast to the four quarters of the globe. Captain Sutter's men deserted him in a body. The American set-

"Like an emperor in their expense."

The effect was magical. Within a short three months most of the houses in San Francisco and Monterey were shut up. Blacksmiths left their anvils, carpenters their benches, sailors their ships, soldiers were every day deserting from the garrisons of San Francisco, Sonoma and Monterey. The two newspapers then printed in the country suspended their issue indefinitely. Everybody was off for the mines, and nothing else was talked of but gold.

It it needless to describe to Americans the effect this discovery had upon

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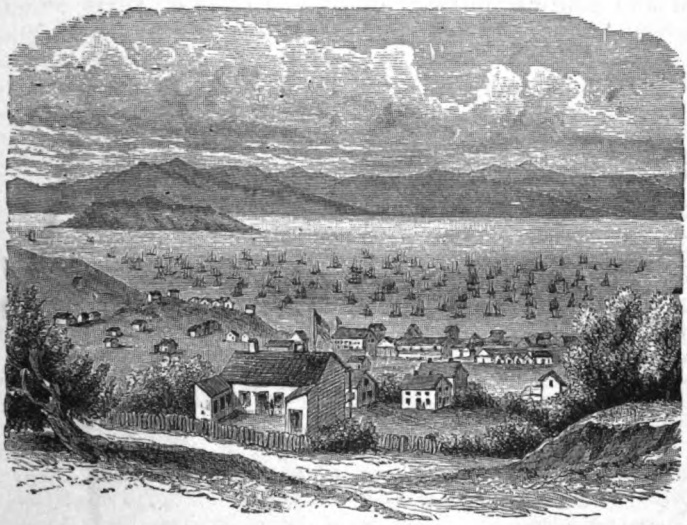
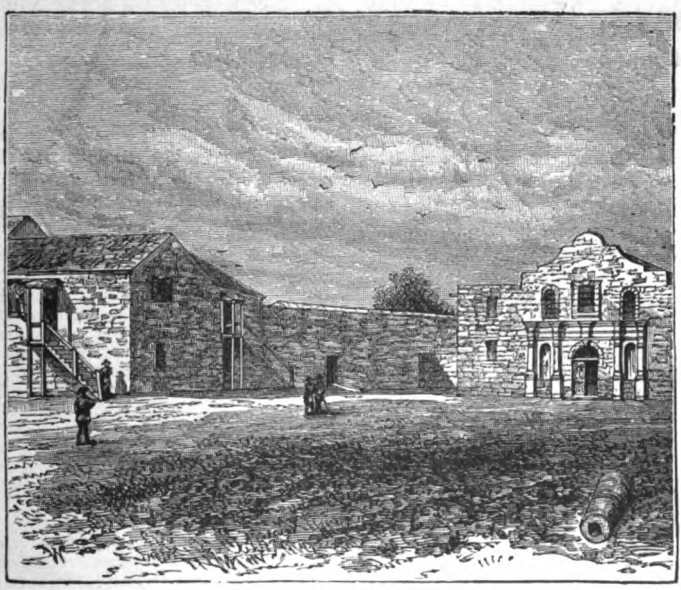


SAN FRANCISCO IN 1849.



THE ALAMO.

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the material and political fortunes of the great west.*

The story of Texas and of the war with Mexico, forms a thrilling and ro-

* Within the past five years—the exact date not being at hand—the man who made this great discovery passed away from life, poor, and almost forgotten by the generation for which he had done so much. From a newspaper account of his life, the following is taken: Last Monday there died at his home, in Coloma, California, a poverty-stricken, disappointed old man, four years past the allotted three-score and ten, who laid the foundation of California's wealth by his intelligence and sagacity. This man, whom California has so shamefully treated, was James W. Marshall, who in January, 1848, made the discovery of gold at Sutter's fort, and worked such a revolution in a wilderness country that in less than three years thereafter it was received into the sisterhood of states. The history of Marshall's life reads almost like a romance. He was born in Hope township, New Jersey, in 1812. After receiving a plain education he learned the trade of a coach and wagon builder. He was smitten with the "western fever" when about twenty-one years old, and, having traveled in Indiana and Illinois, bought a farm on the Platt purchase, near Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. His health was poor, and his doctor said he must either die or seek a change of air. May 1, 1844, he joined a train of one hundred wagons bound for that, at that time, almost unknown land, California. The party reached its destination in June, 1845, and camped at Cache creek, about forty miles from where Sacramento now stands. From that point its members took their several ways. Marshall and a few others went to Sutter's fort, Sacramento county, where he entered the service of General Sutter. About a year after this, and after Marshall had begun life in the stock business on a farm of two leagues in area, the Mexicans made an attempt to prevent a body of American emigrants from entering California. This led to the Bear Flag war, in which General Sutter, Marshall and others assisted, as volunteers, General Fremont of the United States military post at Sutter Buttes in the defense of their countrymen. Fighting was frequent and severe. Marshall took part in all the engagements of the campaign, which resulted in a treaty signed March, 1847, recognizing the independence of California. Marshall procured his discharge and returned to Sutter's fort. Upon his arrival he found that most of the cattle he had left on his farm had been stolen or strayed during his absence. He therefore gave up his farm and began arrangements to start in the lumber business at Coloma, Amador county, as active partner with General Sutter, who undertook to furnish the necessary capital. Work was begun on the mill in August, 1847.

The eighteenth of January following, Marshall was superintending the building of the mill-race. After shutting off the water at the head of the race he walked down the ditch to see what sand and gravel had been removed during the previous night. He strolled to the lower end of the race and stood looking down at the mass of debris. At this juncture his eye caught the glitter of something that lay lodged in a crevice on a riffle of soft granite. He stooped and picked up the substance. It was heavy, of a peculiar color, and different from anything he had ever seen in the stream before. He was satisfied that he had indeed made an important discovery. In several days he collected a few ounces of the precious metal, and as he had occasion to visit Sutter's fort in a short time, he took the specimens with him. He informed Sutter of his discovery, but the general was incredulous, and it was not until chemical experiments had settled the question beyond all doubt, that he would admit the mineral was gold. At last all doubts faded, and the excitement began to spread. The news flew over the country like wildfire, and those whites who were then in California went into the quest for gold with great ardor and energy. Additional revelations were made daily, and the news of the discovery was spread. Then came the mad rush from the east and the old world. It was a furious race for wealth. In 1849 every sailing vessel and steamer landing at San Francisco was crowded with adventurers. They knew that gold had first been found in Coloma, and many went thither. Without inquiry or negotiation they squatted upon Marshall's land about the mill, seized his work oxen for food, confiscated his horses, and marked the land off into town lots and distributed them among themselves. Thus robbed of his property he perforce became a prospector, but never succeeded in finding much gold. The neighbors who had spoiled his possessions added insult to injury by presuming that he knew the whereabouts of rich deposits of gold and refused to give information to them, and persecuted him on these false suppositions. To add to his trouble his title to the land he had purchased prior his great discovery was questioned and he lost it all. The state has helped him a little, but only a little, in his hard fight against poverty, all the more severe by reason of advanced age.

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mantic chapter in the history of our land. Mexico threw off her allegiance to Spain in 1821, while Texas followed her example and proclaimed her independence of Mexico fourteen years later. The revolution was successful and the conflict bloody. The desperate work of the Mexicans at the Alamo, where seven-score brave men were put to death in cold blood, and the

SAMUEL HOUSTON.

JOHN BROWN.

act that the new state possessed many Americans among its members, won sympathy in an unmeasured degree in the great republic to the north, and it was a foregone conclusion that the two states should become as one. General Samuel Houston was the first president of the new republic, and when annexation was completed, he was elected to a seat in the senate of the United States. War with Mexico was the result of these events.

Many other stirring events might be cited in connection with the above. The long struggles that were a consequence of slavery and that led up to the final outburst of 1861; the Kansas-Nebraska trouble; the deeds of John Brown, and that little band who became so wrought up in the bloody days of border warfare that they dreamed the wild dream and formed the desperate resolve of Harper's Ferry; the founding of a Morman empire in Utah; the taking of California; the conquest of New Mexico; the building of the iron highways across the continent; —these are a few of the things that, according to Mr. Drake, are parts of no small moment in the making of the great west. His well told story closes "with the National domain completed within limits grander than even the sagacious Jefferson had hoped for. Though 'peace hath her victories,' peaceful development, such as has fol-

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lowed the settlement of grave political questions, affords fewer materials for history than the stirring records of war, or the annals of political strife. The

BROWN'S LOG HOUSE.

west shared with the east in the drain made upon its resources by the secession war. Its recovery from the effects of that war has, however, been so marked that to-day all traces of it are nearly effaced from its outward and inward life. National unity is no longer a thing of territorial expansion, as with the statesmen of Jefferson and Benton's time, but now means a perfect union of the whole people in the cause of progress, and for the welfare of mankind. In that peaceful conflict the once hostile sections are now engaged with a praiseworthy emulation." If the politicians would but say amen to that!

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

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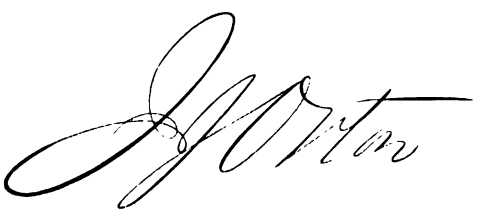

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THE BENCH AND BAR OF MILWAUKEE.

IX.

JOHN J. ORTON.

THE death of John J. Orton in the early days of 1885 removed from the Milwaukee bar one of the ablest and, in some respects, one of the most remarkable men included in its membership. Many knew him as the lawyer, the keen man of business, and the antagonist who, never yielding an inch, staked all his powers and his fortune upon any point which he believed to be the right; and yet few there were who knew him as he really was, and understood the kindness, loyalty and true-heartedness that lay in the depth of his nature, or the brightness with which he commenced the career upon which so many shadows were afterwards fated to fall. It is more than profitable—it is justice—to show somewhat to the world the truth concerning his character and career.

Mr. Orton was a man who relied upon himself for his advancement, and he learned the need of that in the very beginning. He was born in the town of Brookfield, Madison county, New York, on April 25, 1812. His father, Harlow N. Orton, was a member of the medical profession, and in the year 1817 removed with his family to the town of Cambria, Niagara county, New York, as one of the earliest settlers of that part of the "Holland Purchase." Here, in the dense woods and among the Indians, the pioneers built their log cabins and made their "clearings," and as they were mostly from New England and valued education, they soon had good common or district schools. In one of these the subject of this sketch received the rudiments of his education. When he was eleven years of age he became a clerk in a dry goods and drug store, at Albion, Orleans county, and remained with the same employer until he went into partnership with him, at the age of eighteen. He was a remarkably steady and industrious youth, of kind disposition, even temper, and very genial and pleasant manners. He was the most popular young man in the county, and known by all by the familiar name of "John." He was fond of humor, and much given to wit and repartee, and was a general favorite in society. At an early age he became a member of the old school Presbyterian church of Albion, and proved himself a serious and thoughtful Christian, well grounded in the doctrines of his church. He had a genius for music, both vocal and instrumental, and was the organist of the church, and played on other instruments. He was for many years the superintendent of the Sabbath school of the church. He was very fond of reading, studious in the intervals of his work, and became a most excellent and thrifty merchant. His greatest intellectual force was mathematical, and he was a "ready reckoner," if not a "lightning calculator."

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The old Orleans County bank failed and he was appointed the agent or commissioner to close up its affairs, which he did with general satisfaction, and he held with credit to himself other positions of responsibility and trust. He nearly prepared himself for college in his counting-room, and having disposed of his business, finished his course of preparation at Middlebury, Vermont, and entered upon a classical course at Yale college, and at the end of four years graduated with honor. Immediately afterwards he read law and was admitted to the bar in the city of New York. He then formed a business connection with Honorable Isaac Sherman, now of Wall street, New York, to manage the entire lumber business of Deroitt & Co. of Albany, at Buffalo, and to buy and forward all the lumber of that market. They made considerable money in that enterprise, and at the end of a few years Mr. Sherman became a banker and broker in New York City, and wished his old friend and partner to join him in that business. But John J. had only two brothers, Myron H. and Harlow S. Orton, and as he had never been near them since his childhood, and as they were residents of Milwaukee, he decided to pay them a visit; and upon arrival there he saw openings for business that seemed profitable, and led him to a number of investments which afterwards became so urgent in demanding his personal attention that he concluded to settle there and make it his home. That visit was paid in 1850, and after deciding to remain he became a member of the firm of Orton, Cross & Orton, in the practice of the law. By the investments spoken of above he laid the foundations of a very large fortune; but out of them arose the long litigation that formed one of the main labors of his life, a contest that has become a part of the legal history of Wisconsin, and that ran on through various courts and many years, and ended in his final triumph and complete vindication. Of that contest Mr. Orton himself once wrote:

> In my operations I was compelled to take what is called here the "Humboldt property," on some advances I had made upon it, in default of payment. This property lies about three miles north of the city court-house, on the Milwaukee river, and consisted of a water-power, dam, mills, etc., and a large tract of land. The incident referred to grew out of a lease of part of the water by my grantors to one J. A. Noonan and his partner, P. McNab. I bought this property in 1852, and soon after Noonan commenced a litigation with me on account of this lease, which lasted about twenty-five years. This was the first lawsuit I had ever had with anyone. I soon found I was engaged with a mammoth litigant—one who meant my ruin in a series of vexatious lawsuits. . . . In the meantime suits had multiplied between us to over a score. . . . I have conquered—after a contest of a quarter of a century and over one hundred lawsuits, in which between forty and fifty lawyers have been pitted against me, and thirty-six opinions written in the supreme court of the state, in these Noonan and Orton cases.

This extended litigation was ended only a short time before his death, and his final success in the courts was evidence that he was right. Mr. Orton conducted his own cases, and in every turn and movement showed himself in the possession of exhaustless resources of legal knowledge and skill, and of a will that was like adamant. "In his very first argument before the supreme court of Wisconsin," has been said by one competent to speak, "he measured lances more than successfully with his adversaries, gaining a legal point in the de-

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cision that ultimately saved him his property and laid his most formidable foes in the dust. From that time forth his suits were all brought and defended *in propria persona*, no matter what the array of counsel against him. His style of legal oratory was peculiar. It had all the clearness and precision of statement that marked the best efforts at the Wisconsin bar, combined with a certain piquancy and cayenne-seasoning that were altogether refreshing, as well as *sui generis*. Regarding the suits brought against him as wholly vexatious and annoying, he not only chafed under them, but he chafed back, his words piercing, lacerating and laying the flesh open to the very bone. None could hear him without feeling that he was a man gigantically wronged—one fighting for dear life because he was obliged to fight. He invariably carried the sympathies of the audience with him, and, when worsted at a given point, had this encouragement to fight on." Mr. Orton was also engaged in the practice of his profession, in other prominent cases, description of which is hardly necessary here.

There was so much in the bearing and character of John J. Orton that was never understood, and so much more that was misunderstood, by the people among whom he for so many years lived, that any mention of his life would be incomplete that did not touch upon the change that was wrought in him by sad circumstances, that would have changed the gentlest soul that ever lived. When he settled in Milwaukee he, for the first time, considered himself permanently located, and began to look upon that city as his chosen home. He had been prosperous in business, and had a competence, and hoped that he would spend the rest of his life in happiness and peace. He had long loved one whom he believed would make him a suitable wife, and the attachment had been reciprocal, and they were only waiting for the proper and convenient time for the nuptials. The one upon whom his heart had been so long and loyally set was the daughter of one of the first families of New Haven, who was beautiful in her girlhood, and upon whom no shadow had been cast when he met and won her love. On the peace, purity, congeniality and manifold blessings of the marriage relation as the foundation, he had built up all the hopes of his future life. He was a faithful member of the church and a well-established member of society. One thing more and his happiness would be complete. Within a few months he was living in Milwaukee a married man, and thought he had reached the full fruition of his hopes. But alas! All these fruits turned to ashes in an hour. There fell upon him suddenly the revelation of an unfortunate infirmity in his newly-made wife; and that—with the knowledge of the deception that had been practiced upon him in repayment for his love and trust—came like the breaking of the anchor chains that had held him fast in the harbor of peace and hope and joyous anticipation, letting him drift into a strange and stormy career so unlike his former self. He was divorced, but the harm had been done. The effect upon the life of John J. Orton was instantaneous and terrible. He abandoned the practice of the law and went into all sorts of wild speculation; worked early

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and late, and immersed himself in business, to drown all other thoughts. He abandoned his religion and his music together, and never played or sang again. He thought it had wronged him, and he became morose towards the world and suspicious of all friendships. He became gloomy and hard and harsh, where he had been cheerful, liberal, genial and generous. He was no longer himself. He was now something else and somebody else, just as these trials had made him. He lived thereafter a dual life. When he forgot his troubles, turmoils and cares, he was the finished scholar, the polished gentleman, the genial friend, and read the classics and modern authors and loved to discuss questions of science, literature and art. These unfortunate events occurred so soon after he came to Milwaukee that they were then known to but few and since scarcely remembered by those familiar with his subsequent history. The habits, moods and manners of his subsequent life had become so fixed that his marriage to a most estimable lady afterwards, although happy and favorable as it could be to him, after such a trying experience, scarcely changed them.

Some idea of Mr. Orton's mental and moral characteristics can be gleaned from what has gone before, and yet it would be a grave injustice to his memory to leave that as it stands without the additional light that an intimate knowledge of his life would furnish. The inherent independence of his nature of itself caused him to be misunderstood and misjudged in many cases where a man of more pliable stuff would have made friends by the proffer of confidence and the asking for aid. In his intercourse with men he carried himself as one sufficient unto himself, courting neither the good nor the ill will of those about him. He was capable of the closest friendships, but not dependent upon them. For his personal or professional enemy he had a side of adamant, and to such no other side was ever revealed. In illustration of his ability to fight his own battles when words were the sharp-edged weapons employed, and as affording an insight into his mental characteristics and showing him as he was—his sharp, direct style of speech and composition and his mental grasp and vigor of rugged expression—I take the liberty of quoting a letter written by Mr. Orton in 1884 to a former class-mate at Yale, as follows :

I was born in the town of Brookfield, Madison county, New York, April 25, 1812—to-day, 71 years, 364 days—early in the morning ; a farmer's boy. Common school until 11 ; went into store ; became merchant at 21. Earned some money ; went to Burr seminary, Vermont, in '36 ; prepared for college ; at Yale '38-42. Crash of '37 cleaned me out. Came out of college poor ; studied law, last resource of a poor student. To support myself the while kept books in Bank of Orleans, New York. Went to Albany ; entered name as law student in office of S. D. Law. Admitted to practice in old supreme court of New York City, in May, 1847. Too poor to practice law. Went into merchandising again ; wholesale lumber at Buffalo, '47-'49. Went west in '49 ; landed at Milwaukee on a visit to see my two brothers. Became engaged in merchandising in real estate there. Made money in '52-3. Got into the Noonan and Orton litigation which lasted until Noonan broke down, went into bankruptcy, and died in the mad-house in 1881-2 ; say about thirty years. So that, from '53 to the present, I have had to be a lawyer, *ex necessitate*—in self-defense. Sixty-five lawyers were employed in a long guerrilla fight commenced against me to overthrow me. I won—was not overthrown—never have been. Opposing lawyers were directed to show no quarter, and I de-

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fended on that plan; fought the battle as it was laid; succeeded to my satisfaction in the overthrow of Noonan, and, am happy to say, the most of his merciless crew of lawyers. . . . . Truly I have fought a fight, and, I hope a good one. We are told of those, who of old, fought wild beasts at Ephesus. But I have fought devils incarnate; and have felt sometimes in the past that hell was empty and all the devils were here. My will and good courage have carried me through, almost alone, for when one is assaulted all false friends flee away.

The outspoken openness of Mr. Orton's character in youth, referred to in the beginning of this sketch, is dwelt upon with the tenderness of recollection of olden days in the "Class Letter" of his Yale college associates for 1885, wherein it is said, in connection with the announcement of his death:

We all knew and loved John Orton in college. He was of ardent temperament, frank and outspoken in his address, of genial, kindly nature, social in his disposition, and capable of strong attachment to his friends. He was, even in college, a marked character for his independence of spirit. He was the oldest man of the class, and often, in a pleasant, jocose way, would assume the role of paternal guardianship over those of the class with whom he was the most intimate. He was accustomed to address them as "*Soboles*," to indicate their youthful verdancy, as compared with his larger experience of life. When our college days were ended, and a group of us had come together for the last time, in one of our rooms, to have a good talk before the final parting, John Orton was with us, and with no one of the group was the last hand-shaking and the last farewell more hearty and prolonged than with him. We saw little of him from that sad day.

The severe honesty of his early life was preserved through the after years, and no charge of dishonest dealing or of any departure from strict justice or integrity could be advanced against him in any of his business relations. Of his legal qualities it has been well said: "As a lawyer he must have subscribed, mentally at least, to the ancient oath of English barristers: 'Present nothing to the court in falsehood, but make war for your clients.'" He did make war for them, and in that aggressive, earnest and stormy way that generally brought victory. As a lawyer, his mind was intuitive and far-seeing. He founded all arguments upon the immovable rock of natural law, and many of his pleadings in cases of wrong or oppression wreaked upon the poor and weak by the rich and strong, were considered of the highest order. His industry was great. He possessed a deep knowledge of books, while his memory was comprehensive and accurate. While the style of composition employed in his legal papers was generally bold, uneven and sharp-cornered, it was always scholarly, always clear and able, and often beautiful and eloquent. He would always take cases where the poor had been wronged, without fee or hope of reward, and fight them through with unexampled vigor and almost universal success. His secret charities were numerous, as those who stood close to him can well testify; and in behalf of those who were struggling with some injustice that threatened to overwhelm them, he put forth the most vigorous efforts of his life, never retreating until the wrong had been righted, or the last method and means of procedure had been exhausted.

The end of Mr. Orton's busy life came quietly on the evening of Saturday, January 24, 1885. He had been in good health until about a month before his death, when he was taken with erysipelas, which neither the skill of his physicians nor the loving and devoted attentions of his wife and daughters could deter from

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its fatal work. His death was received with sincere mourning by his large circle of friends, and especially by the many poor and lowly, whom he had quietly helped by his means, or whom he had defended against those who had marked them as easy prey. The funeral services were held at the family home on Mason street, and the remains were borne to their last resting place in Forest Home cemetery by leading members of the Milwaukee bar, while among the many mourners present from other parts of the state were all the members of the Wisconsin supreme court—of which Mr. Orton's brother, Honorable Harlow S. Orton, is an honored and distinguished member.

J. H. KENNEDY.

FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1856.

IT is but thirty-one years since the National convention of February 22, 1856, was held at Pittsburgh; yet short as the period seems in telling of it, the event itself has grown so dim and shadowy, that the history of it, to most people, seems more like a tradition than a recorded fact. Even I, who was a part of it, had got other events so inextricably mixed up with it, in memory, that the original record, when consulted, scattered to the winds many things I would otherwise have put forward as trusty "recollections." The idea of writing this article was first suggested by a statement from a public man that John C. Fremont should be invited to attend the celebration of the formation of the party, projected by the Americus club for February 22, 1888, inasmuch as he was nominated here for President on February 22, 1856. This seemed to indicate so profound an ignorance of the history of that convention that I felt that some one familiar with it should revive a correct history of it; but when I came to consult the files of the Pittsburgh papers of 1856, I found my own memory as much at fault as any one else's. What follows, therefore, is gleaned, not from memory, but from the actual record.

Before entering upon that history, however, it is necessary to get a correct idea of the state of party politics at that period. The Whig party had made its last Presidential nomination (General Winfield F. Scott) in 1852. It had found itself face to face, on that occasion, with the slavery problem, and planted its feet, as the fates willed, on the pro-slavery side of it. The result was that the party carried but two states for Scott, and was so hopelessly beaten that it never after lifted its head as a National party. The Liberty or Free-soil party, too, made its last nomination in 1852. It rallied upon John P. Hale as its candidate, but made so poor a showing as to discourage its adherents. The anti-slavery sentiment had not grown weaker, but was seeking other forms of expression. The party, as a political organization, died with the

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election of 1852. In the meantime, between 1852 and 1856, two grave questions had arisen: the "American" question, involving hostility to Catholics and foreigners, and the "Kansas-Nebraska" question, involving the extension or non-extension of slavery into the National territories. The "Americans" or "Know-Nothings" organized secretly and rapidly, and carried nearly everything before them in the north in 1854; but dissensions among them weakened them in 1855, when they were generally unsuccessful, and in 1856 they were hopelessly rent in twain by the slavery question. In this state of things, with no general organization before the people but the Democratic, those opposed to the Democracy who were not in the Know-Nothing lodges, had no general concert of action, but organized locally as they best could; some on an "anti-Nebraska" platform, others on a Free-soil basis, and others still, here and there, under the name of "Republicans." This name was first suggested as fitting in 1854, by a Pennsylvania paper, but was first adopted as a party name in that year in Illinois, and subsequently in Michigan and other states. But these were spasmodic movements. In 1855 the elements of opposition to Democracy in Ohio united as "anti-Nebraska" men and carried the state, whilst in Pennsylvania, Vermont, Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin the "Republican" organization was continued and expanded. The "Republican" organization in Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, in 1855, attracted considerable attention, not because of its success, but because of its solidity and practical character.

Governor Chase of Ohio, who had just been elected governor of that state on an "anti-Nebraska" platform, was specially attracted by the movement in Allegheny county. He had sense enough to see that the people opposed to slavery extension into Kansas and Nebraska could not make National opposition to the Democratic party on that issue without National organization, and that such organization was hopeless in the then distracted condition of the opposition. He was pleased with the local movement here, because it called out the right sort of men and was upon a basis that could easily be made general. Upon a visit here in November, 1855, he held a consultation with David N. White, then editor of the *Gazette*. He urged the calling of a National convention for consultation and the formation of a National party upon the "Republican" basis, and his advice was followed. He did not show his own hand in this movement, and did not identify himself with it until sometime afterwards. He was too cautious for that; and having first been elected governor by a casual union of men of all parties, he probably did not feel in a condition to lead in the formation of a new one. But it was upon his advice and at his suggestion that the movement for a National convention was made. Mr. White took upon himself the burden of opening and conducting a general correspondence on the subject; and the result was that the chairmen of the Republican State

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committees in the states already having a Republican organization were requested to issue a call for a National convention at Pittsburgh on February 22, 1856. This call was issued early in 1856, and as it will explain itself, I append it:

To the Republicans of the United States:

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, chairmen of the State Republican committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal convention at Pittsburgh, on the twenty-second of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National organization, and providing for a National Delegate convention of the Republican party, at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and vice-presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

A. P. STONE of Ohio.
J. U. GOODRICH of Massachusetts.
DAVID WILMOT of Pennsylvania.
LAWRENCE BRAINERD of Vermont.
WILLIAM A. WHITE of Wisconsin.

It will be noticed that while the call purports to issue from the chairmen of Republican State committees in Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, it is yet signed only by those from Ohio, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Wisconsin. Why the others did not sign it, I have not been able to discover; but whatever the reason was, it was undoubtedly a good one. Probably the time was too short to get answers from all of them. At any rate the movement took firm hold in all of the states not signing, showing that the omission did not grow out of any disapproval of the terms of the call. It will also be noticed that the call is addressed to the "Republicans" of the United States, showing that the name was already a fixed and recognized one, and that National organization was what was mainly needed. The convention was to be held for the purpose of "perfecting" a work already partly done.

The Republicans of Pittsburgh instantly took hold of the work of arranging for the meeting of the convention. Committees of arrangement and reception were appointed, and Lafayette hall was hired for holding the convention. Of the members of the committee of arrangements but one survives —the writer of this article; and of the committee of reception, but one—David N. White, who is still living, and he is now a very old man. This indicates that the members of both committees were chosen from the older class of men. The young men had not yet been enlisted in the movement. They soon after became deeply interested in it, and it was to the energy and life which the young men brought into it that it owes the remarkable activity of its first presidential campaign. The elderly, staid, thinking and experienced men were those who did the first preliminary work.

The convention was not a large one, numerically. It was not a delegated, but a mass meeting, called for consultation, and every one who attended came upon his own volition. The largest attendance, excluding those from Pittsburgh, was from Ohio, and the next largest was from New York. There were

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railroads then, but they were few, and did not reach much territory beyond the main lines. The winter, too, was a hard one. Snow began to fall on Christmas, 1855, and lasted into March, 1856. Hence, no one came but such as had the cause deeply at heart. Still the attendance was considerable, and members were present from twenty-four states and two territories. Nor was the representation confined to the north. Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and South Carolina each had representatives present, together with Kansas and Nebraska, both then being outside the pale of states.

No full list of members was made out and the following list comprises only those whose names can be gathered from the published proceedings. Many others were present, particularly from Ohio and Pennsylvania, but the appended list contains the names of all who were prominent or well known to the public of that day:

Ohio—Joshua R. Giddings, Rufus P. Spaulding, W. H. Gibson, Jacob Brinkerhoff, D. R. Tilden, Charles Reemelin, F. D. Kimball, J. A. Foote, H. E. Peck, C. Spink, James Elliott, J. M. Brown, Dr. O. White, James M. Ashley, William Dennison, jr., Jacob Heaton, R. Brinkerhoff, E. Pardee, H. Howard, Henry Everts, I. McFarland, O. Harmon, Thomas Bolton, L. H. Hall. R. Steadman, Dudley Baldwin, Seth Day, H. Carter, Frederick Wadsworth, S. E. Edgerton, G. H. Frey, Dudley Seward, Joseph Medill, D. C. Doon, R. D. Harrison, I. M. Benson, A. J. Page, I. H. Wilkinson, R. Rogers, W. B. Fish, I. L. Wharton, L. G. Vandyke.

New York—Preston King, Simeon Draper, C. S. Crosby, Abijah Mann, jr., P. Dorsheimer (father of Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer), A. M. Clapp, Wm. A. Sackett, C. Hitchcock, Silas M. Burroughs, E. D. Morgan, Horace Greeley, John A. King, Isaac Dayton, A. Oakey Hall.

Pennsylvania--David Wilmot, John Allison, Passmore Williamson, D. N. White, Joseph Markle, J. H. Moorhead, W. W. Wise, J. Weyand, E. O. Goodrich, C. P. Markle, R. B. McCabe, C. Randall, Russell Errett, William B. Thomas, O. K. A. Hutchingson, Dr. J. Carothers, George Darsie, George Raymond, William F. Clark, L. L. Lord.

Maine—George M. Weston, A. A. Hallowell.

Vermont—Lawrence Brainerd.

Wisconsin—Charles Durkee, David Jones, I. S. Lovett.

Maryland—Francis P. Blair, sen.

Kentucky—William S. Bailey.

Kansas—S. N. Wood.

Iowa—A. J. Stevens, W. Penn Clarke, C. G. Hawthorn.

Illinois—J. C. Vaughan, Owen Lovejoy, J. H. Bryant, W. F. M. Arny, I. H. McMillan, —— Carlin. [The name of Abraham Lincoln is published in the list of expected delegates, on the twenty-second, but was not present.]

Michigan—K. S. Bingham, Rufus Hosmer, J. M. Howard, F. C. Beman, Zachariah Chandler. —— Sinclair.

New Jersey—D. Ripley, F. Deveraux, W. P. Sherman, E. M. K. Pollison.

New Hampshire—F. C. Johnson, I. C. Beman, Horatio G. Russ.

Massachusetts—E. R. Hoar, J. W. Stone, C. C. Davis, George Bliss.

Connecticut—Josiah Brown, Mark Howell, James M. Bunce, George Cleveland, John M. Niles.

Rhode Island—Edward Harris, R. G. Hazzard, —— Chase.

Delaware—O. A. Johnson, W. H. Dennison.

Virginia—James Farley.

South Carolina—F. O. Willington.

Missouri—James Redpath, N. Kampa.

Tennessee—H. Jarvis.

California—D. N. Spratt.

Indiana—George W. Julian. Oliver P. Morton.

Nebraska—S. P. Rankin.

Minnesota—T. M. Newsom.

In looking over this list the eye of the reader will be struck with the fact that it is more remarkable for the names not on it than for those that are. But prominent men were more anxious to see what would follow than to take part. The times were perilous and full of uncertainty and danger. The opposition

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party in congress were trembling lest the convention should go too far, and the country contained many fearful souls. The first step is the most difficult in politics as in everything else. After the movement was well started there was not so much chariness.

The convention was called to order by the venerable Lawrence Brainerd of Vermont, upon whose suggestion John A. King of New York was made temporary chairman. This was a fortunate selection and called forth a hearty compliment from Joshua R. Giddings. A committee of one from each state was appointed on permanent organization and one of the same number on address, and while waiting for something further to do the usual clamor set in for speeches. Rufus P. Spaulding and others were called on, but declined. They all wanted to *do* something, but the trouble, which they all admitted, was *what* to do. No one seemed willing to suggest any practical step. In fact, the convention consisted of two classes—the progressive and go-ahead fellows and the conservative or fearful sort, who were afraid either to lead or to follow. After the convention got well settled down this fearful feeling disappeared altogether.

The first man to speak was Horace Greeley. Everyone wanted to hear him, of course, and he was listened to attentively. Contrary to every expectation, his speech was one of extreme caution. He was not a cautious man himself, he said, but he was just from Washington city, and the friends there were in a fever of terror lest the convention should go too far, and by taking advanced anti-slavery grounds might drive off all sympathizers in the south and alienate many weak friends in the north. They were also opposed, he said, to fixing any time or place for nominating a candidate for President. They thought it best to let things drift along and let the Republican members of congress act in conjunction with others in calling a National nominating convention.

Greeley did not seem himself in making this speech, and his advice to be cautious and go slow appeared to come from unwilling lips; but he discharged the duty imposed on him by the timid time-servers in congress; and he did more, for his speech had the effect of infusing life and zeal into the convention and developing the feeling which nearly everyone felt, that the time for action had come. This was evinced fully by the energy which was shown by Giddings, who took the floor immediately after Greeley, and by the hearty applause that followed when he closed. He said that of all places in the world Washington city was the worst place to look to for advice. It was the centre of sleepy conservatism and the place where nearly every man from the north was afraid of his own shadow. The people, the source of all power, were the ones to consult, and he had come from the corrupting atmosphere of Washington to this convention to breathe the air of freedom and find out what the people wanted. He advocated immediate organization upon the ground of hostility to slavery extension, and

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the issue of a call at once for a National nominating convention. The people of the territories were being murdered for their hostility to slavery extension, and we must come to their relief by speedy and decisive action.

This thawed the heart of the convention, and from that moment its future action was certain. It came to do a certain work, and was going to do it boldly and quickly. Giddings was followed by Owen Lovejoy of Illinois. Lovejoy had opened the convention with prayer, and had prayed very fervently *that the Lord would remove the then National administration out of the way* and thwart all its designs. There was, of course, no uncertainty about *his* speech. He was even more radical than Giddings, and his frank utterances brought out the most rapturous applause.

The committee on organization reported in favor of Francis P. Blair, sen., of Maryland, for permanent president, with the usual list of vice-presidents and secretaries. Mr. Blair was received with much kindness, but his speech was after the Greeley pattern and urged caution. He also submitted a long paper, which was received but not acted on, and was a vindication of his position. He was opposed to the extension of slavery, but was fearful of some action that would meddle with slavery in the states. As no such action was contemplated or proposed by anyone, the concern of Mr. Blair lest the convention should go too far or too fast was without any warrant. Mr. Blair was a venerable looking old gentleman, but was not successful as a presiding officer. He early surrendered the place to one of the vice-presidents.

The committee on address not being ready to report, the evening session was given up to speeches, and the convention adjourned to the next day. The speeches of the evening were all good and all of the practical kind. Nothing further was said about following the advice from Washington, and every speech evinced the keenest sympathy with the struggling settlers in Kansas.

On the twenty-third there was an address from Charles Reemelin of Cincinnati. He was earnest in his opposition to slavery in the territories, but wanted the convention to go further and take open ground against Knownothingism. It was a very strong, able speech, and was very generally approved; but the convention had but one purpose in view and that was to keep slavery out of the territories, and it was unwilling to take a step in any other direction.

The appearance of Mr. Reemelin on the stage was an indication of the accession of a new element to the Republican side. On the night before the convention met a meeting of naturalized Germans was held in this city, composed of men heretofore Democrats, and which appointed two delegates to represent them in the convention. In the subsequent campaign thousands of other Germans followed, both here and at Cleveland and Cincinnati, and although Mr. Reemelin was grievously disappointed at the refusal of the convention to go beyond the immediate purpose for which it was called, he went actively

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into the campaign for Fremont. He afterwards became a Democrat, but I fancy it was the liquor question rather than the American question that carried him over.

The committee on address reported a call for a National convention to nominate candidates for the Presidency and vice-presidency, to be held in Philadelphia June 17, 1856. It also reported a National committee of one from each state, together with two or three terse resolutions and an address, all of which were adopted, and the convention adjourned in the midst of a genuine enthusiasm. The resolutions simply assert the power of congress over slavery in the territories, and demand its immediate exercise to prevent the slaveholders of Missouri from overpowering the free state settlers in Kansas. The address, it was stated by a member of the committee, was not written by any member of that body, but was adopted unanimously by it. It was written, in fact, by Henry J. Raymond of the New York *Times*. Mr. Raymond was in the city but did not attend the convention or take any other part in its proceedings. The address was a very able one, covering completely the ground occupied by the party on the slavery question, but it was very long and did not, probably for that reason, make a strong impression on the public. This concludes the history of the convention, with the exception that a strong letter was received and read from Cassius M. Clay concurring in the objects of the convention.

And now, looking back after the lapse of a generation upon what was done at this gathering, which put a new party into existence that has had an eventful history since, what was there about it that left the most lasting impression on the mind? I answer for myself that it was the deep earnestness and strong determination which actuated every member of it. There were a few timid brethren at first, and but few, and these few soon overcame their timidity. The feeling of hostility to the domination of the slave power in the politics of the Nation had taken a deep hold on the popular mind, and although this domination was powerful enough to coerce some people in the north to silence, this convention had come together for the purpose of forming a grand National party to prevent the further spread of slavery, and it did its work faithfully and well. The young men of the present day cannot realize how deep and earnest this feeling was, nor how thoroughly the effort to spread slavery into the National territories had stirred up the conscientious freedom-loving people of the north. None but those who passed through it can fully comprehend it. It was the advent of a new political gospel, and never, as I think, had any political party such a soul-stirring mission as had the men who began and organized and helped to carry out the policy marked out by this convention.

An anecdote about some members of the New York legislature, at the time of the anti-Masonic excitement, will serve as an illustration. There were at that time but two hotels in Albany at which the members stopped, one on

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the hill near the capitol, and the Delavan house at the foot of the hill. A member from the country, a Democrat, went to board at the house on the hill, but afterwards moved to the Delavan house. "How does it come," said one of his friends, "that I find you here?" "Oh," said he, "I could not stand it up there. Too many anti-Masons there, and they are continually drawing their hands across their throats, giving the grand hailing sign of distress, and making themselves obnoxious generally." "But how do you better it down here? Here are Seward and Granger and Spencer, and men of that class, full as many as on the hill." "Ah!" said the country gentleman, "but those fellows up there, they believe in it!" That was the difference, and it makes all the odds in the world when one class believes in it and another class, working with the first, coöperates simply for personal purposes, without the faith that inspires their co-workers. The one thing that distinguished these men of 1856 was that they all believed in it. They all had full faith in the righteousness of their cause and they were all inspired by their faith. They were not Republicans because their fathers were, but because there was a great wrong to be righted and they had found out the way to right it. They were full of zeal in what seemed to them a good cause, and they went to work, like the men of 1776, in deep earnest and inspired by a living faith in a broad principle.

And what was true of them was true of all the men who went into that fight. On the stump, the people came gladly to hear them, drinking in great truths as men listening to good news. Never were people so keen or so delighted to hear and never were men more alive to the call of duty than were the Republicans of that day. They all, from the highest to the lowest, "believed in it" heartily, and it was the strength and directness of their faith that carried them forward to ultimate victory.

And what of the *men* who set this ball in motion? There were not many of them, but they were gathered from all parts of the land. Many were *not* there who should have been; but the times were perilous, everything in politics was at sixes and sevens, and the new movement did not look promising. It is not given to all men to know, all at once, that the most direct and simple way is ever the best. They soon *did* learn it, however, and as soon as the new movement was fairly in motion, it drew to itself all those who fairly represented the active conscience of the Nation. Those who led the way at this convention simply felt the impulse sooner than those who so shortly after followed them. Many of the names I have here enrolled were never afterwards heard of; but their heart was in their work, and like those who "die in the Lord," "their works do follow them."

There were many notable men present who took but little part, apparently, but afterwards became prominent. Such were Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, William Dennison, jr., of Ohio, E. D. Morgan of New York, E. R. Hoar of Massachusetts, and Zachariah Chandler of Michigan. These men were just rising

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into prominence, but were not as well known then as afterwards. I cannot recall any recollection of the appearance of Governor Morton at that time, but Dennison, Chandler and Morgan were all fine looking, stalwart and presentable men. The doorways to the side rooms of Lafayette hall were made for a smaller race of men, and I remember that two of these gentlemen, in passing through the doorway to a committee room, bumped their heads severely against the top of the doorway, although bareheaded. They were tall, splendidly formed men, and as big mentally as they looked to be physically.

Lovejoy of Illinois was a preacher, and believed, undoubtedly, in the law of love which he preached; yet he had great faith in the law of force, when properly applied. He was in deep earnest when he uttered the prayer that God would remove the then existing National administration out of the way. He felt, as many others then did, a deep distrust and want of faith in that administration, and he had the boldness to speak what he felt. While addressing the convention he seemed to be on fire with the wrongs of the people of Kansas and to be, in reality, a new saint drumming up recruits for a new crusade. The congress elected in 1858 was anti-Nebraska, but neither the Democrats nor Republicans had an absolute majority. When it assembled in December, 1859, after two ineffectual ballots for speaker the first day, the southern members broke out into impassioned speeches of denunciation of the Republicans. Keitt of South Carolina led off, and his effort seemed to be to show that the Republican movement was directed against slavery itself, and not merely against its spread into the territories. Thaddeus Stevens arose to reply. He was cool and guarded in his utterances, but said something in his usual way that seemed to me perfectly inoffensive, yet it so stirred up one Crawford of Georgia, an insignificant looking man, that he jumped to his feet, danced around through the aisles on the Democratic side in a frenzied way, and finally advanced down the central area of the house as if with intention of making a personal assault upon Stevens. No sooner was this movement noticed than Lovejoy and three or four others on the Republican side, each of whom weighed over two hundred pounds, stepped down to the side of Stevens and formed a semi-circle around him. Whether Crawford intended personal violence or not, I never knew, but the southern men immediately surrounded him and bore him back to his place. The attitude of Lovejoy and his colleagues indicated fight, and the southern men knew it. If Crawford had but laid a hand on Stevens, the men who stood by the latter meant all that their attitude foreshadowed. This shows what was in Lovejoy. He did not seek a collision; but he was always ready for one if it was precipitated. He was a man of action rather than of words.

Of Giddings I need not speak. He was a bold, outspoken man, who hated all that looked like indecision. It was the sturdy hostility of such men as Giddings to the double-facedness that char-

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acterized many of the public men of that day that challenged public admiration. He was a member, also, of the nominating convention at Philadelphia, in that same year, and he was very decidedly opposed to the nomination of Fremont. He was in favor of some one more thoroughly identified with the Republican movement than Fremont had been.

Two other men drew my attention particularly. They were Philip Dorsheimer of Buffalo and Charles Reemelin of Cincinnati. Dorsheimer was not a talker, but he was one of those magnetic men who draw all men unto them, and it was his lead that brought so many of the Germans in New York into the Republican movement. He was to them like a father to his children, and they followed him with an earnestness that words cannot express. Reemelin, on the other hand, *was* a talker, and a most effective one. After a lapse of thirty-two years his speech at that convention comes back to me almost as fresh as in its first delivery. The progressive Germans were drawn to the Republican movement as to one they had been longing for. They had previously acted with the Democratic party, but were not satisfied with its conservatism and were looking for a party in which they would feel more at home. The party then in process of formation struck them favorably, but they were scared just then by the Knownothing movement. It had been successful in 1854 and had been formidable in 1855; would this new Republican organization take an open and decided stand against it? That was the burden of Reemelin's speech. He could not see that Knownothingism was even then virtually dead. Perhaps it was not natural that he should be expected to see it, and it had such terrors to him that he paused before joining in forming a party that did not make hostility to such a proscriptive thing as the Americanism of that day a radical part of its creed. He plead with much earnestness and with true eloquence for the right of every man, black and white, foreign and native, to political freedom, and thought an outspoken denunciation of the proscription of foreigners would come with great force from a party planting itself upon the platform of free soil, free speech and free men. The men who made the new party, however, had no fear of the American party. They knew it was then in the throes of death, and having been called to the performance of a great duty, thought it best to confine themselves to the one great danger that confronted them. Reemelin was greatly disappointed, and he made his disappointment visible; but he submitted and found afterwards that his fears were without any real foundation.

Of the other men that took part, as well as those I have mentioned, nearly all have passed away. But few now remain on the scene of present action, and those who are dead carried with them into the eternal world a consciousness that they had but done their duty in the part taken by them in forming the Republican party in 1856.

RUSSELL ERRETT.

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BANKS AND BANKERS OF CINCINNATI—JOHN R. DE CAMP.

ORIGIN OF BANKS.

WHEN, in the old Arcadian days, the people of the Peloponnesus, leading the lives of shepherds, thought it fair dealing to exchange a ram for a lamb, human traffic had its simplest, if not its fairest methods of transaction. Then traffic did not flow as it does now, "from lands of suns to lands of snow," for the reason that there was no "engine to drive commerce around the world." Beginning thus, in the simple exchange of one thing for another, the varied and increasing necessities of men rendered a value, or standard of value, necessary in addition to an exchangeable commodity; hence the origin of money, from the Latin *moneo*, to advice or mark—that is, to show by some device thereon, the weight or fineness of the metal of which ancient coins were made; *Moneta ita appeliatur quia fraus in pondere vel metalla fiat* (Money was thus named because fraud either in the weight or metal was prohibited).

Hence, when the Romans were in want of money, Juno admonished them to practice justice, and there would be no such need; and when they found the good effect of the counsel, she was surnamed *Juno Moneta*, and money was coined in her temple. In process of time, money was made a goddess, and enshrined by the name of *Dea Pecunia*, under the figure of a woman holding a balance in one hand and a cornucopia in the other.

Banking as a profession, by way of deposits and discounts, bills of exchange, drafts, checks, etc., began in the seventeenth century in England, as an outgrowth of the Exchequer which was founded by William the Conqueror—an institution now more than eight hundred years old. But the lending of money on collaterals and on real estate mortgages is purely a modern affair, suggested perhaps by the misfortunes of the Merchant of Venice who, instead of hypothecating his bills of lading for his cargoes, pledged to Shylock, as a penalty and forfeit of his bond—

> "A pound of flesh to be by him cut off
> Nearest the Merchant's heart."

Among the first banks organized in the history of the world are the following: the Bank of Venice, A. D. 1157; the Bank of England, 1694; the Bank of Ireland, 1783; the Bank of France, 1716; and the Bank of North America, the first in the United States, January 7, 1782.

ORIGIN OF THE DE CAMP FAMILY.

Camp, derived from *Campe* or *Campes*, Normandy. Walter, Ingulph, Rodolph and Gaufrid de Campe occur in the Duchy, twelfth century. John and Matthew de Campes were in England, A. D., 1199. (*Memoires de la Societe des Antiquaries de la Normandie*) *Kemp.* Walter *de Campis* or *Des Camps*, Ingulph, Radulphus, Gaufridus, Gervasius, Helta, Richard, Wymarc of Normandy. John de

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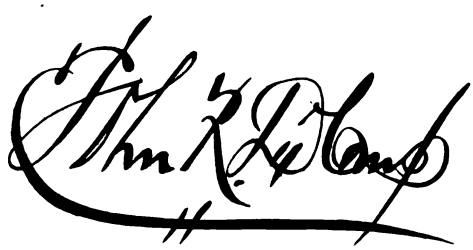

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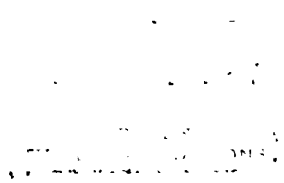

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Campes was of Essex; and in 1324 Roger Kempe was of Suffolk. Hence the Baronets Kempe, (*Rotuli Curiæ Regis* and Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs).

John de Camp went from Normandy into England, A. D. 1324, and became the progenitor of the De Camps of Essex, and of Spains Hall, where the De Camp or Kemp family was seated for three hundred years.

Sir John de Camp was a distinguished French knight, who was killed at the battle of Poiters, September 19, 1356.

Johannis de Champe, knight, one of the gentry of Berkshire, A. D. 1433, mentioned by Thomas Fuller as one of the worthies of England during the reign of King Henry VI.

Lord Chancellor John Campe, or Kempe, "younger son of Thomas, grandchild of Sir Roger, descended from Normanus De Campe, both knights," of Olantigh, Kent, was born A. D. 1380, and educated at Merton college, Oxford; obtained distinction in the time of Henry V., by whom he was appointed Chief Justiciary of Normandy. He was sent as an ambassador to treat with Ferdinand of Aragon for a league of perpetual amity and to negotiate for the marriage of his daughter with Henry V.; was afterwards made Bishop of Rochester, Chichester and London; was Archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1439 was created Cardinal by the title of Saint Balbina. All his preferments are comprehended in the following verse:

Bis primas, ter præsul erat, bis cardinefunctus,
Et dixit legem, bis cancellarius Anglis.

That is, "twice bishop, once archbishop, twice cardinal and twice lord chancellor of England."

He died in 1453, a very old man, leaving many by his name and blood.

Burke's 'History of the Gentry of Great Britain' says, "the family became dispersed throughout the south of England, in several branches, all bearing the same coat-armor, but differenced in the crest, and who have maintained the highest respectability."

John Des Champs belonged to an ancient family established in Perigord, France. At the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, he took refuge first in Geneva and then in Prussia.

His son, John Ezekiel de Camp, entered the civil service of the West India company and became a member of the council of the presidency of Madras.

George De Campe, son of William De Campe, descendant of "John de Camp of Essex in 1324," owned and occupied Pentlow hall, where he died in 1606.

Pentlow church belonged to the manor of Pentlow hall, and contains a very fine tomb of the De Camps, having on it the recumbent figure of John Camp who died in 1609, and his wife, Eleanor Drew of Devonshire, together with fourteen children kneeling around, with coat-of-arms and this inscription:

"Here lyeth John Campe, that worthy esquyer,
That never detracted the poor man's hire;
Of veritie and knowledge a studious seeker,
Of word and promise a faithful keeper.
Heaven hath his soule through Christ his grace,
Earth his body entombed in this place."

THE DE CAMPS OF NEW JERSEY AS WESTERN PIONEERS.

Moses De Camp, who won the title of

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captain in the Revolutionary war, and a descendant of Nicholas De Camp of Connecticut, emigrated from Essex county, New Jersey, in 1812, bringing with him his venerable wife, Sarah; with him also came his son Ezekiel and his wife, Mary Baker De Camp, and several children.

Upon arriving in Cincinnati, Nicholas Longworth, esq., whom Captain De Camp had known in New Jersey, advised his friend to purchase a thirty-acre tract of ground, then on the western boundary of the young city. But the proposition met with the emphatic protest of the continental soldier and his son Ezekiel, who said that they had come to buy a farm in the west, not a patch of ground near a country town.

That patch of ground is now in the heart of Cincinnati and is worth millions of dollars. The pioneers therefore moved on and located upon a section of land in Reily township, Butler county. There they settled down to the hard and almost comfortless life of pioneers.

Amid the austerities and privations of uncultivated nature they struggled for self-subsistence and for the support of the seventeen children that finally constituted the family of Ezekiel and Mary De Camp: —Phebe, Hannah, David, Walter, Hiram, John, Harvey, Joseph, Margaret, Henry, Daniel, James, Moses, Sarah, Mary, Lambert and Job—as noble and true-hearted, as honest and industrious and useful a band of brothers as ever emanated from one household. Moses died at eleven years of age. The others grew up to man's estate and married. Most of them settled in Cincinnati.

One month before the assassination of President Lincoln eight of these brothers, David, Walter, Hiram, Harvey, Joseph, Daniel, Lambert and Job, visited Washington city, and were introduced to the President by Judge William Johnson as "eight brothers from Ohio, who all voted for him, and who daily prayed to the Almighty that he might be guided by wisdom, and the Union preserved."

The surname, "De Camp," is a Norman-French word and used to denote "a combatant, champion, man-at-arms or knight." The territorial "de" signified "of" or "from," and originally implied the possession of manorial estates, and therefore, that a family bearing it belonged to the landed aristocracy.

During the colonial period the name experienced changes in its orthography—such as De Camp, Camp, Kamp and Kemp.

John de Camp, in the reign of Edward I., by his wife, Alice, had a son, Nicholas de Camp, who married Margaret de Hispania, or Spain; hence "Spain's hall, Essex."

The first emigrant to this country from England was Nicholas de Camp, who appears in Milford, Connecticut, in 1639. From Nicholas descended William de Camp, who removed to New Jersey in 1661. The following are some of the Christian names of his descendants who became numerous and influential in New Jersey, and where they always maintained their ancient respectability: John, Samuel, Moses, William, Nathaniel, Joseph, Mary, Hannah, David, Walter, Aaron, Phebe, Job, James, Daniel, Sarah, Caleb, Rachel, Harvey, Joanna, Ephraim, etc.

Harvey de Camp, capitalist, father of

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John R. de Camp, by Elizabeth Wright, his wife, was a native of Westfield, Essex county, New Jersey, and was five years old when, in 1812, he first saw Cincinnati. In the twenty-second year of his age, he began business in Cincinnati as a carpenter and builder. During the next thirty years, he built more houses than any other single person in that city. Among the principal structures which he built and superintended are the Wesleyan Female college and St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal church. He also built and owned—one of which was his residence—four stone front residences upon West Fourth street. He engaged in the manufacture of paper, as De Camp, Haldeman & Parker, now the Haldeman Paper Company of Lockland; was five years a member of the city council; was one of the founders of the First National Bank of Cincinnati; was one of the founders and a director of the Union Central Life Insurance company; was the founder of the Farmer's Insurance company and president of the same at his death, and a director of the Strobridge Lithographing company. He was a partner in the bank of Larkin, Wright & Co., and had the largest investment of any other individual in the business. For nearly fifty years he was a member of the Methodist church, holding all the offices in the church and Sabbath school, besides being a director and constant benefactor of various charitable institutions.

Thus Harvey de Camp, the son of Ezekiel, the son of Moses, the descendant of Normanus de Camp, was one of the most useful and honorable citizens Cincinnati ever had. He died in 1878.

Of such family genealogy and such parentage is John R. De Camp, vice-president of the Metropolitan National bank, who was born in Cincinnati, December 20, 1848. After acquiring a liberal education in the public schools of Cincinnati, Mr. De Camp entered the bank of Larkin, Wright & Co., as a clerk, in 1863, and served thus two years. In 1870 he returned to the same bank and remained until 1877, when he was made acting cashier with a power of attorney to sign the firm's name. The death of his father left this son as his representative in the bank, the estate having a large investment, as stated therein. His interest in the welfare of the bank was therefore redoubled when, as successor of his father and as cashier of the bank, he applied himself all the more assiduously to becoming proficient in the profession thus chosen for him by his lamented father.

In 1881, three years after his father's death, Mr. De Camp conceived the idea of converting this private institution into a National bank. Obtaining the concurrence of all interested, he addressed himself to the task with his accustomed energy. The stock of the old bank was sold at 112½; the capital, $500,000 of the new bank, rapidly taken, and the name "Metropolitan," adopted; and thus the "Metropolitan National Bank" had its origin.

All this was chiefly the work of Mr. De Camp—the conception, the execution, and the particular designation — Metropolitan;—being the first instance under the National banking law where a private institution whose stock sold at a premium, was converted into a National bank. From 1881 to 1883 Mr. De Camp served

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as cashier; but in 1883 was elected vice-president, upon the accession of the Honorable William Means as president, whose name brought to the bank the strength of his unlimited credit and whose reputation as a born and professional banker is not surpassed even by his popularity as a distinguished citizen of Ohio and the west.

The splendid proportions into which the business of this bank has grown are the immediate results of the management of President Means and Vice-President De Camp.

When, therefore, a trained and trustworthy banker was needed as receiver of the Fidelity National, when it suspended, Mr. De Camp was selected and, for the time being, had charge of the affairs of that unfortunate bank. It was a high compliment to Mr. De Camp. The fact that he did not continue in that position was owing to his expressed intention to resign when he ascertained that to remain as receiver would necessitate his resignation as vice-president of the Metropolitan; a step he never for a moment seriously contemplated.

It was during the past summer that the Metropolitan removed from No. 230 West Third street to the present magnificent building The United Bank building is one of the noblest structures of the kind in the west. The engravings will afford a conception of the exquisite finish, and of the superb adaptations of the bank to the speedy and safe transaction of its growing business. The present officers are: President, Honorable William Means; vice-president, John R. De Camp; cashier, Charles W. Edwards; assistant cashier, F. M. Riegel. Its capital stock is $1,000,000, with a surplus and undivided profits exceeding $200,000.

Mr. De Camp, though yet in middle life, has the reputation of being one of the ablest financiers and one of the safest bankers in southern Ohio. Nothing but success has attended his career. His judgment upon the every-day affairs of the bank is regarded as almost unerring.

It is a common saying—"De Camp is all business." This is emphatically true when he is seen within the precincts of his elegant banking house and office. There he meets all alike on business principles—those principles which are hereditary with him as a descendant of a family whose well-known characteristics—honesty, integrity, industry—have rendered them nearly all wealthy, while they have not failed to maintain their ancient respectability.

In tracing this family to its origin, the writer found their old armorial bearings and their heraldic motto—*Honestas et veritas*—a motto also adopted by Vice-President De Camp, because of its association with the remembrance of his father, who, acting upon that sentiment, achieved the most gratifying success in the business world, and dying, left to his children, to the church and to the state the grateful memory of a useful life and a stainless reputation as a man.

Mr. De Camp is president of the Thomas Sherlock Transportation company; president of the New Orleans Wharfboat company; is a director in the Farmers' Insurance company; of the Evans-Newhall Music company; of the

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Strobridge Lithographing company; of the Covington Railway and Transportation company, etc.

In 1868 Mr. De Camp married Miss Adele Sowles of Urbana, Ohio. They live in a beautiful home in Avondale, where their domestic circle is enlarged and enlivened by their children, Sarah-Alice, Edna and David Ralph De Camp. Between business occupations and the pleasurable care of his family, Mr. De Camp has little time to give to the outside world. But calls are seldom made in vain upon him when the church of his fathers and all charitable institutions need a helping hand.

Esteemed by his neighbors, admired for his business qualities, and commended by every unenvious tongue for his success in the battle of life, John R. De Camp has proven himself to be a worthy descendant of a family distinguished for its "worthies" in the history of the church and state both of England and America.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

HISTORY AND FACT *VS.* HENRY GEORGE.

FEW persons suspected six years ago when Henry George first prominently advanced his theory against private property in land, that it would end in anything beyond the transient airing of some abstract notions. Upon his remedies for existing evils most men looked as they would upon any visionary scheme. Nor were the doctrines wholly new, for before the French Revolution substantially the same principles were not quietly avowed merely but were loudly and zealously proclaimed by some of the most gifted men of the age, such as Voltaire and others. Surely no modern enemy of private property has gone beyond Rousseau, who said: "The first man who, having inclosed some ground, dared say, 'this is mine,' and found persons simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society." He would regard as a benefactor of the human race the man who, pulling up the stakes or filling the ditch, had cried out to his equals: "Beware of this impostor. You are ruined if you forget that the earth does not belong to any individual." *Gardez-vous d' ecouter cet imposteur; vous etes perdus si vous oubliez que la terre n' est a personne!* Is it not very nearly the same statement, the same sentiment even, that our modern innovators make use of and on which they do not seem to have much enlarged or improved?

For a few years but little heed was taken of Henry George's ideas. They were relegated by the public mind to the list of utterly impracticable, harmless speculations. But recent well-known events have entirely changed the aspect of the question. If there is anything that arrests American attention and quickens American thought, it is political bearings and tendencies, and thither the George ideas have suddenly and

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rapidly drifted. A political party has been hastily organized which in the short space of one year has just succeeded in commanding a following of seventy thousand voters in a single state. Some had predicted more, some less, while others, as soon as the result became known, asserted that the new party having suffered a great defeat was virtually at an end. It is a poor cause and worse grit that cannot stand its first reverse, and when at a late hour on the night of the last election, with the news of defeat before him, Henry George exclaimed: "Now we will go forward without the weak ones. You have seen votes bought to-day, but there remain thirty-five thousand men who can't be bought. Now from this moment let the new campaign begin,"—he announced himself as undismayed by defeat and as one resolved to try the issues of yet another contest. The outcome can be told in November, 1888.

The new movement has been likened by some of its adherents to the great anti-corn law agitation in England, which ended just forty years ago in complete triumph. Similar results, they flatter themselves, await this that were achieved by that if they will but bring to the task the same energy, perseverance and resistless skill. In this hope, we think, they shall be disappointed.

Let us consider briefly the anti-corn law movement. Although that agitation was waged against great odds and vested interests, effected a marvelous change of both opinion and law and was attended with splendid success, yet it was quite unlike the movement we are considering. Here are odds that are greater, and a change to be brought about which delves far deeper, is more radical, more revolutionary. The merchants of England, a large, powerful and growing class, had to be heard and had to have justice. The agitation was for the redress of a grievance. The corn laws, first passed in 1670, were for the benefit of farmers and imposed so high a duty on grain as practically to prohibit importation. They raised the prices of wheat and bread to enormous figures. Petitions and remonstrances from the manufacturing and commercial classes were sent to parliament against them. Almost from their first passage they were looked upon as an iniquitous measure, and on their renewal in 1815 they were attended with riots in various parts of the kingdom. When, therefore, two among the ablest men in Great Britain — Richard Cobden and John Bright—entered into an alliance and began their famous agitation, many causes had already conspired, and others followed, to sustain them. There was an already existing and widespread sentiment. In parliament were to be found members whose voices had been already heard on the side of repeal, men even of the aristocracy and landed class, foremost among whom was Charles Villiers. The corn laws were justly described by Lord John Russell, who was not one of the agitators but the leader of the Whig party—as "the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter division among classes and the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people."

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And finally toward the close of the agitation came famine in Ireland, during which to have maintained such duties would have seemed but cruelty and barbarity in the government. Here were potent influences that hastened the agitation that had been waged for but eight years and that enabled its leaders to bring it on to success, even during a conservative administration, as was done under the premiership of Sir Robert Peel in 1846. There is no such cause of action for the land movement, and no similar forces to operate a cause, were there one. Two powerful classes are found in any state, the merchants and traders in the cities and towns, the landlords and farmers throughout the country. On Cobden's side lay the interests and was arrayed the united influence of the whole trading and manufacturing class as well as the voice naturally of every laborer who ate bread and was not engaged in the tillage of land. Neither of these classes is with Henry George; nor is it too much to say that the sentiment on which his agitation relies is not yet, but must be created. And history will show that great reformers have not, as a rule, created sentiments, but have had the genius to discern and sieze the right moment to use and control a great sentiment and thus carry their measures on to triumph.

Of Mr. George's ability to create a sentiment in the difficult field he has chosen, or to control a great movement, most men will think unkindly. His numerous critics are severe and in many instances the strictures too plainly disclose that their authors have not read his books. Nobody can even casually read Mr. George's book 'Progress and Poverty' without being convinced that its author is a clever man, that he has reasoning faculties of a high order, that he is deeply and touchingly in earnest and that he possesses a vast fund of information relating to his theme, greater, perhaps, than any other man that has ever handled it, who is, however, so stirred by existing evils and so much engrossed with his own favorite theory as to fail to see its error or its fatal tendency.

The prominent connection last autumn of Rev. Dr. McGlynn of New York with the movement gave it a fresh impulse for awhile but as great a check soon after. The doctor's open advocacy of the theory led to his being at once censured by his church and it would seem to a speedy summons to repair to Rome. The direct citation to appear at Rome is significant as not being the usual mode in accordance with the canons of the Roman church and its common practice. A priest in that church is tried before his ordinary, or bishop, from whose decision he may appeal to Rome; or, what is as frequent in practice, his bishop may "*ex informata conscientia*," "if his conscience so instruct," suspend and condemn him without a trial, from which extra-judicial act there lies no technical appeal but merely what is known as "a recourse to the holy see." Whether the summons came from Rome because Dr. McGlynn's immediate superior, Archbishop Corrigan, shrank from the re-

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sponsibility of ordinary process, or because in so grave a matter Rome would ask to speak for itself, or because of the high standing of the respondent who is a doctor of divinity in his church, having obtained the degree many years ago in Rome itself, does not much concern. Of greater importance is the information thus gained of the attitude with respect to private property of the Catholic church whose influence, great as it is, lies largely in quarters from which some persons might look for instant allies of just such theorists as Henry George. Nor is this conservative position of the church of recent date. As far back as 1846 Pius IX animadverted on communism, reprobating its aims, principles and its various forms. Like utterances on kindred evils have been solemnly and repeatedly made by Pope Leo XIII. The church, therefore, no doubt looks upon the identification of Mr. George's theories with what it has already condemned in terms as inexorable in logic. The case of Dr. McGlynn appears to have been simply the attempt of an authorized representative of a church to teach doctrines which he was advised the church did not sanction but distinctly repudiated. He did not resign. Justly, therefore, his authority was revoked.

The doctrines of Henry George may be briefly stated thus: (1) Private property in land is wrong; (2) it is responsible for great evils in civilized life and chiefly for the enslavement of labor; (3) the rightful owner is the state, from which all land should be rented with some security from the state as to tenure; (4) the state should at once assume its right and there should be no tax for the expenses of government but the rent on land alone. Here assuredly are propositions which mean, at least in principle, the most sweeping reform the world has seen in centuries, and compared with which Mr. George himself confesses the abolition of slavery in this country was as nothing. Whether this change would come upon society as a shock—convulsive jar—or happily could be introduced with easy motion, with smooth and noiseless cadence, we will not stop to discuss, but will proceed to consider some of those bulwarks in reason and in justice upon which the rights of property are established and on which, be it said, in civilized countries they have wisely reposed, save for brief intervals, from time immemorial.

In the beginning, when the earth was unoccupied, a man selected a spot and dwelt upon it. What he thus occupied —there being no previous occupant— became his own. Each individual chose for himself. What quantity a man could take in this way is not the precise point now in question. But certainly while it was not intended that one man should have so much as to work damage to the rest of men, it was as clearly intended that what should be fairly necessary to him—what he could work and use without such injury to his fellows—that so much at least should be his own. And this is in agreement with the principles of the natural law, being one of those convictions that reason alone imparts and that reside in

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mankind generally. That men may and should own particular dwellings or homes is a dictate of reason. The right to do so is witnessed and proved by the universal practice of enlightened and civilized peoples. In fact, one of the first steps on the part of barbarous nations toward civilization is the acquisition and appreciation of permanent homes. It would be difficult to find anything that accords more with the lessons of human experience and right reason than the right of individual property in land, and if it is true that in some conditions of barbarism, where land is held in common or subject to the control of a chief, such individual right does not seem to be recognized, it is because a sound principle of human nature has been obscured or ignored. Fixed abodes may have been against the policy of rude nations in migratory periods and likewise against the wishes of warlike chiefs whose aim it was to have the art of war alone considered honorable and the arts of husbandry and commerce despised and neglected. To such peoples and to such periods common tenure and state ownership may have been adapted. But when wars cease and migrations end, mankind demand something better.

Once it is established that a man may own land, his power to transfer it to another follows as a manifest corollary. He merely parts with a right by his voluntary act, and the act and the power are essentially the same whether the parting take place by transfer during life or by transmission to take effect after death. But, says Mr. George, "a man has no more right to sell land than one has to say that he owns a seat in a railway car because he bought it of a man that alighted at the last station." "What right have the dead in the land on this continent?" (Speech at New Haven.) These car illustrations which Mr. George uses a great deal may be nice as figures of speech, but they are of little weight as argument. Does he intend by these comparisons to deny that there is such a thing as succession to a right? If he does not, his language is meaningless. If he does, it is absurd. The civilized world in speaking of conveyance means the conveyance of right or interest only, and supposes the existence of a right or an interest to be conveyed. Suppose Mr. George bought a ticket from New York to Chicago and at Buffalo stepped from the train and gave his ticket to a friend. Would his friend have a right to ride in the car to Chicago? Would it make any particular difference whether Mr. George expected to die within the next five minutes after he gave the ticket or hoped to live for fifty years? He conveyed all the right he had himself. He could not give more. He might give less. By giving his ticket he gave his own privileges in the car, such as they were.

The question then becomes, can man acquire an interest or right in land? Is he forbidden to do so? Is such acquisition repugnant or impossible? We have seen that it is not repugnant and how it came about historically. Let us see if it is forbidden or impossible. All claim on the part of man to the

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earth—or to any terrestrial thing—must be traced to the gift of the Creator. This is at once the first basis, and according to Blackstone, "the only true and solid foundation of man's dominion over external things." That the earth was provided and then handed over to man's dominion must be equally recognized, whether we accept or reject religion. In either case it will have to be admitted that as man did not create the world himself, it came to him by some extraneous act or presentation. Whatever be the hypothesis of creation that individuals may prefer, all will agree that the earth was before man—that he found it here a bounteous gift. Now this gift, it seems to me, was to mankind individually and not to mankind collectively—a gift to men, not to states. For men were first, and states afterward. It is in individual men that rights reside originally. The state has no right except what is derived from individuals. If the state has a right to land, individuals have. Nobody can give what he has not. Pushing this principle to its ultimate conclusion, neither the individual nor the state owns the land, which is simple communism. To illustrate that man has rights prior to society and not derived from it, let it be supposed that a man were to go to a strange island, unknown and unoccupied, and were to pick out a home for himself. Twenty years afterward, six other men come, select homes, and form society. Could the latter, without violation of justice, compel the first man to pay tribute to them? Could they force him to become a member of their community? Suppose he said to them: "If I break any moral law with respect to you, if I injure you or damage your property, punish me for my wrong or make me restore, and you will do me no injustice. But you cannot ask me to give tribute to you for what is my own, or tell me that if I refuse you will take my home from me. You have come twenty years too late."

For the state to assume the ownership of land is to say: "There are abuses here. I shall interpose not to regulate them but to take away your property, and into my own hands." Would such a course be less than usurpation? The state has a right to regulate, but may not usurp.

If the earth is the gift of God to man, why, it may be asked, should not all equally enjoy it? The earth is the common heritage of all men—is a true proposition. Some men may lack the fruition of a share—is also a true proposition. This may seem contradictory, yet nothing can be plainer. The individual must put forth some appropriative act of his own or waive his claim. God gave to the first men the privilege of putting forth their exertions and taking to themselves out of the common stores of nature, such parts as their immediate necessities required or their industry prompted. If we suppose that Adam, as the first occupant, owned the whole world and not a mere spot, we need only consider all posterity his heirs, who in their respective generations enjoy or not, according to their exertions and fair dealing with their brethren and co-heirs.

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Title to land is therefore founded on two things, (1st) the gift of the Creator, (2nd) occupancy by man. Nor is this occupancy controlled by man's cupidity or will, but by the principles of natural and rational law—injustice being done to none, the occupancy of so much and in such manner as the voice of mankind would declare to be reasonable. Some philosophers in explaining why title is gained by occupancy, have attributed it to the addition of bodily labor, by which the face of the earth is changed. Locke says: "The labor of a man's body and the work of his hands are properly his. Whatever, then, he removes out of the state that nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labor with and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property." Some have objected to this argumentation on the ground that it shows no absolute right. No change or alteration by me of what belongs to some one else can make it mine. No man can take the material of another and by merely changing its shape or color call it his own. But Locke, it should be borne in mind, is not speaking of material belonging to another, but of the common stores of nature in the beginning The absolute right is from the bounty of the Creator; relative right—that which a man has as against his fellow-men—comes from his own occupancy, which is itself a degree of bodily labor. Mr. George declares that private ownership of land is impossible and that all the titles are invalid, and yet to illustrate how property in other things may be lawfully acquired, he takes the example of his pen, which, he says, he bought from the stationer, who bought it from the manufacturer, who got his right from the man who dug it from the ground; therefore the pen is his. But where did the man who dug the ore from the ground get his right? If a man may own an acre of ore out of which to make pens, why may he not own an acre of clay? If man cannot own land, the digger did not own the ore and the pen does not belong to Mr. George. According to Mr. George himself it belongs to the state, which should be paid for the use of it, or at least for the value of the raw material.

Finally, let the ownership of land be transferred to the state as it is proposed, and it would not settle the question or bring tranquillity. The multitudes without land would say: The state owns the land but will give it to those only that can pay a nice stipend in rent for it. The poor are barred from this privilege of the use and occupation of land. The indigent and landless masses would loudly upbraid the government, and encouraged by the step that had been taken towards communism would become in many places uncontrollable and tumultuous. They would ill understand and ill brook the thought that land-owners had been divested of property while they had got no spoils. If they would not, under such pressure, rise in tumult and riot, it would simply prove that history does not always repeat itself. A large part of the poorer population being still unprovided for and unsatisfied by the new situation,

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would clamor worse than ever, there would still be a place for a new Henry George, and the goal would be communism.

The right of property as now recognized in this country, Mr. George thinks, is "something that we have servilely borrowed from England, where it is the result of centuries of usurpation and fraud and where it did not reach full recognition until two centuries ago when the feudal dues were shaken off." "By the same course of usurpation and tyranny," he says, "this idea reached development among the Romans whom it corrupted and destroyed." These are not accurate statements. Private ownership of land prevailed all over civilized Europe until the seventh century. When, however, civilization was destroyed by the Huns and the northern barbarians, then took place merely for protection and as a military measure, a sudden and general surrender of landed property to the state, and independent ownership was supplanted by feudalism. The abolition of feudalism was but a return to former and better principles of tenure. For if ever there was a system calculated to aid and support tyranny, under which it was possible to throw burdens the most intolerable upon the people, to crush mercilessly the spirits of free men until they were slaves, vassals, to chill all noble enterprise and keep the world at a dismal stand-still, a system born of war and ever pregnant with it, destructive of peace, liberty and manhood, it was feudalism in the middle ages. Mr. George is an apologist of this system, and yet its overthrow in Europe was the great victory which the common people, after long and bitter struggles, achieved against their despotic monarchs. When at the beginning of the French revolution, when the deputies of the people got control of the assembly, one of their first acts was to abolish the feudal system. In no sense can independent property be called the result of usurpation and fraud, unless in this—that usurpation and fraud drove the people to revolt and to wrest it from the hands of usurping and despotic kings. In both France and England, feudalism and monarchy went down together, were buried in one grave and at the hands of the people.

Twice in its history Rome was confronted with difficulties concerning its lands, from which arose grave disorders and civil conflicts. But never while Rome was great or growing great was an attempt made to destroy the right of individual property or to transfer it to the state. Neither was the stormy passage of the Licinian law nor the turbulent conflict of the Gracchi two hundred and forty years after, such an attempt. Niebuhr has clearly shown that these struggles were intended to accomplish the distribution of public lands only, and not those of private citizens, that the agrarian laws of the Gracchi were no infringement of the rights of private property. Nor was it by the observance of other mode of tenure that Rome grew so great; for the citizen's right to own land was as fully recognized in the earliest period of its prosperity and dawning greatness as centuries after in the most dazzling

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zenith of its power. The public lands comprised in part what was originally unoccupied territory, in part territory acquired by cession and conquest. The Licinian law limited the quantity that any individual might possess of these lands to five hundred jugers—about two hundred and seventy-five acres. The law was neglected, and contrary to its clear provisions, vast estates were appropriated out of the public domain. The Gracchi contended for the enforcement of this long disused law and for the division and distribution of all lands possessed by individuals beyond the limit which it fixed. The Gracchi failed, but the struggle brought on the civil wars.

The bloody and disastrous seditions which these disputes gave rise to, as well as the sad fate of the Gracchi, who perished with over three thousand of their followers, teach an important lesson on the difficulty of such reforms and on the hazards that beset wise legislation in such grave matters. The reluctance, delay and resistance of the aristocracy to yield a little in uncertain times, and the extreme demands of an angry populace have been at once the wrong and the ruin of both, and have brought violence and disaster to all the people. We shall see if the genius and virtue of the American people, profiting by the lessons of history, will solve such questions as these with moderation and with justice to the rights of all as becomes a republic, will solve them in time and without the shedding of citizens' blood.

J. L. GALVIN.

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A PIONEER OF SOUTHEASTERN OHIO.

WILLIAM W. HOLLOWAY.

AMONG the men of southeastern Ohio who have aided in building up that important and thriving section of the state, and in developing its resources, William W. Holloway of Bridgeport deserves an honored and prominent place. His life has been quietly devoted to the advancement of many interests, and his natural genius for business, strict integrity, and avoidance of those speculative paths by which so many seek fortune and find only disaster, have given him an influence and leadership which he has used to good advantage, and to the bettering of that portion of the country where he first saw the light of day, and in which his long and useful life has been passed. Mr. Holloway was born at Flushing, Belmont county, Ohio, on November 23, 1818. His parents were among the early settlers, and were hard-working, honest and respected members of the pioneer communities in which their lot was at various times cast. The father, Jacob Holloway, was born in 1785, and came from Winchester, Virginia, to Ohio in 1810. The mother was born in 1786, and their marriage occurred at Mt. Pleasant in 1813. They were both of Quaker parentage, and passed their life in strict accord with the tenets of that faith. The mother, by a previous marriage, had two children, John and Maria Warfield, the first named of whom is still living, in his seventy-seventh year, in Illinois, while the latter is now living, in her eightieth year, at Flushing, the widow of Joseph Walker.

The elder Holloway was a cabinet-maker by trade, but soon after coming to Ohio engaged in the selling of goods at St. Clairesville; and afterward traded his stock of goods for a farm in Flushing, where he spent the remainder of his days, dying in 1851. The wife survived him, dying in 1866, at the ripe old age of eighty. With the two above mentioned, eight children were of the membership of their family, and all filled their place honorably and well in life's struggle, and all except three have already rendered their account and passed into rest.

William W. Holloway, the subject of this sketch, commenced life amid surroundings that, upon a superficial glance, would seem to be against his growth and advancement toward success in life, but which in reality were among the best gifts that any youth could enjoy. Born in a log-cabin and of an ancestry that bequeathed to him intelligence, a sturdy willingness to make hands and head useful in any honest toil that might become his duty, and imbued with the simple habits and modest desires of those of his parents' faith, he was far better endowed than are many who seem far better equipped in youth, and to whom wealth is a matter of inheritance, and ease and luxury a part

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W. W. Holloway

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of their daily lot. His early years were passed in aiding his father upon the farm and in the common schools of the neighborhood, and when sixteen years of age he was sent to the Friends' boarding school at Mt. Pleasant, Jefferson county, where he remained two years. Upon leaving this school he remained upon his father's farm until in his nineteenth year, when he went into a store conducted by his father and half-brother, John Warfield, at Uniontown, Belmont county. He applied himself with aptitude and diligence to the interests consigned to his hands, and was rewarded for his industry and faithfulness when his father, in 1842, gave him an interest in the establishment. The business was thus successfully continued until in 1846, when they felt the need of a more extended field of operation, and removed to Bridgeport, enlarged their operations considerably, and entered into the wholesale grocery and commission business, under the firm name of Holloway & Warfield—Mr. William Holloway taking the place of his father. The character, enterprise and unquestioned financial responsibility of the firm, added to the strict integrity of all its methods of business, soon made it among the best known in eastern Ohio, and added largely to the measure of its success—continuing its operations in that direction until 1856. The keen business sense and foresight of its members soon led to the discovery of another form of public usefulness and another source of business success, and the result was that in 1847 they founded a branch bank of the State Bank of Ohio in Bridgeport. Mr. Warfield was made its president and remained such until 1856, when he resigned the position and made his home in Illinois. Mr. Holloway, who had been a member of its directory from the first, was promptly advanced to the presidency, which he held continuously until 1862, when the bank was wound up, in order that the First National Bank of Bridgeport—under the new United States banking law—might take its place. Mr. Holloway was chosen president of the new organization, and continued in charge of its affairs until 1865, when he entered upon a new field of responsibility and labor in connection with one of the great measures of internal improvement in the west, and that has been of such practical benefit to the two great states which it so early joined in a new bond of relationship and commercial interchange. As early as 1857 he had become identified with the newly organized Cleveland & Pittsburgh railroad as a stockholder and director, and in the year above named—1865—he became its vice-president, and labored therein until 1868, during which time his skill and business genius were largely given to develop the property and make it fulfill the great purposes for which it was created.

After his retirement from the vice-presidency of the road, as above described, Mr. Holloway gave his attention to his general business affairs, until 1873, when he was elected president of the Ætna Iron and Nail company, which has stood upon a financial footing of great soundness from the start, and which is double in size and influence what it was at first. He remained in this position for twelve years, when he resigned and allowed the responsibilities to fall into younger hands. In addition to the above large business en-

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gagements, it may be stated that Mr. Holloway is interested financially in the Standard Iron works, for the manufacture of sheet iron, the Junction Iron company, and the Laughlin Junction Steel company. He has also been prominently identified with the Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling railroad enterprise.

Mr. Holloway has been a business man, in the broad meaning of the term, throughout his whole life, and while adding to his own possessions by his industry and financial skill, has ever had an eye to the good of the community in which his lot has been cast, making his capital effective in many ways in the giving of employment, the creation of products, and the opening of the way to markets east and west. He has had no desire for public life of any character, declining all overtures in that direction, and refusing to entertain any suggestions leading thereto. In politics he is a Republican, and he watches the current of National events and the discussions of public questions with a solicitous and patriotic interest. He was married on April 29, 1846, to Miss Martha Ann Pryor, the daughter of James Pryor, one of the substantial citizens of Belmont county. Their married life has been one of mutual love and esteem, and their union blessed by four daughters and one son, all of whom are now living. The son, James J. Holloway, is cashier of the First National bank of Bridgeport; and the subject of this sketch, William W. Holloway, is now president, and was chosen a director of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad company after its difficulty caused by the failure of the Ohio Trust company, and was one of that small number of men by whose enterprise and labor it was placed upon its feet again.

Leave should not be taken of the subject of this brief and inadequate sketch, without the declaration that William W. Holloway is best appreciated where he is best known, and that those who have been the witnesses of his career for many years are most generous of their tributes in his praise. Although he has nearly touched his three-score and ten, he is still a moving factor in the world of men, and those strong individual points of character that have given him such success are still at their best. His industry, manliness, honesty and ability are united in the formation of a character of an unusual mould; while among the legacies he will leave to those who will come after him, there is none that he can regard with more pride, or that they have a right to more highly honor, than that possession which each man must earn for himself and none can buy—an honored and honorable name.

THEODORE JOHNSON.

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TERRITORIAL BENCH OF MINNESOTA.

THE *personnel* of the bench of a territory rarely affords much scope for the pen of the historian. Of all the appointments in the gift of the administration for a territory, scarcely any are less desirable for a man of average ability than a seat on the territorial bench. This statement may seem strange to those who have not given the subject reflection, but the history of territories will prove it true. And the reasons for it are sufficiently obvious. The territories are on the frontiers of civilization. Society is largely in a crude state. Years must elapse before churches, schools, theatres, hospitals, hotels and the thousand comforts and conveniences of civilized life can be had to any large degree. A generation of pioneer life must be lived before what men usually consider most valuable can be enjoyed. Hence men of ability and standing in the profession in the states will rarely relinquish these advantages for the uncertain tenure of a seat on the territorial bench. The position is certainly an honorable one, but perhaps not more so, than a high standing at the bar in the east and south. The reputation of an honest and able lawyer is one which cannot be increased by any government appointment. Not for such reason, therefore, would such a lawyer seek or accept the office of territorial judge.

But perhaps a still stronger reason why able lawyers are averse to accepting such a position, is the fact that it almost cuts them off from the chance of future promotion. He who takes that office "leaves hope behind." Not alone for official promotion, but for his profession as well. This, probably, is not the general idea entertained, and of course there are exceptions; but from a somewhat extensive acquaintance with the bench of several territories, I feel sure that it is true as a general rule. Indeed, from the nature of the case it must be so. If the law be a jealous mistress to the profession at large, much more is she of him who assumes to embody her highest attributes. There can be no dallying with politics or politicians. Even a known intimate personal acquaintance with a noted politician will more or less smirch the ermine He can address no political meetings, and can scarcely discuss political topics with his neighbors, with bated breath, at his own fireside. When therefore, at the expiration of his term of service of four years, more or less, he finds himself at liberty to engage in politics, if so disposed he is an unknown quantity, with not even as good a show as yesterday's arrival. During all these years of seclusion, active politicians have been coming to the front, combinations have been made, and he has been left out in the cold. Instead of the office serving as a stepping-stone to future preferment, it has proved the strongest obstacle in the way, if he has faithfully discharged his judicial duties. The instance of Stephen A. Douglas may be

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cited as a striking exception to this rule, as it may be said that he used his judicial office, effectually, to advance his political prospects. But he was an exception to all rules, judicial and political.

Nor does the position of territorial judge conduce to success in the practice of law when the incumbent retires. The cases coming before the court are largely of minor importance, and the inducements for close study are proportionally diminished. But in addition to this, it may well be questioned whether the judicial habit of mind, long indulged in, is most conducive to successful practice at the bar. At least, such is my conclusion, from somewhat numerous instances which have fallen under my own observation. There are exceptions, of course—perhaps one of the most notable in our own state, that of Judge Cooper, one of the first territorial judges, and who enjoyed quite a large practice after leaving the bench. But the brilliant professional young men, who always flock to the territories to make their fortune or build a reputation, have largely preëmpted the ground. For a man to leave the bench and take his place at the bar, is almost like commencing life anew. He is then probably at middle life—perhaps has had but little if any practice before, and it is rare that a man commences practice at that age and becomes a distinguished practitioner. To this must be added, that the salary of a judge in those days, $2,500 per annum (if we recollect rightly), was barely sufficient to support a family. With every change of administration, the judge was liable to lose his position.

Under such disadvantages it is no wonder that an administration cannot always fill these positions with the ablest lawyers. Indeed, the wonder is that men of any average ability are found willing to take them. And Minnesota, certainly, has no reason to be ashamed of her territorial bench. With these preliminary remarks, we proceed to speak more in detail of the territorial judges.

Governor Ramsey's proclamation declaring the territory of Minnesota duly organized, was dated June 1, 1849. This was under the administration of President Z. Taylor, the last of the Whig Presidents, and the official appointments were of those holding the same political views. Aaron Goodrich was appointed chief-justice, David B. Cooper and Bradley B. Meeker, associate justices of the supreme court. The territory was divided into three judicial districts, one being assigned to each justice. The justices met twice a year as a supreme court for review of cases appealed from the district courts.

These justices were all men of more than average ability, although of limited practice at the bar. But cases at that early day were not large in number or importance. Indeed, the extremely limited business of the courts at that time is shown from the fact that only sixteen opinions are reported from these justices during the nearly three years that they held office. This circumstance alone, however, would not give a correct idea of the amount of legal business transacted, as a considerable number of decisions were rendered in which opinions were either not written or have been lost.

Honorable B. B. Meeker was a native of Connecticut, and the family name in that

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state runs back to an early date. He was a man of very decided convictions and had the courage to maintain the same, whether popular or otherwise. He was a bachelor, and his residence was Minneapolis. He was averse to engaging in the practice of his profession, and after his retirement from the bench, which occurred in the year 1853, in consequence of the advent of a Democratic administration, under President Pierce, he never resumed the practice of law. He firmly believed that the new administration had no power to remove territorial judges, and proposed to carry the question to the United States supreme court, but finally abandoned the idea. He subsequently invested to some extent in real estate, and acquired property in Ramsey county, now adjoining the city limits of Minneapolis, and which has become very valuable. He was always most enthusiastic in regard to the future of Minneapolis, and since his prophecies of its future have been far more than realized, it has always been a regret to his friends that he could not have been spared to see their fulfillment. He died February 20, 1873, and his remains were taken to Connecticut for burial.

Chief-Justice Aaron Goodrich was a native of Cayuga county, New York, and was born in 1807. He was a man of marked ability, and would have been a man of note in any community. Had his tastes naturally inclined to the law, there is no doubt but that he would have acquired a leading position in the profession. But his predilections were in the direction of politics and literature, and it is in those fields that he was best known. He studied law in New York. Later he moved to Stewart county, Tennessee, where he commenced practice. In 1847 he served in the legislature of Tennessee, and his abilities were recognized in the endorsement he received from that state for chief-justice of Minnesota, to which position he was appointed in May, 1849. The duties of the office, however, were not entirely congenial to one of his active temperament, and he retired in 1851, after something less than three years' service. His legal abilities, however, later received a fitting acknowledgment in his appointment, by a legislature opposed to him in politics, to the office of commissioner to revise the laws and prepare a code of practice and pleadings for the territory. To one educated under the old English system, which largely prevailed in New York at the time he studied for the profession, the radical changes introduced by the code were exceedingly repugnant to his conservative views. He submitted a vigorous minority report on the subject to the legislature. While he did not succeed in preventing the reform (so called), many of the older conservative members of the bar sympathized in his views, and even to-day it is an open question whether the adoption of the code system of practice and pleading has not a tendency to diminish the number of eminent lawyers.

Having always been a pronounced Whig in politics (the Whig party almost universally having gone over to the Republican party in 1860) under President Lincoln, Judge Goodrich received the appointment of secretary of legation at Brussels. He was eminently fitted for the position, inasmuch as the duties are merely nominal, and gave him ample scope for the exercise

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of his literary tastes. This office he held for about eight years. Though the duties of the office were, as said, practically nominal, Judge Goodrich was by no means idle. He collected material for and then and afterwards wrote a book entitled 'A History of the Character and Achievements of the So-called Christopher Columbus.' It was an attempt to prove that Columbus was a pirate, whose real name was Griego, who stole the log-book of a mariner and sought to steal his discoveries. We have never heard that he succeded in convincing any of the truth of his discovery. But the book is ingenious and shows much research and labor. A scarcely less distinguished lawyer and historian of Minnesota is now engaged in a similar work affecting the memory of the late lamented William Shakespeare. It may well be doubted, however, whether the result will be any more successful in this latter case than the former.

Judge Goodrich was a delegate to the convention which nominated Lincoln for President in 1860. He took some part in the campaign, and delivered a number of vigorous and effective speeches. During General Grant's administration he acted with the branch of the party known as Liberal Republicans, and was a delegate in 1872 to the Cincinnati convention. Subsequently he acted mostly with the Democratic party. He was an authority in Masonic literature, to which he was himself a contributor, and attained a high rank in the order. He had the acquaintance and friendship of many men of National reputation, including such men as Lincoln, Seward, Taylor, Fillmore, Johnson and others of the Whig and Republican parties. His long residence in the state made him a prominent member of the Old Settlers' association, and their dinners were often enlivened by his oratory and wit.

Judge Goodrich had accumulated and owned at the time of his death probably the most valuable private library in the state. It was rich in historical and literary treasures, containing many rare works in Italian and Spanish, many of which are famous editions now out of print, and which are only reached by accident. It is especially rich in works and pamphlets relating to the discovery of the continent. An unusual opportunity is furnished to the historical society to enrich its shelves (already assuming much importance in its specialty) with works of permanent value, and which will largely tend to place it in the front rank of historical societies.

Judge Goodrich died, regretted by a large circle of friends, in St. Paul, June 24, 1887. His record is a part of the history of Minnesota.*

Judge David Cooper was undoubtedly the ablest lawyer of the first three appointees to the bench of the territory. He had the advantage of a more thorough legal training, and of a considerable amount of practice in Pennsylvania before his appointment as associate justice. He wrote more opinions than either of the other justices, and they will compare favorably with those written by subsequent courts. But he was rather known as a case lawyer—to pay more at-

* For some of the facts in this sketch, the writer is indebted to the *Pioneer Press*, which contained an appreciative notice of the judge soon after his death.

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tention to sharp technical points rather than for broad, comprehensive views of questions presented to him. This appeared as well in his practice at the bar as in the discharge of his duties on the bench. For instance, in one case before the state supreme court (and that not one of great importance), his points and subdivisions amounted to more than forty in number. This might be excusable in a young attorney, but hardly for one of experience, who had occupied a seat on the bench. In the particular instance cited he lost his case, but perhaps not in consequence of his prolixity. As a general rule, however, it may be stated that a great multiplication of minor points does not conduce to success. It weakens rather than strengthens a case.

That Judge Cooper had a greater taste for the profession and practice of the law than his associates on the bench, is shown by the fact that at the expiration of his judicial term he immediately engaged in the practice of law and soon acquired a large, if not lucrative, business. Senator McMillen was for some time in partnership with him. He was naturally allied in sympathy with the Republican party, but took no active part in politics. He was too fastidious, both intellectually and estethically, to resort to the arts which make a successful politician. In dress he aspired to be a disciple of Chesterfield. Many will remember his appearance in court, in lace ruffles, and wrist bands on his shirts, not unaccompanied with perfumes. This is a mere matter of taste, but we doubt whether at that day Boston or Philadelphia could have furnished many, if any, instances of the same kind.

But it would be a mistake to infer from this that Judge Cooper lacked either vigor of intellect or of expression in his views on any subject that engaged his attention. He certainly had the courage of his convictions, and was so outspoken in their expression that no one could accuse him of being a time- or man-server.

For instance, on one occasion he had several cases in which he was employed at one term of the state supreme court. The court happened to disagree with him in the law of the case in three or four, in one of which the chief-justice had written a dissenting opinion. One was left, in which also the chief wrote a dissenting opinion, and on the morning on which the opinion was published the chief-justice, in going down town to his office, met Judge Cooper. The latter greeted him with a cordial good morning and genially remarked: "Well, judge, I see those other two d——n fools have beaten you again." The chief-justice appreciated the joke, especially where he got a chance to tell it on his associates.

In the early days of territorial history, courts were not always conducted with that dignity and decorum deemed essential in later times. A degree of intimacy and familiarity existed between the bench and bar, refreshingly primitive and which tended much to relieve the monotony of judicial proceeding. To one just arrived from the east, and accustomed to the proceedings, in the staid, solemn old courts, presided over by such men as Denio, Bronson, Oakley, and their compeers, where the slightest familiarity was never tolerated, the free and easy manners of

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this western court seemed of questionable tendency. It was no uncommon thing while waiting for a witness, or while the counsel was addressing the jury, for the judge to descend from the bench, and taking his seat with the bar, with his legs elevated on the table, and a cigar in his mouth, join in the jokes and stories which were wont to relieve the tedium of the court room. The first district court which the writer attended in the territory was in 1850, and the court was held in a hall over a saloon, kept by a noted Frenchman, on the upper part of Third street, opposite the American House. A case was being argued by Wm. Hollinshead, one of the ablest lawyers at the bar at that day, although even then there were men of mark in the profession. In the middle of his argument, at eleven o'clock, the counsel suspended his remarks, and looking at his watch moved that the court take a recess of fifteen minutes. The motion was granted *nem con.* What the object of a recess at that time could be was not apparent to a tenderfoot, but did not long remain a mystery. The bench, counsel, jury, indeed every person in the room, bolted for the door, crossed the street to the American, where extensive irrigation immediately occurred. The ceremony concluded, all persons returned to the court room, and business proceeded in regular order. Indeed, so far as I could judge, that was no interruption of the regular order of business.

It is not an unusual thing at the present day for attorneys to find fault with the decisions of the supreme court, when they do not happen to be in their favor. I have no doubt it would be far more agreeable to the *feelings* of the members of that court (if indeed, they can be supposed to have any feelings), to decide every case so as to give satisfaction to both parties. Unfortunately, under our present system of jurisprudence, that seems impossible. What the future may have in store for us, in this direction, when Socialists and Anarchists shall come to the front, and take charge of the judiciary, we can scarcely foresee. It has always seemed to me rather an unprofitable business to find fault with the decisions of the supreme court, inasmuch as that tribunal has "the last say" in the matter. Nevertheless, it may be a consolation to tyro's in the law to know that thirty-five and forty years ago, complaints of the same kind were made by dissatisfied attorneys. But the reasons for such decisions, in the lapse of time, may have somewhat changed. For instance, at one of the early terms of the supreme court of the territory, the writer happened to have four cases on the docket. The first two were perhaps about average cases, which were liable to go either way. The third, I felt sure of losing, and had only appealed it on the peremptory demand of my client to gain time. The fourth, I felt absolutely sure of winning, as it was an appeal from a judgment, and no question was involved save the regularity of the record, and had carried it up, at my own expense, against the wishes of my client. The attorneys were the same in all the cases, Mr. N—— being my opponent.

In due time, the first three cases were

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decided in my favor. The fourth lingered, but a month later it appeared and I was lost. I immediately searched for the opinion, for what seemed an extraordinary decision, but none was on file—only the words "judgment reversed." Meeting one of the judges soon after, I ventured to call his attention to the matter, and ask the reason of what appeared so extraordinary a decision. He had forgotten the case, but finally his memory was refreshed.

"Oh yes—I recollect—the case of so and so, in which Mr. N—— was opposing attorney?"

"The same."

"Well, I am not sure about the decision in that case, but my recollection is that it was not one of very much importance, and as Mr. N—— had lost every case he had that term, we thought it would not make much difference to decide that case in his favor."

The explanation was so frank and naive that it entirely disarmed criticism, especially as it was accompanied by a genial invitation "to interview a friend," at the next corner.

Let no one infer, however, from these instances of the manner of conducting judicial affairs, in the early days of the territory, that on the whole justice was not obtained as nearly as in the older communities. And I think far more so than in some of the newer territories with which I have been acquainted. Charges of bribery and corruption of courts and juries were almost wholly unknown. Some methods were peculiar, and have become obselete, but were not really as prejudicial as one at the present day might think.

The limits of this article are exhausted by this brief sketch of the first territorial bench. As population increased, and litigation became larger and more important, the standard of legal ability for a seat on the bench was correspondingly advanced. Before the state was admitted, in 1858, the Honorable Jerome Fuller, William H. Welch, Andrew Chatfield, Moses Sherburne, R. R. Nelson and Charles E. Flandrau had served for longer or shorter terms as supreme court justices. William Hollinshead, Isaac Atwater, John B. Brisbin and Harvey Officer served in the order named as reporters of supreme court.

Some of the justices above named were able lawyers, and the last two named rose to higher positions on the state and United States bench. Occasion may serve hereafter to give some further sketch of their lives. There was an increase of dignity of the bench with the increase of business, but the novel, fascinating, indescribable flavor of territorial times was passing away. Churches, log school-houses, appendages to saloons, with floors covered with tanbark and saw-dust, where justice was first administered, gradually gave place to more commodious structures. Clerks, who couldn't write the simplest record without instruction from the presiding judge were superseded by others who could at least use the form book. The goddess of justice began to discard her homely and ragged robes, while she was supposed to retain the bandage on her

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eyes. But with all these, too, went that royal *bon-hommie*, that genial comradeship, that simple equality between bench and bar, that cordial delight in each other's early success, which gave a charm to practice in territorial times, for which all the successes in after life can poorly compensate.

ISAAC ATWATER.

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BUFFALO—III.

WILLIAM HODGE, JR.

FROM the standpoint of human observation and finite understanding, it often seems to us that some men were created for a special, marked use and purpose, and that there would have been prominent interstices in times and localities had they not lived. They give tone and character to, and form and shape communities, and leave their impress on society and on the day and generation in which they exist. Such, in no ordinary sense and degree, were William Hodge, sen., and William Hodge, jr., father and son. The branch of the family from which they are descended had its origin in John Hodge, who was an early inhabitant of Windsor, Connecticut, and where he married, August 1, 1666, Susanna Denslow. The latter was the daughter of Henry Denslow, who came from Dorchester, Massachusetts, and was settled at Windsor in 1644. He was devoted and loyal to his adopted state, took up arms in its defence and was killed by Indians during the progress of the "great Indian war" in 1676. The early Hodges were men such as the country had chief need of in its settling, developing and building up—hardy, intelligent, enterprising and patriotic. In the War of the Revolution were Benjamin Hodge, Benjamin Hodge, jr., Elija Hodge, John Hodge and John Hodge, jr. Of the family it has been said that "they were engaged in the good and useful work, in peaceful times, of building mills, and, in the Revolutionary war, of fighting for the liberty and independence of the land." It is further said that the mother of William Hodge, sen., was a descendant of Lord Churchill. William, sen., was born in Glastonbury, Connecticut, the second of July, 1781. His father, Benjamin, removed from the latter place to Richfield, Otsego county, New York, in 1794. His son William was then thirteen years old. He was a man of strong character and sterling worth. He early gave promise of more than ordinary ability and success in life. His younger years were spent in farming and teaching a village school. For the latter occupation he seemed to have had a special liking and aptitude and was well fitted for the position of teacher, having availed himself of the advantages that the schools of Connecticut offered to the children of the state. This preparation was further supplemented by the good opportunities afforded by the schools of Richfield and also by studious habits, a desire for reading and a naturally strong and observant mind and nature. He was somewhat inclined to professional life

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and had an exceedingly good chance to enter upon the practice and study of medicine with his cousin, Dr. Joseph White, who was an eminent practicing physician and surgeon in Otsego county, and who was urgent and anxious that young Hodge should connect himself with his office. This he undoubtedly would have done had it not been for his mother, who, from her peculiar ideas, in this instance, of motherly regard, refused her consent on the ground, as she said, that his station in life would be above that of his brothers, and she did not want to manifest any partiality by allowing him to do what would bring about such a result. He therefore followed farming and teaching in Richfield until twenty-two years of age, when, in 1804, he removed to Buffalo. Soon after, he bought several small tracts of land, aggregating many acres, at six dollars per acre, of what is now the city of Buffalo. A part of this land was purchased from a Mr. Husten, who already had a nursery of apple-trees growing from seed which he himself had planted. This was the first nursery planted on that then western frontier. Mr. Hodge continued the business for more than twenty years, and it was subsequently carried on by his son, William, jr.

It is worthy of remark that nearly all the apple orchards in western New York originated from Mr. Hodge's nursery. Mr. Hodge was one of the most useful and enterprising citizens Buffalo has ever had. He engaged, at different times, in a variety of business, and was quite successful in nearly all. In 1811 he built a brick tavern on what is now the corner of Main and Utica streets. This was the first brick building in Erie county, and became known far and near as the "Brick Tavern on the Hill." It was the last building destroyed when the British burned the village, December 30, 1813. The following spring he rebuilt this structure and continued tavern-keeping for over twenty years.

For a number of years he was engaged in brick-making. He early, before 1812, manufactured "fanning mills," the first in western New York, and in 1816, together with his brother, Velorous Hodge and Whipple Hawkins, started the first forge in Buffalo. He also made wire screens and furnished many of the first grist mills in that vicinity and Canada with rolling screens. He likewise owned the first threshing machine in that part of the state. Thus he continued his active and useful business career, and "to the end retained the esteem of his acquaintances. In most of the forty-three years of his residence in Buffalo, he held some office of importance in the town, such as commissioner, assessor and magistrate. While not ambitious or seeking popularity, he was yet public-spirited, being one of the foremost to engage in enterprises for the good of the community. With willing hands and energetic mind, carrying on many kinds of business, he gave employment to many persons. By his own exertions, and through the hard labor, industrious habits and good character of his family of ten children, amid toil and privations and some most severe struggles,

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he did his part towards building up the great city of Buffalo.

He died September 18, 1848. Of his death and burial the following mention has been made. "His funeral was attended by a large concourse of friends, who deeply sympathized with the sorrowing family and warmly acknowledged that in the death of William Hodge the community had sustained no common loss. These friends also followed his remains to their quiet resting-place in the High Street cemetery, whence, in later years, they were transferred to Forest Lawn. It was fitting indeed that they should first be buried and should remain for years within a cemetery which was shaded perhaps by two hundred trees of his own planting, and whose very soil had been the property of one of his children, and within the bounds of two burial lots which were made his own in return for his services in thus beautifying the cemetery." In all the labors and business activities, honest, faithful, upright, noble, a "crown of glory" to the life of William Hodge, sen. William Hodge, jr., always evinced an intelligent, warm and filial interest, living and working with and for his father long after he became of age. Such regard and affection was manifest on both sides and their business relations so intimate, and the early years of William, jr., so much a part of the life of his father, that it has seemed entirely fitting and altogether proper that prominent mention should be made of that father.

William Hodge, jr., was born at Exeter, Otsego county, New York, December 20, 1804. In the following spring he, with his parents, came to Buffalo, the journey having been performed by wagon to Utica and thence in an open row boat. Of this circumstance and period, Honorable O. J. Hodge, editor and proprietor of the Cleveland *Sun and Voice*, in an article entitled "Buffalo's Oldest Resident," says:

> Mr. William Hodge was a brother of Dr. Frank Hodge of Hudson, Ohio, and also of Mrs. James Purdy, Mrs. Dimon Sturges and Mrs. William Wey of Mansfield, Ohio. Mr. O. J. Hodge and Mr. Karl Hodge of this city are also relatives. When five months old William Hodge was carried in his mother's arms to Buffalo. Buffalo was then almost the western limit of civilization, and the trip was made from Exeter by water and on a flat boat. The family came by way of the Mohawk river, Oneida lake, Oswego river, Lake Ontario and Niagara river. The flat boat was carried around Niagara Falls on a wagon. The father, William Hodge, sen., worked hard in his new home, and at his death, in 1848, had acquired a large property.

At the time spoken of Buffalo was little more than a wilderness, but public attention had been directed to the cheap and fertile lands of western New York, and the Holland Land company having adopted a liberal system of sales, emigration extended beyond "Phelps & Gorham's purchase," and in 1801 the company laid out the village of "New Amsterdam," or "Buffalo Creek."

In this year Joseph Ellicott sat at his office desk tracing with sagacious hand the outlines of an infant city with mathematical streets and squares and docks for shipping. His prophetic eye, with singular clearness, then discovered the future importance of Buffalo. Riding on horseback, in 1802, with Mrs. Brisbane, among the brambles and bushes that then occupied what is now

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many of its principal streets, he said to her, "This will some day be a great city." That little map traced in 1801 opened the drama of progress in which many generations have been actors on a busy stage, whose scenes have shifted like the magic wonders of eastern enchantment.

This Joseph Ellicott was a younger brother of Andrew A. Ellicott, then surveyor-general of the United States. He had assisted him in laying out the city of Washington and had adopted it as a pattern for Buffalo's broad streets, diagonal avenues and public squares. To many of these streets were given the names of members of the Holland Land company, and the entire settlement was called "New Amsterdam." For his personal delectation he curved Main street westerly from Swan to Eagle streets. Within this space, known subsequently as "Ellicott's bow window," he proposed to place a palatial residence, from the piazza of which he could obtain an unobstructed view of Main, Church and Niagara streets, and enjoy the gorgeous sunsets for which Buffalo is so justly celebrated. So Mr. Ellicott proposed. But towns and villages, as well as republics, are ungrateful. There were none so poor as to do reverence to the name of New Amsterdam. The inhabitants contemptuously sniffed at the inharmonious names of Willink and Van Stophorst, Busti and Vollenhoven, Stadnitski and Skimmelpennick and summarily ejected them from the premises. Mr. Ellicott's scheme faded like the sunsets which he expected to enjoy. But his fame has survived its wreck, and he will be always remembered in the annals of Buffalo as the first man who appreciated its geographical position, who prophesied its greatness and planned its highways on a scale suitable to its future fortunes.

As to the origin of the name of the city which this Hodge family did so much for from a very early up to the present period, Honorable E. C. Sprague, in his semi-centennial address, says:

> Our city derives its name from the river at whose mouth it is situated. How this stream came to be called Buffalo is somewhat doubtful. In a treaty made at Fort Stanwix, now the village of Rome, in 1784, between the United States and Iroquois Confederacy, the name of Buffalo creek was applied for the first time in any written document to what is now known as Buffalo river. Whether this name was chosen because the buffalo had at some time grazed upon its banks and drank its waters, or whether, as was supposed by President Fillmore, it was adopted by a mistake in the interpretation of its Indian name, cannot certainly be determined, although there is strong evidence to support the conclusion that both banks of the stream were in early days bounded by oak-opening prairies, occupied at times by herds of buffaloes. However this may be, Buffalo was from the year 1784 adopted by the Indians as the name of the creek, and subsequently applied to the village and city at its mouth.

In 1803 the village of "New Amsterdam" was surveyed into lots by William Peacock, but its inhabitants persisted in calling it Buffalo, and Buffalo it has remained up to this day. Lots began to be sold in 1804, and the history of Buffalo as a place of residence for white men may be said to begin at this date. Then came years of quiet, unrecorded village life, when in October, 1811, the growing community required a newspaper "to herald the existence of the rising hamlet and to minister to its intel-

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lectual wants and foster its business interests." This was highly creditable to Buffalo, giving evidence, as it did, of the intelligence and culture of its citizens, and it is altogether probable that there have been but few places in the history of the country that established and supported a newspaper so soon after their settlement. Mr. Hodge says his first recollection is of living in a double log house, on farm lot number thirty-five, where his parents resided until he was eight years old. He also first attended school in a log house on what is now Main street, and later in a log house on another part of Main street. Speaking of these, his early childhood days, in his volume of 'Reminiscences,' Mr. Hodge says:

How plain in my remembrance is the scene; the road so lately cut through, full of logs, stumps and brush, many of the native forest trees being still standing around about. As I return to those days in memory, many things bring to mind that truthful, child-like hymn, beginning

When in the slippery paths of youth
With heedless steps I ran,
Thine arm, unseen, conveyed me safe,
And led me up, to man.

Of his school days he also makes pleasing and interesting mention, in which may be seen the difference in the methods and manner of teaching then and now:

The teachers were, in summer, females, receiving from one dollar and fifty cents to two dollars per week; in the winter, males, receiving from twelve to fifteen dollars per month. The teachers "boarded 'round" with the different families from which children attended the school. These schools were kept three or four months in the winter and about the same time in the summer. In the study of geography we had no atlases, charts or maps, but our teacher would take a large slate—blackboards were not then known here—and mark out the region about which we were studying and explain to us the situation of places in relation to each other. This made a lasting impression on our minds, such as could not be made by reading alone. We had as teacher of the winter school of 1823-4 a student in a law office in the village. He did this, he said, because it was necessary for him to earn some money in order to continue his studies. His salary was twenty dollars per month, he to "board 'round." He proved to be an excellent teacher and very gentlemanly, modest and pleasant in his deportment. In one thing I thought his teaching superior to that of any of my former teachers, and this was in "putting out words" for the first class to spell, for after pronouncing the word and before it was spelled he gave the definition. Now when this young teacher boarded at my father's there was from time to time some frolicking going on between him and my sisters. Frequently this took the form of snowballing, and sometimes there was considerable "cutting of capers" among them. Once, for instance, they had come to close quarters in a snowball contest, and one of the girls got a hard rubbing by the teacher's hands with snow. Her hair was pretty thoroughly disheveled and her face very red and quite clean. As he was much the stronger and took in this case the position which sometimes nations do, that "might makes right," my sister could not help herself. But she adopted a successful plan of getting even with this young limb of the law, as he discovered the next morning, when, on going to put on his boots, he found them well covered, legs and all, with soft soap. This teacher, after leaving our school, continued his studies and in due course of time was admitted to practice in our courts of law. Not being over-confident in himself, he opened an office, at first out in the country, but after practicing there a few years, ventured to come into the village and formed a partnership with others. He continued to do a successful business, was elected to the state legislature, rising in popularity as a statesman, till, after many years of the highest success, he left the political arena. The last years of his life were quite retired, and when, finally, on the day of his funeral, I was present, amid a vast assembly, to take a farewell look at one of my school-teachers, I was beholding all that was mortal of Millard Fillmore, once President of the United States.

Benjamin Hodge, jr., who came from Otsego county in 1806, was also a teacher of a school which William Hodge, jr., attended. He was a com-

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petent and successful teacher, and was elected clerk of the district on its organization, which office he held for twenty-five years, being annually re-elected. William Hodge, jr., had personal acquaintance with and vivid recollections of some of the Indian chiefs. One was Red Jacket. He says:

> I remember him well. In stature he was not tall, but rather stoutly built and straight as an arrow. He was dignified in his appearance and walk and quite reserved in his manner. There was another interesting character who impressed himself on the memory of Mr. Hodge—a "polite Frenchman," Louis Stephen Le Couteulx, who early kept a drug store, and was also afterwards town clerk. He was a true gentleman, highly educated, and a refugee from France. He wore a queue, long stockings and knee breeches and shoe buckles. I know of only two besides him who in those days still wore queues—my grandfather, Benjamin Hodge, and Roswell Hosford.

Among the prominent citizens whom Mr. Hodge well remembers was Judge Samuel Wilkeson, who was one of the early settlers in northeast Ohio, on the Mahoning river. He subsequently removed to Buffalo and engaged in the iron trade. In 1828 he erected a foundry and machine shop, which was the earliest machinery-making establishment in Buffalo. In the same year he also purchased the Arcole blast furnace in Madison, Lake county, Ohio. On the opening in 1845 of the Erie and Pittsburgh and the Ohio and Pennsylvania canals, Judge Wilkeson's sons erected iron works near the junction of these two canals in Poland, Ohio, and put to test the often and unsuccessfully tried experiment of smelting iron with raw bituminous coal. In this enterprise they met with marked success. Mr. Hodge, in his book, makes mention of his father's engaging in the banking business, which was not satisfactory. This calls to mind an incident which we remember to have seen related illustrating banking in its infancy in Buffalo. In 1840 Mr. Stephen C. Clark and John Hibbard, with others, started the Buffalo Steam Engine works. Soon after it got into a prosperous working condition it occurred to them that they would very likely need, in the course of their business transactions, some bank facilities. Although they had, at that moment, laid away in bags three thousand dollars in silver, Mr. Clark thought, notwithstanding, it would be better to establish mutual relations with some of the banks, of which there were then but three or four. Accordingly one day he made a note for five hundred dollars, endorsed by two respectable citizens, and with it he and Uncle John Hibbard started for the bank. They applied for accommodation to the Commercial bank. They were told by the officer of the bank that their limit was up, had no money on hand and could not use the paper. They made one or two more applications at other banks and with the same result. Finally they entered the O. Lee & Company's banking office. Said they: "We have come in this morning to ask you to discount a note for us. We are using considerable money in our business and have made a note with two good endorsers, which we would be glad to have you discount." "Can't do it, can't do it," replied the president, "I have no faith in your concern; you will fail and we will be obliged to collect it of the

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endorsers. Can't do it, can't do it." Mr. Clark became indignant, straightened himself up in his manhood, and holding out the note, said: "Mr. Lee, you will discount that note or one of us must prepare to take a whipping." Mr. Lee looked at Mr. Clark for a moment, and made up his mind that the note would be paid promptly. "Teller," said he, "give Mr. Clark the money on that note." "I don't want the money," said Mr. Clark. "What! you don't want the money; what do you want?" "I want a hand-book and a check-book, and we'll check for the money as we need it." In two or three days after this occurrence Mr. Clark collected the bags of silver, put them on a cart and backed up in front of the O. Lee & Company's bank. Unloading it he walked into the bank and met the president, who asked what it meant. "Oh, nothing," replied Mr. Clark, "we had this money on hand which had been paid in by our customers, and as we had no safe place to keep it, and as we have succeeded in establishing relations with the bank, I have come to deposit it with you." The incident continues:

The president was not a little surprised, but was more so when, on invitation, he visited the works of the company, saw the comprehensive nature of their business and was shown over ten thousand dollars of accounts against some of the best concerns in the west and in Canada. It is needless to say that ever thereafter the Buffalo Steam Engine company could get what money it needed from the O. Lee & Company's bank without an endorser.

Mr. Velorous Hodge, son of Benjamin, and uncle of William, jr., relates an almost incredible and interesting bit of information in respect to the sound of Perry's guns at the battle on Lake Erie being heard in Buffalo, two hundred miles away from the place of engagement. It may be said here that candor and truthfulness were noted characteristics of the Hodge family—certainly no one who ever knew Velorous Hodge would, for a moment, doubt his word. He says:

One day, in 1813, the writer, with several other boys, was picking blackberries in Buffalo on the hill where High street is now laid out, and not over forty rods from Main street. Suddenly, in an old ravine where the berries were very thick, we distinctly heard the firing cannon. It was the day of Perry's victory on Lake Erie, and the scene of the fight was almost two hundred miles away. When I went home with my berries I told my father that we had heard the firing of many great cannon, and the sound was from up the lake. He thought it must be that the British had landed on the lake shore not far off, probably at Cattaraugus or some place near by. But in a few days—telegraphs were not dreamed of then—we heard of Perry's battle, and my father at once said that the firing of cannon, which I had heard, must certainly have been the noise of the commodore's guns. He could scarcely believe that the waters of the lake could carry the sound two hundred miles; there was no other explanation. Afterwards we found out that the battle took place at the very hour when we heard the firing. I was too young to notice whether the lake was still at the time or not, but I'm quite sure there was little (if any) wind blowing.

I am positive that we heard that firing distinctly two hundred miles—which is certainly almost equal to the telegraph of to-day.

The life of William Hodge, jr., was long and eventful, creditable to himself and family, of great worth and merit, and of marked usefulness and benefit to Buffalo. That city has a proper appreciation of his labors and interest in its behalf. No measure having for its end and aim the material, social and moral welfare of the city but what re-

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ceived his influence and liberal support. Mr. Sprague, before referred to, in his address says:

In 1805 William Hodge settled here with his son William, the latter of whom has, I believe, resided in Buffalo longer than any other man now living. Our patriarch, like the patriarch of the race, has been through life a gardener and horticulturist, but he has never fallen from his original uprightness, and in a serene old age retains his paternal Eden, excepting such portions as he has voluntarily conveyed.

He always kept aloof from politics, seeking no public honors or office, but contenting himself in the beautifying and improving of his large real estate interests. He was foremost in opening the northerly portion of Delaware avenue, as also Hodge avenue, on which he built many houses. He deeply and warmly loved nature, and it was a chief delight in early days to wander through the forests and fields of Buffalo when it was "in the country." Some one says:

What, indeed, one is inclined to ask, can any one really know about nature, whose early days have not been spent in the country? What halo of beauty and old romance can equal the magic that invests those paths wherein you first learnt to run and ride, to drink the light and air of sunset or the sweetness of the earth's exhalations? What after-adventures can impress like those which the childish imagination invests or magnifies for itself?

Mr. Hodge died in Buffalo, April 24, 1887, nearly eighty-four years of age. His benignancy of manner, sunny countenance, warm and generous nature will long be remembered. He was for many years an active and devoted member of the Westminster Presbyterian church, which received from him many benefactions. He was also many years a member of the Buffalo Historical society, and has been its president. He seems to have begun early to build moral character, nor did it cease to grow, strengthen and develop during any part of eighty-four years of intelligent, honorable, upright living.

D. W. MANCHESTER.

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THE PIONEER PRIEST AND EARLY HISTORY OF MINNESOTA.*

THE early history of Minnesota naturally classifies itself into two periods; one the age of barbarism, in which civilization sent out its avant-couriers to spy out the land, and the other the age of the actual struggle of civilization with and final victory over barbarism. The first period is prominently marked in its commencement by the arrival, in 1680, of the Franciscan priest, Louis Hennepin, a subject of Louis XIV., while the sovereignty of the lands was in France; in 1766, shortly after the sovereignty had passed to England, by the visit of Jonathan Carver, a Connecticut protestant, whose grandfather had served under William of Orange; and in 1805 by the tour of Zebulon Pike, an American officer who came to take down the English flag on the east side of the Mississippi river, where it defiantly floated notwithstanding that that portion of what is now Minnesota had become the property of the United States at the close of the Revolutionary war. This period ends in 1837 with the cession to the United States by the Sioux or Dakotas of all their lands east of the Mississippi river by a treaty which bears the cross-mark signatures of Big Thunder, the father of Little Crow, the eagle head, He that walks last, He that runs after the clouds, He that stands on both sides (of a question), He that walks in a circle, and other chiefs with equally significant names, that might well apply to some of the dominant race.

The first era was an era of dealings on nearly equal terms, the savages, although in the ascendency, protecting the traders, as they needed their goods. It was a romantic period. The traders lived among the Indians in all the style of feudal barons.

The savages, save for occasional wars between themselves, led a harmless, contented hunter life. The woods were filled with deer and bear, the prairies with buffalo, and the lakes and rivers with abundance of fish and wild fowl. "Often before their lands were taken away," I once heard a trader say, "I used to stop before their lodges and listen to their happy songs." Louis Hennepin was an enthusiastic traveler, a diligent observer of men and countries, and what is more to the purpose, he kept a record of what he saw over two hundred years ago in this then distant land, which remains for our reading, wherein he describes the plants, the animals, the people, and their manners and customs. He drew a map of the country. He wrote in this old book:

> We could not sufficiently admire the extent of those vast countries and the charming lands through which we passed and which lie all unutilized. I must needs say that the poorer part of our countrymen would do well to think of it and go and plant themselves in this fine country where, for a little

[* This very able and remarkably entertaining paper was read by I. V. D. Heard, Esq., one of the oldest and most prominent members of the Minnesota bar, at the banquet given in St. Paul in honor of Cardinal Gibbons. It was in response to a toast embodying the subjects contained in the above caption.—EDITOR MAGAZINE.]

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pains in tilling the earth, they would live happily and subsist much better than they do here.

He was competent to speak on this subject, as he was well versed in the then war-afflicted condition of Europe, for he had shrived the dying at the bloody battle of Senef between the Prince of Conde and William of Orange. His book was published in nearly all the capitals of Europe, in many different languages. Sparks, Bancroft, Shea and all other American historians draw largely upon Hennepin's work for the condition, in his time, of the country from Quebec to the Mississippi. He gave to the world the first drawing of Niagara. He was the first discoverer of the upper Mississippi. He christened rivers, lakes and streams and gave the name to the flashing cataract of St. Anthony, in the long ago, when to it the trembling Indian brought

> "Belts of porcelain, pipes and rings—
> Tributes to be hung in air
> To the friend presiding there."

He sought a water-way across the continent.

In the mind of this seer Europe was connected westwardly with Japan two hundred years before the Bavarian Villiard drove home the spike of gold that joined with lines of shimmering steel the sounding billows of Atlantic and Pacific seas. This Franciscan priest brought to these upper wilds its first altar and altar cloth and holy cross and chalice, "with glittering silver gilt." He sang its first Christian hymn and prayed its first Christian prayer. I would that I could, if time permitted, bring him again to ideal life and draw the "father in his habit as he lived." He was a kindly man. He administered medicine to the sick Indian and tried to comfort his sorrows. He planted tobacco on the Mille Lacs for the peace calumet of the Dakotas. He even mentions in his history the little dog he had with him—joint discoverer of the Mississippi. To-day no man knoweth his sepulchre.

A gentleman, long years ago engaged in the Indian trade once told me the following incident:

> A young man of the Chippewa nation purchased of this gentleman a horse and paid for his keeping by the gentleman until the following spring, and went off to his country. On the following spring he came again and paid likewise for the keeping for the ensuing year. The third spring the Indian came once more and offered to pay for that year. Whereupon the gentleman asked for an explanation of this singular conduct. "Well," replied the Chippewa, "I will tell you. I am not a fisherman, I have never caught any fish to speak of, I am no hunter, I am no warrior, I never killed anybody. When I used to try to speak in the councils the other Indians would not listen to me as I had done nothing to give me any standing, but now when I rise to speak and start my remarks with the statement that I own a horse, the other Indians, who own none, all listen to me."

Jonathan Carver knew something about Indians. He was present at the massacre at Fort William Henry. I do not wish to compare Captain Carver's previous knowledge of Indians with the ownership of a horse, but it certainly gave him some advantage in his visit to these barbarous regions and in his dealings with the savages. Carver, like Hennepin, was a bold traveler, a keen observer, and gave to the world a most valuable record which is likewise resorted to by historians. Carver was working, however, largely for Carver, as he had not been here long before he negotiated a treaty with the Great Father of all the Snakes (Beelzebub, for

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short), and the Swift Runner over the Mountains, two Sioux chiefs, for the cession of a large tract of land embracing the present city of St. Paul.

You can still see the cave in St. Paul to which Carver saw the Indians from far and near bringing their dead for burial; and if you are on the spot at midnight when the spirits of the departed Dakotas are wont to hold their walk, and your imagination is strong enough, you can hear the lament of the sorrowing Indians (that Schiller translated into song) which Carver heard over the dead Dakota chief, who with sharpened axe and knife and bended bow went into the spirit land,

> "Where birds are blithe on every brake
> Where forest teem with deer
> Where glide the fish through every lake
> One chase from year to year."

Jonathan Carver died in penury and obscurity. Minnesota on apt occasions impartially celebrates the advents of Louis Hennepin, the Catholic, and Jonathan Carver, the Puritan. Totally regardless of the views of Louis XIV and William of Orange on that subject, Zebulon Pike negotiated with the Indians for the present site of Fort Snelling and a considerable tract of land connected therewith, and was also a historian.

To the far-seeing eye, the clouds which betokened the end of the world for the nation of the Dakotas were even then dimly rising in the eastern skies. The martial music of the advancing conquering race was soon to mingle with the sound of the cataract from which Hiawatha,

> "To the lodge of old Nokomis;
> Brought the moonlight, starlight, firelight,
> Brought the sunshine to his people,
> Minnehaha, Laughing Water,
> Handsomest of all the women,
> In the land of the Dakotas,
> In the land of handsome women."

Hennepin, the herald of the coming religion, with his sandled feet, his hooded capote and the cross of Saint Francis by his side; Carver, the herald of the future acquisition of the Indian lands, with his cue and old-fashioned colonial attire; and Zebulon Pike, the herald of the advancing crushing military power of the Republic, magnified by the mists of time, loom up a magnificent group of ideal statuary, the only noticeable figures, so far as white men are concerned, on the dark background of over a century of Minnesota's history. During Hennepin's visit the great comet of 1680 flamed across the sky, and, for the savage, lights up this vision of the fine arts with a lurid glow. The second period commencing shortly after the treaty of 1837, before alluded to, is marked by the settlement of French and Swiss at that point. On the first day of November, 1841, Father Gaultier erected a chapel on one of the most beautiful and prominent bluffs in the present city of St. Paul, and under which the canoe of Louis Hennepin twice glided in 1680. Father Gaultier when he blessed the Basilica dedicated it to St. Paul, the Apostle of Nations.

From that auspicious chapel this city—blest by a humble, untiring, self-denying priest of mighty Rome, this city which, to draw it mildly, proudly aspires to-day, in connection with Minneapolis, to be the metropolis of the valley—derives its name. It is very young, but her stately buildings, her coronet of lofty spires that rises above her outer battlements, her lines of railroad

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that box the entire circuit of the compass, are full of prophesies of future grandeur. The people who saw the birth of the city of St. Paul are many of them still alive. The first delegate to congress, the first governor, and one of its first senators still walk the streets of St. Paul, and we challenge the world to produce three finer specimens of manhood than these men, Henry H. Sibley, Alexander Ramsey and Henry M. Rice. Father Ravoux, who arrived here about 1841, after spending a most laborious life, especially that part devoted to the Dakotas, whose language he speaks well and whose persistent friend he has always been, while his step has lost its buoyancy, still pursues his labors with unflagging zeal and bids fair to bless us with his presence for many and many a happy year. Bishop Ireland is still in the full vigor of his intellect, and for work of effective charity stands respected and beloved by all. He carries the temperance banner triumphantly aloft. He has long been blest with a most competent mentor and friend. The earth holds not alive a finer Christian gentleman than that mentor, Bishop Grace of St. Paul, whose head is now whitening for the harvest, and who worships leaning on the top of his staff. You can still fill at least a car with the old settlers of Minnesota, an intelligent and high-souled body of men whose hands are as open to charity and good works as they are ready when duty calls to grasp the pommel of the sword. They are of many lands and many creeds, but of whatever creed, to-night, Cardinal Gibbons, they are Catholics in their welcome to thee.

The second period of early history ends with the expulsion of the Sioux from the state in 1862, the Chippewas having disposed of most of their tillable land previous to that date. In 1849 a territorial government was established with St. Paul as its capital, and in 1858 the state was admitted into the Union. The Dakotas of Minnesota were a portion of a great Confederate nation who once drew their victorious bows from the great lakes to the Rocky mountains and from the British possessions to the Saline springs of the Arkansas. The Mississippi valley above the Arkansas was once largely their own. After the introduction of fire-arms among the Chippewas by the French sometime subsequent to the arrival of Hennepin, the Chippewas, likewise a strong and brave nation and a branch of the mighty Algonquin race which extended from the great lakes to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, expelled the Dakotas from the northern portion of what afterwards became Minnesota. The Chippewas and Dakotas were in constant war, at least from the time of the conquest by the Chippewas before alluded to. The battles were fierce and numerous, and the site of one of them was not many years ago described by a person still living as being within his time a Golgotha of human bones. Both sides were very venturesome and did not hesitate to carry on their warfare in the midst of the white settlements. In 1853 the Chippewas killed and wounded the Dakotas in a store at the corner of Jackson and Third streets in St. Paul, then a village of about three thousand five hundred inhabitants, and a year or two before that the young Chippewa chief, Hole in the Day, crossed over into the Sioux

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country opposite St. Paul and killed and scalped an Indian of that nation. St. Paul rang with plaudits of the chief's bravery, and this was only one act of many of a similar nature. He was very handsome. He wore his blanket with much grace. His hair was filled with many eagle feathers, the record of the enemies he had slain, although his face was as kind and gentle as a woman's. I have seen him walk along the streets of St. Paul, amid many Sioux thirsting for his life, as leisurely, calm and unconcerned as if he was in his own forests of pine. I saw him years afterwards, blear-eyed and bloated with liquor, in the city jail, as pitiful an object as Cooper's Chingachgook after civilization has done upon him its work. Hole in the Day was the foremost man of the Chippewa tribe, as dauntless and chivalrous in war as Harry Percy or the young Lochinvar. He was cowardly shot to death in ambush by jealous men of his own tribe. The Sioux of Minnesota held nearly all their original territory on the west side of the Mississippi until 1851, when they ceded it (with the exception of a small reservation) and a part of Dakota, the lands thus ceded estimated to contain over thirty-five millions of acres, a domain larger than New England or the Island of Cuba, situate in the great heart of the American continent and for which they received only a few cents per acre, a large portion of which went to pay old debts due the traders. One of the commissioners who negotiated these treaties, in recommending them to the favorable consideration of the senate of the United States, wrote: "The consideration agreed to be paid, though in view of the actual value of these lands merely nominal, was esteemed to be as large as would be for the real good of the Indians and ample to supply their present wants and minister to their future comfort," a sad sarcasm on what afterwards took place.

In 1858, forced by their necessities, they sold the portion of their narrow reservation, ten miles in width, on the north side of the Minnesota river, the consideration being principally absorbed in the payment of their old debts to the traders. In 1862 the payment of their annuities, on which they largely depended for bread, were delayed. The Indians saw starvation staring them in the face. They inflamed their minds with burning rage toward the whites, and in less than seven days swept the frontier of this state, an area of over twenty thousand square miles, with the tomahawk and with fire. A dreadful solitude reigned. Here and there armed parties from the interior settlements ventured a little distance forth for the burial of the dead, but otherwise in that vast district there was no white person save the flying fugitive, hiding himself by day and shivering with affright at every sound and at every shadow that fell upon the grass. These Indians were at length subdued. Thirty-eight of their number were simultaneously executed from the same platform at Mankato. The annuities provided by the treaty for the support of the survivors were largely forfeited. Many of their number, after suffering long in prison at Davenport, were removed high up in Missouri into a horrible region filled with petrified lizards and the first bones of time, the soil miserable,

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rarely visited by rain, the game scarce, the water alkaline and dangerous to health.

Standing Buffalo, head chief of the Sisseton tribe of the Sioux, in a letter to General Sibley, in 1863, said:

I love my lands, for upon them I was brought up and nourished. They were the lands of my fathers and I had come to be attached to them. Nevertheless, when the Americans came and asked for my land I forthwith ceded it to them because I loved the Americans. I sold my lands for fifty years' annuities. My great father, the President, agreed to give me annually money and goods. I knew my great father is good, and that he desires my happiness, but some of his children are not good like him; they are deceivers. I ought to have received a large sum of money annually. The money was sent by my great father, but in passing from hand to hand each one took a little and eventually I received but a single dollar. I ought to have received a large quantity of goods such as blankets, cotton and other articles. My great father sent them, but on the way out each appropriated a portion to his own use, so that I actually received but a small piece of cotton. I ought to have received an abundance of flour. My great father sent what was due me, but in passing from hand to hand it diminished so that I only received a single barrel. All this made my heart sad.

Little Crow, commander of the Sioux forces in 1862, was shot near Hutchinson, in this state, on the third day of July, 1863. His scalp was torn off and his body thrown into a pit used as a receptacle for the bones and offal of slaughtered cattle. About a week afterwards his head was pushed off with a stick. His skeleton still sees the light of sun and moon, and his curling scalp locks repose securely in a glass case in the capitol at St. Paul. He was the greatest hunter and orator among the Sioux, and until the outbreak he was always friendly to the whites. He went into the war against his own judgment and wishes, constrained by the sudden pressure of circumstances, for the war was an unpremeditated explosion. After it commenced he became and held himself responsible for all its terrible atrocities, although he advised his young men, at least in the beginning, to spare the women and the children. He is acknowledged to have been a man of great shrewdness and ability. His countenance recalled the skinny face of Voltaire. Little Crow's grandfather and father (they were all called Lapetis Corbeau by the French) were distinguished chiefs and well liked by the whites. The village of these three Little Crows was for many years previous to 1851 located just below St. Paul, on the west side of the river, at a point called Kaposia.

During these troubles the Chippewas were also much excited, and it was feared would join the Sioux. About this time an old Chippewa chief sent this message to the eminent and philanthropic Bishop Whipple:

A very nice and pretty bird of all colors came and sang beside our village; a voice said, "Listen not to him; look not on his colors." He went away. He came with finer colors, and sweetly sang, and he continued to do so until we heard him, and he lead us away to die. The bird is the Big Knives, his songs are his fair words and lying promises; his colors are the paints, the beads and goods he gives us for our country; woe to us, for the day we hear the Big Knives we go to our graves.

The summation of these two early periods of Minnesota history, like that of many another state, philosophically considered, is simply the slow, gradual creeping of a superior race upon an inferior one, and the quick, sharp, intuitive, impulsive, mad, unreasonable, bloody protest of the savage as he vainly writhes in the embrace of the gigantic and irresistible python—civilization—that involves him fold by fold as

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the serpents did Laocoon. Considered from another point of view this history is the abolishment of burning at the stake, of scalping men, women and children, of eating dogs. It is the expelling of the wild beast. It is the giving of the forest to the flame and its ashes to the soil. "It is thyme; it is marjoram; it is the laugh of children; it is the satisfied low of oxen; it is the bleating of cattle upon a thousand hills." It is the elevation of man from a beast to almost an angel, "noble in reason, infinite in faculty, express and admirable in form and moving—the beauty of the world." It is the illumination of the darkness of night with blazing electric suns. It is the rearing of stately shrines to greet the star of Bethlehem, if it, perchance, should, like that of empire, pass westward on its second coming to stand again over the holy hills of Palestine. Well said a writer about the time of the Sioux treaty in 1851:

> On the skirts of civilization, unnoticed and in silence, as the leaves grow at night, young states yearly germinate into life. Without strife, unconvulsed, almost without thought, quietly and naturally as the sap ascends the tree, those principalities that yesterday were not, to-day take their seats in the world's councils.

Perhaps this long and bloody contest between the white man and the red man may cease as slavery ceased. The Chippewas still within our boundaries and the Sioux are making progress in civilization. It was not long ago in a speech at an agricultural fair in this state that a prominent chief of the Dakota nation said: "My people have taken their hands from the tomahawk and the spear and laid them on the handles of the plow." Blest and thrice blest that day when justice and amity and goodness shall pervade among all the citizens of the republic.

Wendell Phillips said once:

> It is for us, the children of a purer civilization, the pioneers of a Christian future, tofound a capitol whose corner-stone is justice and whose top stone is liberty, within the sacred precincts of whose holy of holies dwelleth one who is no respecter of persons, but hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth to serve him. Crowding to the shelter of its stately arches I see old and young, learned and ignorant, rich and poor, native and foreign, Pagan, Christian and Jew, black, red and white in one glad, harmonious, triumphant procession.

> "Blest and thrice blest the Roman
> Who sees Rome's brightest day;
> Who sees that long victorious pomp
> Wind down the sacred way,
> And through the bellowing forum
> And round the suppliants' grove
> Up to the everlasting gates of Capitolian Jove."

I. V. D. HEARD.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE fifth biennial report of the Kansas State Historical society, just at hand, shows the work of that vigorous organization for the two years ending January 18, 1887, at which time it was but eleven years old. The society is doing an excellent work, and doing it in a systematic, sensible and regular manner. "The primary object of the society," says a statement accompanying the report, "is that of collecting, arranging and cataloguing a library of the materials of Kansas history, including books, pamphlets, newspapers, maps, pictures, and in short everything which contains information concerning and going to illustrate the history of Kansas. Incidentally, so interwoven has been the history of Kansas with that of the whole country, and so much has it enlisted a general interest, its library has come to be the recipient, largely by gift, of not only the materials of the history, but of everything of a literary and scientific character relating to all parts of the country. There have been added to the society's library during the two years covered by this report: Of bound volumes, 2,860; unbound volumes and pamphlets, 10,008; volumes of newspapers and periodicals, 2,251; manuscripts, 1,672; and numerous pictures and miscellaneous contributions. The total of the library in January last was, of bound volumes, 8,352; unbound volumes, 21,103; bound newspaper files and volumes of periodicals, 5,986, making the total of the library, 35,441." That is indeed an admirable showing for eleven years.

A CORRESPONDENT at Warren, the seat of Trumbull county, furnishes us the following interesting points concerning Sidney Rigdon, the man who, if he was not the brains of Mormonism, gave it a home and foothold in Ohio that it could not have otherwise obtained: "Adamson Bentley and Sidney Rigdon married sisters of Richard Brooks of Warren. Rigdon was a prominent Disciple, but was not satisfied unless he could be the most prominent in whatever he was engaged, and as he was overshadowed by Alex Campbell and a few others, he left the Disciples and engaged in the Mormon scheme. He was regarded as a very smart man and really the brains of original Mormonism."

IT will ever be a mooted question as to how far Rigdon was responsible for polygamy. During the days of growth in Palmyra and Kirtland, there was no hint of polygamy in the Mormon doctrine, but each man was commanded to have one wife and cleave only unto her. It was only in the times of enlarged power and opportunity at Nauvoo, when he was at the head of the Mormon state and church and general of the Mormon army, that Smith began to openly practice the secret desires of his heart, and to pave the way for the revelation of polygamy. Several of Smith's followers began to have "revelations" of their own, permitting them to have as many wives as Abraham or Solomon, if they could get them. Smith, as a matter of care for his own supremacy, made war on these offenders, excommunicating them, and cutting them off from the church.

THE "revelation" was not made public until August 29, 1852, at Salt Lake City, after Smith's death and the accession of Young to the leadership. It is related on fair authority that when Smith "received" it at Nauvoo his wife, Emma, whom he hap legally married in Pennsylvania against the wishes of her father in the old money digging

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days, received it as most women would—she took the document and thrust it into the stove—not knowing that a copy had been made. For fear his wife might have a desire to become the "spiritual" wife of some one else, Smith had it expressly ordered in the revelation that she should remain with him: "And I command mine handmaid, Emma Smith, to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph, *and to none else*." This revelation is said to have been given on July 12, 1843. Joseph was afraid to break the news to his wife, and commanded his brother, Hyrum, to read it to her. She made Nauvoo warm for the messenger, and also for Joseph when he put in an appearance. He spent a whole day in arguing with her and reconciling her to the list of associate wives he had chosen, and as she remained obdurate he assumed a lofty air, and closed the argument with the command: "Emma, attend to your own affairs, and let the anointed of the Lord fulfill the works for which God has raised him up." There are grave doubts whether Joseph ever gave such revelation, or whether the whole scheme was afterwards concocted by Brigham Young, who gave Smith as the author of the decree, in order that it might possess added influence and weight.

THE glories of Nauvoo have departed indeed, and from a flourishing city it has become a mere hamlet, important only in its memories and past promises. A recent visitor thus describes it: "To-day it is a scattered little town of about fifteen hundred people. Its dwelling-houses are either quaint, old-fashioned cottages, with kitchen gardens adjoining, or else are large unfinished looking structures, monuments of the past, that look strangely out of place in their rural surroundings. The newer part of the town is built in plain, substantial style. The population consists of a few mild Mormons, a few Icarians, remnants of the French settlement, thrifty Germans, who have splendid vineyards; Catholics who have built a fine cathedral, and a thin sprinkling of people of any and all occupations and beliefs. There is little about the place to speak of former times except the vacant squares, the unfinished buildings. The ruins of the temple have been torn down and its handsome stone put to ordinary uses."

IN the interesting article, "A Friend of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson," commenced in the issue of November and continued this month, mention is made of "Mr. Cotton" who had been a former pastor of that remarkable woman, and whose emigration to New England had been one of the causes that led her also to come to America. In 1846 the Massachusetts Sabbath School society published 'The Life of John Cotton,' in its series "Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England," wherein can be found a chapter devoted to Mrs. Hutchinson and the trouble her teachings and theories caused the church of which Mr. Cotton was the head. We quote briefly: "For three or four years in the beginning of Mr. Cotton's ministry, the internal prosperity of his church was unexampled. . . But clouds of thick darkness soon overcast the sunny prospect. . . The prominent instigator of this mischief was a daughter of Eve, named Ann Hutchinson. She was probably a pious woman, and certainly an artful one. On the ground of the apostle's direction, that the elder women should teach the younger, she used to convene large numbers of females at her house, where she instilled into them the doctrines of antinomianism in their most demoralizing form. . . Mrs. Hutchinson was enabled to raise a terrible commotion in the community. They had the address to procure, for a time, the countenance of Mr. Cotton. This they did, by giving him such explanations in private conversation, as satisfied his unsuspicious nature of the orthodoxy of their sentiments."

THE heresy of the gifted woman was before long made a matter of public concern,

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and on the second of November, 1637, the general court assembled at Cambridge. Mrs. Hutchinson was given a trial of two days' duration, was voted "unfit for their society," and requested to leave it. She was imprisoned, but after a short time released, but, "returning to her old course of agitation, she was summoned before the whole congregation on a lecture day, when her errors were enumerated and condemned, and a solemn admonition was read to her by Mr. Cotton, who decidedly reproved the disposition of the woman who had once been his most ardent admirer." She subsequently made a written recantation, but in language so equivocal that it could not be accepted by the church. "All hope in her favor being now abandoned, a motion was made for her excommunication. The long-suffering church, feeling a lingering tenderness for their erring sister, and something of horror at the thought of passing that dread sentence, still hesitated to take the step. At last the resolution was adopted, and the gangrened limb was stricken from the body." Her end was terrible—her earthly career being concluded forever under the scalping-knife of the bloody Mohawk Indian.

THE editor recently came into possession of several scattering notes prepared by Mr. George F. Marshall, the veteran whose pen has interested so many readers of local themes in years past, concerning one of Cleveland's best known citizens, and cannot forego the temptation of using them without the writer's knowledge or permission. Writing of Mr. James Pannel, the well-known banker, Mr. Marshall relates the following interesting series of incidents. "One day while young Pannel was at work beside his carpenter's bench, a tall, gaunt man, with piercing gray eyes, stood watching his movements too closely for his comfort and he became nervous under so close a scrutiny. At length he was called aside to hold a private conversation with no other than the Honorable Reuben Wood. Unconscious of committing any great wrong worthy of a severe talking to, or even a severer punishment, while encumbered with mingled doubt and fear, he was led outside the shop and came face to face with the tall judge. Here the judge told him that he would like to have him go out in the country beyond Rocky river and build him a dwelling-house. It was like a new world to young Pannel that he had the offer of so desirable a contract while so young and so little known. The preliminaries were at once arranged and on Saturday night, after working hours, the two were to set out for Rockport to spy out the land and see whether the young carpenter would like the prospect. Promptly at 7 P. M., on the appointed day, the judge rode up to the shop, when two human souls with but a single saddled horse, started through the woods for Rockport.

In a small cabin beside the lake lived the famous, popular Wood. Young Pannel took a survey of the premises and concluded he would be able to withstand the situation if the judge could, and at once entered into an agreement to build the desired residence. On the following Monday the ox team was yoked to the wagon when the judge and Pannel returned to town for the necessary chest of tools and a few supplies, to enter at once upon the contract. While Pannel was scoring a few logs for sills and beams and bents, the judge and his man were active in hauling lumber and other material until the present comfortable mansion which has graced the grounds of Evergreen Place for over a half century was completed. Pannel boasts of having a good time out there in the country. He said that the first few weeks he had to struggle to keep off the blues and the ague, but he found hard work and regular, abstemious habits an excellent preventive for both maladies. If, in his eagerness to accomplish all his desires, he would now and then bend, if not break, the Sabbath, he claimed it as a sanitary measure, a work of necessity; but the pious Mrs. Wood was ever ready to chide him when

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found engaged in any variation from Christian duty. Young Jim had not so completely schooled himself into proper habits of religious duty, and the judge, taking note of the reproof he was liable to lay under in working on Sunday, suggested that they take a stroll into the woods, and lest they become liable to be attacked by a bear, or panther, wild cat, or black squirrel, it would be safer to carry each a gun with a supply of ammunition, and thus, by these means, they held the Sabbath entirely sacred and it resulted in the young man becoming one of the best shots in Cuyahoga county for those times. It was one glory of his leisure hours in the summer time to take a companion or two and bathe in the blue waters of Lake Erie. It was said of Pannel that he could dive deeper, swim faster under water, and come up drier than any man in Rockport. When Saturday nights came, about all the men in that part of Rockport would come down to Wood's beach for a thorough weekly ablution, and it was a pastime with the boys to dive and swim through the gothic archway formed by the tall judge's lower limbs as he stood breast deep in the water."

"Just back of a bluff sand bank, which faces the lake, and a sloping sand beach, stands the memorable home of Ohio's favorite son, the late Governor Wood, a man whose legal knowledge and executive ability, as well as his manly form, stood well above his fellows; but the white home that Pannel built stands nearly as firm as ever in the shade of the pines and cedars with an outlook supremely charming towards the blue lake. That house so long the home of a family that was schooled in the elegance of refined literature and generous hospitality, had become famous throughout the state as a home of more than common interest, where judges of the highest courts in the state and Nation and other dignitaries were entertained with a grace and becoming dignity that was so cordial and unstinted that Evergreen Place became to the dignitaries of Ohio what Buckingham palace was to those of England. Who can blame the man who built the home of the governor for pointing with pride, now, after more than a half century has passed, to the house that Jim built, away in the wild woods of Rockport?"

Mr. Marshall continues: "In the days of the old hand fire-engines, Mr. Pannel was the friend of a vigorous department, and for many long years was one of its active members, working at the brakes of Neptune No. 2, with a vigor that appears to have told upon his constitution in his later life. Many citizens of Cleveland had a double purpose in becoming active firemen; aside from doing a duty in preventing a conflagration, business men, who chanced to be within hailing distance of a constable or sheriff were too often annoyed by a peremptory demand to sit upon a jury where a couple of disgrunted people could not settle the difference among themselves, often joined the department because of the exemption from jury duty that such membership gave." When the law was repealed, "the judges of the courts frequently ruled that the so-called exempted firemen, holding certificates of five years' service, were still liable to be held as jurors. This made quite a stir among those who had labored to obtain the desired exemption. It was clear in the minds of the common people that those judges ruled wrong as many judges had theretofore. The venerable and austere Judge Foote was particularly exacting with this class of exempted men and would never excuse them from jury duty upon that plea, holding that the law was repealed and therefore inoperative. Pannel was one of those who, though not read in the intricacies of law, had a good fund of common sense in store and could not, for a moment, see how a law could take away any rights he had legally acquired while he held the sheet anchor of his liberties—the Magna Charta so to speak!

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The sheriff had brought Mr. Pannel before the austere Judge Foote as a juror. He plead his privilege of exemption with his certificate in hand, offering it to the judge for inspection, but the judge in spiteful terms said: 'That law is repealed, take a seat on the jury.' Mr. Pannel turned upon his heels and said in measured terms: '*Judge, I shan't do it,*' and left the court room, the dismayed judge the while appearing to weigh in his mind whether it would be best to order the sheriff to bring him back or pocket the affront and avoid a similar calamity in future; he had found a man who knew his right to liberty and meant to maintain it. This was the last time Mr. Pannel was so near a jury box—no judge has since had the heart either to demand or even ask him to take so important a judicial position. He thinks there are plenty of sedentary men equal to the task without forcing a man who is willing to attend to his own business without attempting to settle the differences of others."

THE letter published elsewhere from the pen of F. C. Sessions, president of the Ohio Archæological and Historical society, suggests several subjects that our law-makers and Executive should carefully consider. The state owes something to its own reputation in this matter; and its neglect of duty in the past can only be condoned by prompt measures in the future.

THE original correspondence and other documents concerning the famous Whiskey Insurrection furnished this magazine during several recent numbers by the kindness of Mr. Isaac Craig of Allegheny, have called forth the enquiry as to the cause and meaning of that armed opposition to the authority of the United States. The question can be briefly answered as follows: The excise law that was the cause of the trouble was passed by congress March 3, 1791. It was the first law of the kind ever passed in this country, and is said to have been a scheme devised by Hamilton for the express purpose of testing the power of the new Federal government. The measure was supported by the Federalists and opposed by the Anti-Federalists, and there is no doubt that the rebellion to it was rather a political than a social outbreak. The tax was on the manufacture of the spirits, but as the excise paid by the manufacturers of course raised the price of the article to all who used it, the tax may be said to have been laid on the article itself. The disaffection was greatest in western Pennsylvania, because the farmers there, being at a great distance from the important grain shipping and buying points, depended largely upon the distilleries for a market for their grain. They claimed that an article produced in an isolated community, and so largely the dependence of that community, could not be lawfully taxed for the advantage of the Federal government. The very name of an excise law was odious to many at this time from association with the detested laws of Great Britain. It is asserted, also, that the rebellion was largely due to the influence of Citizen Genet, the French minister sent over in 1793, who wanted the United States to take sides with France in the war with Great Britain. When he found that the administration would not listen to this proposal he became enraged, and is said to have threatened to appeal from the President to the people. However this may have been, there is no doubt that the insurrection assumed such proportions as to cause the government much anxiety. The people rose in arms and in such numbers that, had they had a brave and able leader, the disturbance might have culminated in civil war. But William Bradford, who styled himself the leader of the revolt, and whose violent speeches no doubt had been the most potent influence in arousing the bitter feeling which prevailed in the district against the government was only a selfish, scheming politician, whose sole desire, on the approach of the United States forces, was to get away from the locality with his

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own person unharmed. General Henry Lee led the forces which Washington sent into the rebellious district, but when he reached the scene where the rioters had so recently been assembling "to breathe forth blood and slaughter" against the government and its supporters, there were no rioters to be found. They had scattered to their homes, and all afterwards submitted to the laws, receiving full pardon for their offenses. Bradford had wisely quitted the country, and did not return. The rebels subsequently paid their taxes without protest while the excise law remained in existence. It was repealed in 1802, as soon as the Anti-Federalists came into power, for that party had never approved of it. There was no still tax again levied until 1812, when it was necessary to increase the revenues to carry on the war with Great Britain. That tax was repealed again in 1815, and was not again levied until July 1, 1862. Since the last-mentioned date there has always been a whiskey tax in force. There have been many attempts on the part of manufacturers to evade the law, no doubt—especially from 1864 to 1868, when it ranged from one dollar and a half to two dollars a gallon—by making false reports of the amount distilled; but about the only efforts made to resist the collection of the tax by force were those of the "moonshiners" of the mountain districts of the south in 1881 and later.

THE paper found elsewhere in this number upon the early days of Minnesota and the great pioneer priest, prepared by a prominent member of the Minnesota bar, is one of the most readable articles we have seen in a long time—interesting not only in its matter but unusually so in its manner. A rich field of historical research lies up there in the Northwest—New as it is so often called, but Old indeed in the romance of ancient discovery. We extend a welcome hand to those who are engaged in the patriotic and profitable task of placing that long and thrilling story upon record, and promise that the chapter above referred to will be followed by many others of a like purpose. These columns are open, and give a ready welcome to any who have that which they feel should find a permanent preservation in print.

MR. HEARD will be remembered as having written the 'History of the Sioux War, and Massacres of 1862 and 1863,' published by the Harpers in 1865. He was admirably fitted by native talents and opportunity for the work, having made his residence in Minnesota anterior to the removal of the Sioux from their ancient possessions to their reservations upon the Minnesota river, and was a member of General Sibley's expedition against the Indians in 1862, acting also as the recorder of the military commission which tried some four hundred of the participants in the outbreak. By observation, personal knowledge and study, he has become an authority upon the Indian question.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

A FRAGMENT.

IN a little book* which I picked up some time ago at a second hand book stall, I find a poem entitled, "Death of J. Newman—A Fragment." The book, I think, is rare, as I have never seen another copy. The poem was perhaps never published elsewhere. I presume the poem was written by the author of the book, as it is signed with his initial. "J. Newman," I infer, was a member of the Pittsburgh Blues, and was killed, as a foot-note informs us, "at Fort Meigs, in the sortie on the fifth of May, 1813." The poem has thus an historical interest, and ought to be preserved, though J. Newman has been long forgotten. The poem is as follows:

"Behold yon band whose lightnings gleam afar,
'Tis Butler's corps† so lately crowned with fame;
By Freedom roused they bravely lead the war,
And pluck the honors of a spotless name.
On Maumee's banks they've met their steel clad foes,
Loud shouts proclaim the contest now begun;
With bay'nets fixed, they front to front oppose,
Whilst clouds of smoke obscure the distant sun.
Pale Phrensy fills each breast with martial rage,
Fierce Havock views the scene with fell delight—
In dreadful conflicts heroes now engage,
Resolved on death or conquest in the fight.
The glist'ning musket strews the fields with slain;
The sure-aimed rifle thins the warlike bands.
Whilst rushing to the charge with martial strain,
His warlike corps each gallant chief commands,
The cannon deals destruction dire around;
The hoarser bomb at every burst deals death.
And heaps with crimson dye th' embattled ground,
Deprived by numerous wounds of vital breath.
But lo! a bleeding form attracts my sight,
Borne by his comrades from the field of strife;
With mournful steps they quit the sanguine fight,
And save his body from the savage knife.
'Tis Newman's corse! he rushing to the field,
Fell bravely fighting in his country's cause;
Compell'd by death in bloom of youth to yield,
Life's onward course has made an endless pause.
Now wrapp'd in death, behold the hero lies!
His eyes are closed to see the light no more!
His comrades view his corse with humid eyes,
And with their gallant chief his loss deplore.
With bitterness they curse the fatal day,
When roused by fame, they sprung to meet the foe,
And dashing through the foeman's thick array,
In vengeful wrath they dealt the deadly blow,
For see! full low their friend a victim lies
To ruthless war, that scourge of humankind:
Ah! who shall stay his mother's plaintive cries,
Or quench the anguish of her suffering mind?
An aged sire is left his loss to mourn;
In silent grief his eve of life must close,
Till freed by death he hastens to that bourn
Where end alike our cares and earthly woes.
And see the pangs of numbers left to wail
Their kinsmen slain near Maumee's rapid tide;
The mother's sighs, the widow's tears prevail;
Corrosive sorrows o'er their breasts preside.
A frantic sister there, with accents wild,
Pours forth her grief to ease her madden'd brain;
An infant here, a father's only child,
Makes fond enquiries in an artless strain;
But hapless babe, thou'lt see no more thy sire—
Full low he lies beneath the grassy sod;
But yet his soul, tipt with ethereal fire,
Mounts to the skies and hastes to meet its God.
Curst war, away! let peace return once more;
Come, gentle peace, we'll meet thy fond embrace,
Thou hast the means our blessings to restore,
And raise again the smile on beauty's face.

V."

It is not necessary to say anything about the "poetry" of the above, one way or the other; but as a fragment of our early literature, and especially as it relates to a passage in our early local history, it is valuable, and deserves to be preserved. Besides, possibly, some one can add something of further interest to the incident upon which the poem is based. To the student of our local annals, nothing is unimportant that casts a ray of light upon the obscure pages of the past.

T. J. CHAPMAN.

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* "An Essay on the Origin and Structure of Language, etc., by N. Vernon, professor of mathematics, Frederick college, Frederick, Maryland, 1847. The fly-leaf bears the inscription: "Revd. John B. Kerfoot, president of the College of St. James, with the compliments of A. B. Hanson." This Rev. Mr. Kerfoot was afterwards the distinguished and beloved first bishop of Pittsburgh.

† "Captain James R. Butler, son of General Butler, who was slain at St. Clair's defeat, was commander of the Pittsburgh Blues, who so gallantly drove back the enemy at Mississinaway, after they had forced the lines." . . "General Harrison pronounced them the most subordinate and best disciplined corps in the northwestern army."

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To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

THE PRESERVATION OF THE MOUNDS.

OHIO is richer in archæological and prehistoric remains than any other state, and thus far has done absolutely nothing to protect the many ancient mounds, earthworks, burial places and village sites. It is not very flattering to one's state pride that some Boston women were applied to by Professor Putnam of the Peabody museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, to buy the famous Serpent mound in Adams county. Professor Putnam has taken a deep interest in discovering the origin and connections of the ancient Americans, and their distribution and routes of migration over the continent, and has interested himself especially in the purchase for protection, of the Serpent mound. The good women of Boston responded to the appeal and raised $5,000 or $6,000 for its purchase and protection. He has just returned to Boston from his summer labors at this mound, and has bought some sixty or eighty acres containing the mound and has laid it out as a beautiful park, free to the public. The possession of this relic of a vanished race by the Peabody museum marks an important step in American archæology, and Professor Putnam has rendered a splendid service in bringing it about.

He has made some important excavations on the spot this summer, the result of which, together with the work on the careful restoration of the mound, will form the subject of a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides from various photographs taken on the ground at each step of the undertaking. Some important discoveries will be made known in the lecture, which he has promised to give in Columbus some time this winter.

Professor Putnam intends to make a thorough investigation of the Miami valley, with its rich remains of the mound builders and other prehistoric races, his life work. The Serpent mound is the only effigy mound of the kind in existence. When Squier and Davis made the survey of this mound in 1849, it was covered with a heavy growth of trees, which were nearly all destroyed by the great tornado in 1860, two maples alone escaping that terrible blast. Professor Putnam found that it was suffering much from wash-outs. If he had not taken an interest in its preservation it is evident it would soon be a thing of the past. Is it not to be deplored that the public-spirited citizens of Ohio do not take a deeper interest in the preservation of these wonderful remains of a prehistoric race? It is to be hoped that the governor will call the attention of the legislature in his message to the importance of their preservation, and that a small appropriation may be made toward securing from destruction some of the more important and ancient monuments of our state. There are many others as important as the "Serpent" which need attention at once to preserve them. Fort Ancient, on the little Miami, seven miles from Lebanon, is the most remarkable of the defensive works; Fort Hill, on Brush creek, about ten miles above the "Serpent;" the fortified hill in Butler county; several of the works in the Scioto valley, such as those at High bank and Cedar bank works near Chillicothe, the great banks at Piketon, etc. In Ohio alone there are ten thousand of these ancient mounds and from fifteen hundred to two thousand inclosures. Who the builders were or whence they came will probably never be known.

"Whence came they? Whither did they go?
What myriad tales of joy and woe
Resound wtth mingled tone
Above the consecrated ground,
That speaks with hollow, ghostly sound,
Its orator a nameless mound.

"And did they love? And did they hate?
Did they in pain and pleasure wait,
With human laugh and moan?
No answer comes, no music sings
Where sleep and silence reign as kings.

"The dark-eyed maiden's liquid song,
Ringing their limpid waves along,
Has left no echoing tone;
In nameless graves, they slumber well,
Where Lethean billows ebb and swell,
On shining shores of Asphodel."

F. C. SESSIONS,
President Ohio Archæological and Historical Society.

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AMONG THE BOOKS.

'TRANSACTIONS AND REPORTS OF THE NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.' Vol. I, 1885; Vol. II, 1887.

These well-edited and exceedingly valuable volumes that have been already issued under the auspices of the Nebraska State Historical society, show an interest in the historical record of the state and of the northwest, that argues well for the preservation of matters connected with the beginning and growth of that portion of our country. In August, 1878, Honorable Robert W. Furnas of Brownville, Nebraska, sent forth a circular letter to such as he felt would be interested, asking them to co-operate in the formation of such a society. In pursuance of that call, a meeting was held at Lincoln on September 25 of the same year, and this lusty and vigorous society has been the result. Attention is given to all matters of historical and biographical interest, and the two volumes already issued show that the work has been most ably and intelligently done, and give promise for even more valuable results in the future.

'HANDY HELPS IN THE STUDY AND READING OF ENGLISH HISTORY.' By Annie E. Wilson. Louisville, Kentucky.

This valuable aid to students and readers has been carefully prepared by a valued contributor to this magazine—a lady competent not only to understand and classify her subject, but one who has the requisite literary skill to present the information conveyed in the ablest and most attractive manner. The manual gives an outline of each of the periods of English history, with a list of books for reading as each epoch is under consideration, the contemporary rules of continental Europe, and also a genealogical chart of English sovereigns, etc. It is compactly put together, and admirably fills the purpose for which it was intended. Schools and readers desiring copies of the work can order them of the author direct.

'AROUND THE WORLD ON A BICYCLE.' By Thomas Stevens. (With over one hundred illustrations). Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Mr. Stevens has given us a bird's-eye glance of this old earth from a new point of view. Tourists on foot, tourists on horseback, upon railroad trains, steamboats and in balloons we have had without number from Marco Polo to Sergeant Bates, but never has the world been circumnavigated, so to speak, by a man upon this modern steed of steel that tires not but that moves at the touch of man with an obedience that other methods of conveyance do not furnish. Mr. Stevens is more than a mere tourist—he carries a mental camera with him, and the incidents he catches as he goes are so well and faithfully reproduced, that he gives us an idea of the far countries of the east difficult to gain in any other way. He so describes the incidents and people met upon his way that we seem to experience the one and confront the other. The book is not alone for the lover of athletic sports; it is for the historical reader and the student of mankind. The book is handsome in every respect, and the multitude of illustrations with which it is adorned explain and faithfully supplement the text.

'UNIVERSAL HISTORY.' In four volumes: 'Ancient History,' by George Rawlinson, M. A., Camden professor of ancient history in the University of Oxford, canon of Canterbury. 'Mediæval History,' by George Thomas Stokes, D. D., professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Dublin. 'Modern History,' by Arthur St. George Patton, B. A., senior moderator University of Dublin, and professor of English literature, Alexandria college. 'Geological History,' by Edward Hull, M. A., LL.D., F. R. S., director of the geological survey of Ireland, and professor of geology in the Royal college of science, Dublin. Published by the J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. Received from the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland.

In the four above described books one gets a full library of useful knowledge of man and his relations to earth, and of the old earth itself, and has in a small compass that which would inform him upon all the salient points of history, even though no other books were within his reach. The work has been ably and accurately done by men who are masters of their peculiar fields of knowledge. The volume first named embraces a period extending from the creation of the world to the destruction of the Roman empire in the west by the barbarians, A. D. 476. It tells the history of the various nations and states

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of the earth during that time, in a series of parallel narratives, giving especial prominence "to the leading events which presided over the formation and development of those great empires into which mankind was mainly grouped." The second volume deals with the Middle Ages, and terminates at the fall of Constantinople, A. D, 1453, which by general consent is held to form a convenient line of demarkation between the dark ages and the brighter era on which mankind then entered. The third volume is occupied by Modern Times, in the larger acceptation of the term; commencing at the destruction of the Greek empire by the taking of Constantinople in 1453, and brings us down to the present day. The fourth volume describes itself in its title, being, indeed, "the natural history of the earth and of its pre-human inhabitants." The idea of causing this book to form one of the group to which it pertains may seem unique, but the day has come when an acquaintance with the leading facts and ideas of geology has become as necessary a portion of education as a knowledge of geography or history. This series is one of unusual value, because it furnishes so much within a comparatively small space, and because of the high authority in historical matters of the men by whose pens it has been produced.

'BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DAVID ATWOOD.' By Reuben G. Thwaites, corresponding secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Reprinted from the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, for February, 1887.

The readers of this magazine have already perused Mr. Thwaites' compact and appreciative sketch of one of Wisconsin's pioneer editors, and those who knew David Atwood can best appreciate the faultless delineation of his character and career there presented. This little volume preserves that record in a compact and convenient shape, and has been executed in a high degree of mechanical art.

'MILDRED RUSSELL'S LETTERS.' Published by J. W. Randolph & English, Richmond, Va.

The story of two years of wandering amid some of the most interesting scenes of Europe, is told in this modest little book in a form not only attractive but full of a real interest, whether one has been along the line of her travels, or is content to remain at home and learn from the experiences of others. The Rhine, Munich, Verona, Venice. Florence and Rome; the carnival at Rome; from Genoa to Monte Carlo; to Paris and London; summering in Scotland; Heidelberg and Cologne; Amsterdam and Antwerp—these are a few of the many scenes which we are shown. The author not only has eyes to see, but that needed power in one who would describe—the power to make others see with her. It is a charming and refreshing book.

'SKETCH OF AMERICAN FINANCES — 1789 TO 1835.' By John Watts Kearny. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York. Received from Cobb, Andrews & Co., Cleveland.

The labor expended so freely by Mr. Kearny in the gathering of material and the preparation of this book, has had its natural result in the publication of the best monograph upon this ever-present and ever-fruitful theme—our National finances—that has yet appeared. Going back to the beginning of our financial history, at the time when English methods were no longer applicable, and the new nation was compelled to devise methods and create resources of its own, the author tells us the full story of the settlement of the Revolutionary war debt; followed by a history of the revenue, expenditure and sinking fund; the War of 1812; increase of the public debt; financial embarrassments; peace with Great Britain; the protective tariff; and the extinguishment of the public debt. All through the work are scores of facts of historical interest; while the narrative is carried forward in a clear and distinct manner that makes apparent the application of each fact to the relation it was intended to sustain. The interest surrounding this work is not altogether historical, as one purpose of the author was to show us how this and the next generation may "best manage and most speedily pay off our great public debt." "Every year," continues he in introduction, "its importance is, through the medium of taxation and surplus revenue, brought home to all classes and to every species of industry; while at the same time any lack of wisdom or experience in dealing with this central issue, is sure to be felt in the wide circumference of the rest of our public questions. A similar inquiry held a dominant place in our National councils from the year 1789, the date of the present Constitution, down to the year 1835. The financial history of this period is well worth special study, because of the signal ability and sagacity by which the government brought its difficult problem to a successful issue." And in no better way can that question be studied than in this careful and compact sketch which Mr. Kearny has written, and the Putnams given to the world.

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The following pamphlet publications have been received:

'PROCEEDINGS OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE.' No. 148. For October, 1887.

Poetry: 'AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE STUDENTS AND FACULTY OF WESTMINSTER COLLEGE.' By Honorable Daniel Agnew, LL.D., late chief-justice of Pennsylvania.

'ANTHROPOPHAGY, HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC.' By General Charles W. Darling, corresponding secretary of the Oneida Historical society, Utica, New York.

'THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.' By Paul Frederico, professor in the University of Ghent. No. X. in fifth series Johns Hopkins University Studies.

'HISTORICAL FALLACIES REGARDING COLONIAL NEW YORK.' An address delivered before the Oneida Historical society, by Douglas Campbell of New York.

'TRANSACTIONS OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT UTICA, NEW YORK, 1885—1886.

'ANCESTRY OF DARLING.' Governor John Haynes came from Essex county, England, to Boston, Massachusetts, 1633. He married Mabel Harlakenden, who came from England to Boston, Massachusetts, 1635. Their son, Joseph Haynes married, 1668, Sarah Lord of Hartford, Connecticut. Their daughter, Sarah Haynes married, 1694, Rev. James Pierpont, born 1659, died 1714. Their daughter, Abigail Pierpont, born 1696, married, 1716, Rev. Joseph Noyes, born 1688. Their daughter, Abigail Noyes, born 1724, married Judge Thomas Darling, born 1719, died 1789. Their son, Samuel Darling, M. D., born 1751, married, 1779. Clarinda Ely, born 1759. Their son, Rev. Charles Chauncey Darling, born 1799, died 1887. He married Adeline E. Dana of Boston, the granddarghter of Major Robert Davis of the Revolutionary army. Their son, Gen. Charles W. Darling, born 1830, married, 1857, Angeline E. Robertson of New York. The various prominent offices which the individuals above named have held, in church and state, will be alluded to in a genealogical history which is now being prepared for publication by the corresponding secretary of the Oneida Historical society at Utica, New York.

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ST LOUIS BANK NOTE COMPANY

Britton A. Hill

Magazine of Western History.

Vol. VII. JANUARY, 1888. No. 3.

ORIGIN OF THE OHIO SCHOOL SYSTEM.

No one can correctly give the origin of our Ohio school system without beginning with the services of Samuel Lewis, who was born in Falmouth, Massachusetts, March 17, 1799, of original pilgrim stock on his mother's side. When he was fourteen years of age his family, consisting of father and mother and nine children, journeyed from Falmouth, Massachusetts, to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, with one wagon, drawn by two horses, the father and five sons walking. At Pittsburgh they secured a flat-boat and floated down the river to Cincinnati and settled on a farm near that city. Samuel became, soon after, a mail carrier between Cincinnati and Chillicothe, on horseback. The round trip then occupied seven days, and generally two nights. A little later he connected himself with a party of surveyors, who were then surveying Indiana. He afterwards learned the trade of carpentering and became very soon a skilled house-builder. But these occupations at no time were sought as an end or final life occupation. He was continually a hard student of science and literature, and in his evenings and leisure hours, and while riding on horseback in carrying the mails, he always was found with a book and at hard study. At the age of twenty he commenced the study of law with Judge Jacob Burnett of Cincinnati. At the same time he wrote in the clerk's office for thirty dollars a year and his board. He finally got the clerk to give him one hundred and twenty dollars a year in cash in place of his board, so he got one hundred and fifty dollars a year, out of which he paid his father fifty

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dollars a year as the agreed purchase price for his time, leaving him one hundred dollars for his clothing, board, and the purchase of necessary elementary law books. Much of the time his board was literally bread and water, and his lodgings a cot in his preceptor's office. Judge Burnett charged him nothing for his tuition. Two years later he was admitted to the bar, and almost immediately obtained a good practice so as to be able to buy a farm for his father and aid his younger brothers and sisters to educate themselves.

Very soon after entering his profession and becoming somewhat easy in his circumstances, his mind reverted to the hard road he had traveled in obtaining his education and profession, and being a very warm-hearted, Christian man, he naturally spent much time in trying to devise methods whereby the road he had traveled could be made easier for other boys similarly situated. In this way he soon became enthusiastically interested in popular education, and became the moving spirit in the public awakening that culminated finally in our present admirable common school system. He was a popular public speaker and a very successful advocate or jury lawyer. His great persuasive powers were used, on every proper occasion, in favor of popular education both on the platform and in private conversation with men of culture and influence. His first success in this line was in inducing his friend, William Woodard, to establish in Cincinnati a free grammar school in 1830. Mr. Woodard died three years later, after appointing Mr. Lewis a life trustee of this school and property, with power to nominate his successor. The property left to this school is now worth considerably over a million dollars. Another fund, known as the Hughes fund, took a similar direction under the same influence, of which Mr. Lewis also became a trustee. These institutions are still largely supported from these funds, and are known as the Woodard and Hughes High Schools of Cincinnati, the crowning glories of Cincinnati's splendid system of public schools.

He was the earliest and most active supporter of the Western College of Teachers, established in 1831, and through this institution and its members he was able to much more rapidly extend his influence and teachings in favor of popular education.

At this time the state had, substantially, no public school fund, and not more than half the school districts in the state had school-houses, and a large proportion of the school-houses that had an existence were not worth to exceed ten dollars each. Every child entering these schools had to pay a tuition fee, the amount determined by the length of time of attendance. Very few districts maintained schools more than three months in a year, and many districts would be for years with no school at all.

The circle of Mr. Lewis' influence continued to widen until the beginning of 1837. When he and his views had become well-known over the state, the legislature passed a law creating the office of state superintendent of com-

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mon schools, and elected him to the office.

Although the salary fixed for the office was only five hundred dollars a year, yet he saw it was an opportunity to accomplish much for the cause nearest his heart, and he made the sacrifice of leaving a practice which had become lucrative and accepted the position on a salary that would not pay more than one-fourth of his office expenses. He traveled almost all over the state on horseback during the year, speaking everywhere, and awakened great interest in his cause. At the meeting of the legislature at the beginning of 1838, he made a full and interesting report and recommended several important measures. The legislature had in it many able men, such as Seabury Ford (afterward governor), Benjamin F. Wade, Leicester King, David Starkweather, John A. Foote, William Medill, W. B. Thrall, Alfred Kelley, Nelson Barrere, Van Hook, etc. This legislature created a school fund of $200,000 to be divided equally throughout the state, though to be withheld from districts failing to maintain schools for at least the prescribed minimum of time, gave to cities and incorporated towns power to establish schools of higher grade than was common, authorized school districts to levy taxes to build school-houses, provided for county school examiners, and many acts of less importance, and increased the superintendent's salary from five hundred to twenty-four hundred dollars a year.

Mr. Lewis continued his very valuable services during 1838 and 1839, and very much increased the qualifications of the teachers, the quality of the schools, and the general intelligence and interest in the matter of popular education.

Professor C. E. Stowe, D. D., of Lane Theological seminary of Cincinnati, was an intimate personal friend of Mr. Lewis, and shared with him in his zeal for popular education. In 1836 Professor Stowe went abroad for the purpose of securing a library for Lane seminary, and was requested, in behalf of the state of Ohio, to examine into the school system of Prussia and some other German states. He reported to the legislature at the session of 1837–8. This report was one of the most interesting documents on popular education ever published in the United States, and attracted great attention everywhere. The Prussian public schools were well graded, embraced a very complete course of study, secured thorough teachers and teaching, were absolutely free to all, and attendance was made compulsory.

When Professor Stowe's report was made public through the legislature, many persons in all parts of the state, who owned much property and few children, took the alarm and readily saw that the teachings and aims of Mr. Lewis were free schools in Ohio. They denied the right of the state to tax the rich to educate the poor. This element became a formidable opposition to Mr. Lewis during his third year, and when the next legislature met it was found strong enough in the legislature

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and lobbies to secure a repeal of the law creating a state superintendent of public schools, and Mr. Lewis went out of office, and his direct connection with the state school system ended. However, his genius and thought is found in many of the best features of our school system to-day. He did the cause of popular education great service, and the people of our state owe to his memory much gratitude.

The dominating influence of this reactionary faction was bad, and, in a great measure, controlling for several years thereafter; and yet Mr. Lewis left an impress never to be effaced, so that our present system, though secured in later years, after a hard fought contest, still has in it more of the plan and thought of Honorable Samuel Lewis than of any other man.

In 1839 Dr. Asa D. Lord came from St. Lawrence county, New York, and started a school under the name of "The Western Reserve Teachers' seminary," in the old Mormon temple at Kirtland, in Lake county. This school was primarily intended to educate common school teachers, but also had a classical department and prepared young men for college. Dr. Lord was a mild tempered and quiet man, genteel and dignified, yet very positive, sincere and earnest. He was an indefatigable student, and a most ardent advocate of free public school education. His zeal and enthusiam in pressing this cause knew no bounds. He possessed also a remarkable ability to impress himself and his views upon his pupils. He almost immediately built up a large school, composed almost exclusively of young men and women who desired to fit themselves thoroughly for teachers. Students came to him from almost all parts of the state, more largely, of course, from northern Ohio. Every graduate went home a zealous advocate of free classified schools. Thus hundreds of intelligent and enthusiastic teachers went from this school every year into all parts of the state, and everywhere taught and preached free schools. At that time it was the custom in the country schools for teachers to "board around." They were paid so much a month and boarded; and it was expected that they would go from house to house among those who sent their children to school. The time they remained at each house was proportioned to the number of children in school from each family. This plan had the virtue of giving to these teachers an excellent opportunity to inculcate their views in relation to our common school system—an opportunity of which few failed to avail themselves. Under this process, public sentiment rapidly underwent a thorough change, and the patrons of the common schools were becoming favorable to the plan of free graded schools. There was, however, a quite large and influential class who strongly opposed the plan, and became more and more outspoken as it increased in popularity.

The opposition was really composed of more than one class. First, were the large property holders, who denied the justice of taxing one man to educate

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another man's children. Second, those who were unwilling to have their children go to the same school as the children of the poor; or children of those of alleged lower social rank. Such parents felt, as they must be to the expense of sending their children to private or select schools, they ought not to be taxed to support schools they would not patronize. Third, there was still another class who opposed free schools on the ground that it was bad policy to educate the poor, that the tendency of education was to make the poor discontented, unwilling to work for a support.

In 1843 another educational institution was devised, novel in its character but powerful in its influence. That was "The Teachers' Institute." This was intended, nominally, to furnish a course of practical lectures and teachings to teachers, continuing from one to three weeks. But a leading object was to reach the thinking men and women of the public at large. The days were generally used for the benefit of teachers and the evenings for popular addresses to the public on educational matters. In these evening meetings a time was set apart for questions or criticisms from the public, and often resulted in spirited discussions of the merits of a free school system. The objections were of a nature not to gain friends by their discussion, or even statement, in public. The teachers' institutes were usually held at the county towns all over the state. The first was held in Sandusky, and was conducted principally by Dr. Lord, Mr. M. F. Cowdery (both of whom are now dead), Dr. John Nichols, now of Columbus, and the writer. All were teachers or professors in the Western Reserve Teachers' seminary. The vacations of the seminary were almost all devoted to teachers' institutes, by these professors, for several years. Other lecturers at these institutes rapidly developed as soon as the plan was understood, so that scores of them were being held at the same time in different parts of the state. One of the most efficient was Honorable T. W. Harvey of Painesville, late state commissioner of common schools. Another very efficient lecturer, who came into the work a few years later, was Colonel Loren Andrews, afterward president of Kenyon college, who died during the war of disease contracted in the army, where he was colonel of the Fourth Ohio infantry. Colonel Andrews was a pleasing and brilliant speaker, and exercised a powerful influence wherever he spoke. In 1845 and 1846 Dr. Lord, Mr. M. F. Cowdery, Colonel Loren Andrews and the writer divided the state into four sections, each taking a section to work up as thoroughly as possible. Each secured all the assistance possible, and in this way public meetings were held in almost every town and city in the state of as many as one thousand inhabitants. This resulted in a very general interest being awakened everywhere, and many members of the legislature of both parties were committed in favor of free schools—still there was not a majority. Great care had all along been exercised to keep the question out of politics.

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An effort was always made to have both a Whig and a Democrat speak at each meeting. The effort was successful—it never became a party question.

In the autumn of 1845 a series of meetings was held at Akron which were attended very largely by the citizens, who became very anxious to adopt the plan in the schools at once. The lecturers there were Mr. M. F. Cowdery, Honorable T. W. Harvey and the writer. A committee of citizens and the writer were selected to devise some practical plan for the town of Akron. We drafted a bill for a local law for Akron alone, which proved satisfactory to a meeting of the citizens, and a mammoth petition to the legislature was got up, and General L. Bierce and Mr. H. K. Smith of Akron, and the writer were appointed a committee to take the bill and the petition to Columbus and lay them before the legislature and get the bill made into a local law if possible. When the legislature met we went there and had no difficulty whatever in getting the bill through both houses without change or amendment. Honorable Harvey Rice of this city, who was a leading Democrat, and Judge Worcester of Norwalk, who was a leading Whig, were both in the legislature, if I remember correctly, and both were strongly in favor of free schools. The people of Akron elected a board of education in the spring of 1846, and in September of that year the writer was invited there to organize and superintend their schools. They were organized at first into three grades, and an excellent class of teachers was selected and the schools were started. There were a dozen or more private schools in the town, patronized by children too good to attend school with those not able to pay tuition, so but little more than half of the children within the school age were in the public schools. This state of things did not, however, last long. It was soon discovered that the best teachers, the best discipline and the best instruction were in the public free schools, so that the children from the private schools began to find their way to the public schools as fast as room could be provided for them, and before the end of the first year the last private school had closed. As soon as the schools were fairly in operation, delegations of citizens of other towns and cities commenced visiting Akron to examine into the workings of what was soon known all over the state as the Akron school law. Scarcely a day passed without visitors in every school room in the town. The papers made frequent and very favorable mention of the workings of the system, and the people soon became very proud of their school system.

At the next meeting of the legislature, on petitions, the Akron law was extended to several other cities and towns. I think the next town after Akron to adopt the system was Sandusky. Two years later the number of such petitions was so great that the legislature passed a general law authorizing any city or incorporated town in the state to adopt the Akron law by a majority vote of its voters at any regular election. Under this provision there was a quite general

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adoption of the law in towns and cities.

The opposition to free schools, under the light of the operation of the system in the towns, rapidly diminished, so that in the session of 1852–3 a general law was passed extending the Akron law, with the necessary modifications to adapt it to country schools, to the whole state.

Honorable Harvey Rice and Judge Worcester were very earnest in their efforts from the beginning of the contest in favor of the system. The people of Akron had been somewhat educated up to the plan by a little paper published at Akron called the *Pestalozzian*, edited and published by E. L. Sawtell and H. K. Smith, devoted exclusively to the cause of free schools. It was published about one year.

The general cause was also aided by a similar paper published at Cincinnati and edited by Mr. Samuel Lewis and Professor Calvin E. Stowe, called the *Common School Director*. Also by a like paper published and edited by Dr. Bowen at Massillon, called *The Free School Clarion*. These papers were all established to advocate the cause of free schools, and went out of existence as soon as free schools were established.

I have named only a few of those who led in the work. A very large number in various parts of the state rendered valuable aid. The press of the state, almost without exception, favored the measure.

The final passage of the general law, in the session of 1852–3, fully recognized the great doctrine that the property of the state should educate the children of the state.

M. D. LEGGETT.

REMINISCENCES OF WISCONSIN—1842 TO 1848.

I WENT when a lad of sixteen to the Wisconsin lead mines, in the spring of 1842. Galena, Illinois, nine miles south of the Wisconsin line, gave the name to this mining region, which extended over an area of perhaps fifty miles square, adjacent parts of Wisconsin, Iowa and Illinois. The largest and most productive part was in Wisconsin, extending through the counties of Grant and Iowa. Iowa county then embraced the present Lafayette county.

These lead mines were to the then twenty-six states, with seventeen millions population, something of what California, Colorado and Montana have since been to the larger country. The *eldorado* of the enterprising and daring—men of talents and distinguished ancestry were there—men of the highest moral character, and men and women of the lowest—a strange commingling of all classes. William Schuyler Hamilton, a son of the great Alexander, lived on the Pecatonica river. A son of Ethan Allen of Ticon-

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deroga fame, "In the name of God and the Continental congress" was engaged in mining. He had been a captain in the regular army, but had resigned some years before. Men of the highest ability in the professions were there. Jim Churchman of Dubuque and Galena was the most eloquent lawyer I ever heard. The brilliant Alexander P. Field, afterwards of New Orleans, was United States district attorney for Wisconsin; Frank Dunn, brother of Judge Charles Dunn, was an able and successful lawyer; Thompson Campbell and Joseph P. Hoge, both of whom were members of congress from the Galena district, were remarkable men; Edward D. Baker, United States senator from California and Oregon, one of the most brilliant men this country has ever had, went to congress from this same Galena district, which the late E. B. Washburne represented so long; Washburne and Judge Drummond, recently retired from the United States district court, were lawyers in Galena; Moses M. Strong of Mineral Point, yet living, was in 1842 a leading lawyer of the lead mines; Samuel Crawford and M. M. Cothran, afterwards of the supreme court of Wisconsin, were then young lawyers in the mining village of New Diggings; Nelson Dewey, the first governor of the state of Wisconsin, was a lawyer of Grant county; John M. Douglass, afterward long connected with the Illinois Central railroad as attorney and president, was a diligent lawyer of Galena, skilled in mining cases.

The discovery of gold in California caused an exodus from the Galena lead mines of its most enterprising miners and its most distinguished professional men. The extinguishing of the Indian title to lands on Lake Superior, and the opening of the copper region there, drew a large contingent.

In the spring of 1847, with a friend, George W. Brownell, a geologist and mining expert, I went to the St. Croix river, now the northwest boundary of Wisconsin, to explore for copper on the upper tributaries of that river, particularly Kettle river. It was Brownell's theory that the copper-bearing rocks of Lake Superior continued west, or would be found cropping out on the St. Croix. The policy of the government then was not to sell its mineral lands, but to lease them, getting a royalty from the mineral produced. Strangely these lands were in charge of the war department. Mining permits were granted by the war department, to be located on unsurveyed lands, to be designated by natural boundaries, rivers, etc. A permit was obtained and located at the Falls of St. Croix, three miles square, by a Boston company, of which three distinguished men were members—Caleb Cushing, Rufus Choate and Robert Rantoul, jr. My friend was agent for this company. The same company had a location near Ontonagon, I think, on Lake Superior, of which Mr. Brownell had charge, in the summer of 1846.

Caleb Cushing came out in the fall of 1846 to Lake Superior, by way of the lakes, ascended the Bois Brule river by canoe, made portage to the St. Croix

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and the Mississippi. In 1847 and 1848 Robert Rantoul, jr., visited the Falls of St. Croix as president of the company that owned the town site, mills, etc. It was the design of these influential men that the capital of the new territory, to be formed after Wisconsin should become a state, should be at the Falls of St. Croix. It was expected that the Chippewa river, and a line from its headquarters to the Montreal river on Lake Superior, would be the northwestern boundary of Wisconsin, leaving the St. Croix valley entirely in the new territory.

The first convention to form a state constitution for Wisconsin, held in 1846, proposed a line fifteen miles east of the most easterly point of St. Croix lake. This constitution was rejected by popular vote. The public discussion before the vote on the constitution was earnest. I heard Wm. Scuyler Hamilton and Moses M. Strong in public debate in the mining village of Benton, Strong in favor and Hamilton against adoption. The eastern Wisconsin members of the convention, immigrants by way of the lakes, of New England origin, had engrafted on the constitution some progressive ideas, women's rights, homestead exemptions, etc., a good many matters that were properly subjects of legislation rather than fundamental law. Western Wisconsin had been settled by way of the Mississippi river from Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, etc., and was more conservative, voting heavily against the constitution.

A new convention was at once called, which met in the winter of 1847-8. My friend Brownell was the member from St. Croix county, the only member north of Prairie du Chien. He tried hard to get a boundary line either by the Chippewa and Montreal rivers, or starting below the Chippewa from the Mississippi river at Mont Tremplrau, thence due north. The eastern members remembering that in the discussion of the late rejected constitution it had been urged that it had unwisely relinquished all of the territory bordering on Lake Superior, successfully advocated a boundary up the Mississippi above the Falls of St. Anthony to the Rum river, thence to the St. Louis river and Lake Superior. Much to our disappointment, this boundary was incorporated in the new constitution. This constitution was adopted by vote of the people in March, 1848, and a legislature elected to meet the following June. St. Croix county, constituting a legislative district, embraced a large country on the east bank of that river, also all of Minnesota between the St. Croix and Mississippi and Rum rivers—now the most populous part of Minnesota, including the cities of St. Paul, Stillwater, Minneapolis, East Anaka, etc. This district was entitled to one member of the lower house of the legislature, and was part of a senatorial district extending from the Wisconsin river at Prairie du Chien to Lake Superior.

At the election for members of the legislature, I received a majority in the whole district, but my opponent, Joseph Bowron of Willow river (now Hudson), got a majority of the votes on the east side of the St. Croix. Before the first

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legislature met, congress acted on the admission of the state to the Union, and on this question of boundary rejected the Rum river line proposed by the convention of Wisconsin, and fixed the present St. Croix river line, which was the one originally proposed by congress.

Mr. Bowron and myself went to Madison, each claiming to represent the St. Croix district, I, by virtue of having the certificate of election in the entire district, Bowron, by virtue of a certificate showing that he had a majority on the east side of the St. Croix, all of the district which remained in Wisconsin after the admission of the state. We were both admitted to seats in the assembly, but without vote, until the question of which was the rightful member should be decided.

A resolution of the assembly was adopted, asking the attorney-general's opinion, which in due time was given in favor of Bowron. While I had a seat in the legislature, the election of United States senators took place. Isaac P. Walker of Milwaukee and Ex-Governor Henry Dodge were chosen by Democratic majority. Byron Kilbourne of Milwaukee and Judge Charles Dunn were close competitors in the party caucus. The Whigs voted for Wm. Scuyler Hamilton and the venerable Ebenezer Brigham of Blue Mounds.

At the election in the autumn of 1848, we tried to elect candidates from the St. Croix assembly and senatorial districts who would agitate for a change of this northwestern boundary. The senatorial district extended from Prairie du Chien to Lake Superior. I made a trip to La Pointe, on the island in Lake Superior opposite Bayfield, where the American Fur company's trading post was, to secure votes for the candidates who favored a change of boundary, but they failed of an election.

The next March Minnesota was made a territory, embracing all of what was formerly Wisconsin between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers, with St. Paul the capital, which settled the question of the St. Croix river coterminous boundary for all time.

WM. R. MARSHALL.

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THE FIRST TEACHER OF MINNESOTA.

VERY few of the readers of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY are aware that the first teacher of a school in the then territory, and now state, of Minnesota was a young lady who went from Cleveland to the then almost unknown, or but little known, Falls of the Mississippi, at St. Paul. A few travelers or venturesome explorers or tourists had made their way up to the falls, but the whole territory was in the possession of "savage beasts and still more savage men." It was not a desirable place for a young lady who had been brought up and educated in the surroundings and the refinements and advantages of a Vermont home, and was at the time of her departure enjoying the pleasures of the social and intellectual culture of the society of the young city of Cleveland, in the home of her brother, the late well-known and highly respected Judge Jesse P. Bishop, to leave for a wilderness home and brave the hardships and privations of a frontier life. Nothing but the sublime faith of a true Christian woman led her forth to her work, under the guidance and direction of the board of the National Popular Education society, whose purpose was "to aid and advance the cause of popular Christian education in our country." This the committee of the board of managers proposed to do "through the agency of female teachers, to be invited to the occupancy of destitute places, and furnished, when necessary, with the means of reaching the fields of their labor." The city of Cleveland was at its organization interested in this great and noble work of popular education, as the following members of the board in that city bear ample testimony: Rev. Dr. Samuel C. Aiken, Rev. Benjamin K. Maltby, Rev. Seymour W. Adams, Rev. George B. Perry, Rev. S. B. Canfield, Honorable John W. Allen, Honorable Sherlock J. Andrews, T. P. Handy, esq., James M. Hoyt, esq., and William D. Beattie, esq. All of these gentlemen, except Messrs. Handy and Hoyt, have joined "the great majority" on "the other side;" have gone to receive the welcome of the Father of mercies, of "well done, good and faithful servants." The two yet living are most faithful workers in their Master's vineyard, honored, respected, beloved.

Ex-Governor William Slade of Vermont, was the able and laborious president of the National board.

I know not whether Miss Bishop is yet living or not; if yes, what a history of personal and interesting reminiscences she could write. How different from the time she wrote in October, 1848: "It may be a matter of interest to you that my school-house is the only one on the Mississippi above Dubuque.

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Prairie du Chien, settled the same year as Philadelphia, has never had one. Mine, of course, is the first in the new territory of Minnesota, though Miss Hosford (another of the teachers of the board) has one nearly completed." Again, on December 18, she writes, "My new school-house is comfortable, and my prospects for usefulness were never so flattering. The entire aspect of the school is changed and I never witnessed a greater proficiency—so much, indeed, that it is an astonishment to myself." She writes later in the year, "As for regrets, I have none that I embarked in this enterprise. It is a theme of praise that I was permitted to come to this difficult and trying field of labor. God has blessed me in it, and I have no wish to retire from the work. I have now about thirty white scholars; one year ago there were but eight."

Another teacher writes from a far-off wilderness home, "I would rather be here in this capacity than to be a queen on a throne."

Such was the feeble beginning of the foundation of schools for all children in the then far away territory of Minnesota, that had about the same number of people in its domain in 1850 that the city of Cleveland had in 1840—only six thousand.

It was well for the permanent prosperity of the now great northwest that the first teachers of the schools established were under the immediate care of young, educated, self-sacrificing Christian women, who had sublime faith and hope in the aspirations for good that were inwrought into their very souls. Can the debt that is due to the early women teachers of the west ever be paid? They went out from Christian homes, where the voice of prayer was daily heard, and where "hymns and psalms and spiritual songs" made sweetest melody at the family altar, where morning and evening sacrifices were offered to the Giver of all good.

How marvelous has been the growth of Minnesota! There, where in 1848 there was one school of eight children, instructed daily by one Christian young woman, and only one school-house north of Prairie du Chien, in 1884, at the latest statistics I have there were 1,744 male teachers and 4,776 female; 359,336 children of school age from five to twenty-one years; 232,721 enrolled in public schools; $2,238,073 paid to teachers, and total expenditure for education in the state, $2,587,544. Besides, they have four theological colleges, two medical and three of liberal arts. What progress and advancement in common school and in higher education within the memory of those who have not yet reached the half century of life!

Such is the history of public education in Minnesota, in which Cleveland bore an early part.

Woman, the natural educator of our race, is now greatly in the ascendant in all our schools. She is giving instruction to the children and youth of the state. This is well, for the rain and the sunshine do not cause the earth to bud and blossom with more certainty

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and beauty than does the influence of Christian woman cause the growth of all the virtues in the heart of man.

As long as our mothers upon their bended knees teach their children to say "Our Father which art in heaven," our country, freighted as it is with so many blessings for mankind, is safe.

JAMES A. BRIGGS.

RECOLLECTIONS OF CLEVELAND—HER BUILDERS AND BUILDINGS.

"Thus builders pile their mounds of mind or pelf,
And each in character transmits itself;
Now moundless, though diversity we trace,
And difference in altitude or grace."

—B. P. SHILLABER—MOUND-BUILDERS.

IT IS without, in the least measure, intending to controvert any of the expressed "Recollections of Cleveland" my friend, D. W. Cross, has given in the October number of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, that I am induced to draw a faint parallel, inspired by his well articulated views, with recollection of that class of men who, possibly, should share an equally honored place in history, with those whose chosen occupation, by chance, has brought their intellectual faculties more prominently before the people. It is of the early mechanics of Cleveland I will endeavor to call back to memory something, respecting their personality, something which their heads and hands have done to make Cleveland what she is.

It is exactly fifty-one years to a day since the steamer *North America* landed a young man upon the wharf in Cleveland who had precious little fire or ambition; and a fourth-class lawyer may have been spoiled by his parents insisting that it would be far more honorable to acquire the art of making a good waxed end; and when my friend Cross, in the "Recollections" he gives to us that it was "nearly forty-five years ago" that he landed in Cleveland, it is of record on the old Franklin house register that himself and the chirographer hereof were not a week apart in making their *debut* in this famous city—famous now, but not so much thus fifty-one years ago. Possibly, as my friend gives no date to his paper, he has had it laid away in his portfolio the past six years and only now submits it to the enduring form of type for our gratification, yet the context proves that he was present at the battle of the bridge as evidently as he was present at the "Battle of the Nile."*

But to my purpose:

The hopes and expectations of the early settlers of Cleveland could not possibly have reached to a city of a quarter of a million during the short period it has been on trial. Did Father Doan, who now lives to see what Cleveland is to-day, have the

[* Mr. Cross' paper was written several years before publication.—Editor.]

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remotest idea what would come of the little hamlet he found when he landed here some eighty years ago?

Judge Spalding, in addressing the first annual meeting of the Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga county, said: "Among the earliest recollections of my childhood is the following anecdote, told me by my mother: She said that late in the autumn of the year 1796, General Cleaveland spent an evening at her father's house, and in the course of conversation said to her mother: 'Mrs. Paine, while I was in New Connecticut, I laid out a town on the bank of Lake Erie, which was called by my name, and I believe the child is now born that will live to see that place as large as Old Windham.'" Having no recently published gazetteer, I am not able to see the progress of the race between the two rival hamlets, yet am inclined to adjudge the general to have been a tolerably foresighted man.

The method of founding cities among the ancients of the old world varied from that of the people of the new. Some emperor or king or general would say to his men, "Here will we found a city," and then they followed the imperial order and built up a city, some to fall into ruins and some to remain in being to the present day.

The American people, much like the industrious ants, after finding a good location and materials handy, climate and soil to suit, go to work by littles and do the best with the material within reach and let the consequences take care of themselves. At one time within the lifetime of Cleaveland, about every stream which had an outlet in Lake Erie had a prospective city on its banks, but the industrious ants were not gathering in great numbers to build on every one of them.

The present purpose is not to compare the growth of Cleveland with "Old Windham," or the many cities on the lake shore that have once been on an even plane with her; it is simply proposed to review some of the processes and forces which are the more certain means of building a city—something of the men who have been most instrumental in making her what she is, and what she is soon to become—the metropolis of Ohio.

First in line came the explorer to spy out the land, then the engineer to survey and stake it out in behalf of those who claimed a title, and then came the pioneer with his axe and grub-hoe to cut a hole in the woods that the sun might help to make the soil yield enough to live—subsist upon. Immediately following this class of venturesome men came others with saws and hammers, broad-axes and square rules, chisels and augers, stone-hammers and trowels, as well as other appliances for building comfortable habitations for shelter. Right along like the movements of an army in actual service come the camp-followers; just as soon as a neighborhood is formed and the people begin to become forehanded, come the clergyman missionary to look after and save souls, the doctor to look after and save bodies, and the lawyer to look after and help the settler to save his money. After all these come the gambler to gather in what is over for his own advantage. Close following all these comes the speculator to try and see if he can't make a profit from an investment out of other people's labor—buy a farm or lot

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here and there, and go back to Old or New England and wait for the country to grow up and make him rich; it is ever thus, nor can Henry George or any other man prevent the inordinate greed of humanity to take all the advantage of a neighbor, or even a stranger, that their genius and cupidity will dictate.

To take a look at the earliest map of Cleveland any one would naturally infer that there was no intent to found a city of any considerable proportions. What is seen in the foreground, or even the background, would possibly be a hut for a fisherman or a trapper or a wood-chopper, who has a cord or two of wood to sell to some stray vessel that may put in for supplies —no evidences of the skilled artisan anywhere to be seen. Ten years later something more would be seen in the picture—a house or two with a gable, an architrave, a frieze and a cornice, and after-years develop a trace of the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite, only to be swept out of view by Queen Anne or King Conglomerate to outdo some neighbor in the eccentric and startle them with the wonderful. It would perplex the brain of an old time architect to define the order we are building our homes in at the present day.

Who and where are the men who handled the saw, the jack-plane, the stone-hammer and the trowel sixty years ago, and helped to build a city that has made a name at home and abroad?

If I follow the line of my predecessor it would be proper to start from the "Bridge war," the era of which being contemporaneous with our advent. Then it was that the artisan who figured most in the eyes of the people was James S. Clark, a man of wonderful nerve and foresight, and a mechanic and builder, who not only built for his time, but for the time that should follow him. He could well see what were the needs of the people, and how their ultimate prosperity could be acquired by a line of well-appointed improvements. He saw a wide and fertile country to the south and west that needed an inlet to the centre of the city. At that time the only means of crossing the river was at Division street, now Centre street. He took upon himself the responsibility of building the Columbus street bridge, grading down the ninety-five feet of embankment (first obtaining a charter for a tolled bridge), completing the work in an admirable manner, and then presenting his work to the county, thus making an easy and cheap avenue to Cleveland, which the bristling city of Ohio did not like, and with force and arms rebelled against. The history of that rebellion, so often and so concisely written, need not be repeated now, but the architect and builder of the great work which led to it is, to this day, as well known to fame as any of the early settlers. He looked for his reward in the advanced value of the lots he had plotted on the flats, but he left the city some years thereafter with his labors unrewarded, and if fortune was his only aim, he probably would have had better pecuniary success if he had labored merely with his head and looked after others' affairs than his own, for he had a well-balanced brain.

James Kellogg has left the best monument of his skill, that has stood the test of over a half century on Superior street—the American house. Mr. Kellogg although

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not properly a builder, had the skill of a well-drilled mechanic in that line. His first work in Cleveland was as a manufacturer of paper, operating the first paper mill in the county. Familiarly known by everyone in his day as Jimmy Kellogg, he was of easy approach and possessed with a generous flow of good humor, ran his hotel for a time with his son at a loss, and quit the world a poor man. A churchman in religion, he published to the world that at one time, while riding in a stage-coach in New York, he was a fellow-passenger with the notorious Tom Paine, the infidel, and that Tom confessed to him that he had renounced his belief and was then a firm believer in the revelations of the Bible, and had left off his habit of intemperance. The men who performed the manual labor on that pile (The American) were John M. Brown and James Pannel, while within the last quarter of a century an additional story has been added by other hands, at the instance of men who follow in the wake of manual labor. Mr. Kellogg did not reap the reward of his early enterprise, but left little or nothing for his posterity to quarrel over.

Moses A. Elldridge was one of these hard working, earnest, anxious builders who has left his mark on many a brick and stone wall that may stand for many years to come. The old Baptist church, which was erected on the corner of Champlain and Seneca streets, has had many changes within the past fifty years. It was erected by Mr. Elldridge in 1835, and was the first church edifice of brick in the city, and regarded with pride by every citizen. Once occupied by the followers of John the Baptist, it became too small for their increasing numbers, and the worshipers went elsewhere, leaving the consecrated walls to be occupied by the county for a hall of justice from which criminals were tried and sentenced to penal servitude. Fire had bereft the edifice of its spire, but the walls are there still as a monument for its original purpose and the builder, but the legends on the outer walls tell a vastly different story than those on the inner ones in its earliest days. Mr. Elldridge had the respect of the community, and although he may have been less of the careful, shrewd money-getting sort, he meant to do his work well. He left the city in a vain hope to recruit his fortunes on the Pacific coast, closing his career in Cleveland after he had laid the last brick on the Weddell house, which building himself and George P. Smith erected a little more than forty years ago. Yet farther back than this we can look upon other monuments of Mr. Elldridge's work, now in their full tide of successful occupancy: The Farmers' block, also the Mechanics' block, now otherwise known as the two buildings, respectively, on the east side of Ontario street, at the corner of Prospect street. He built, in connection with George P. Smith, the Merchants' exchange, on Superior street, now named the "Leader building."

The Cuyahoga Steam Furnace company building, corner Detroit and Centre streets, bears on its face the legend that it has been standing there over fifty-three years, and its fire has scarcely been out of blaze for all that time.

John B. Weigman has a record among

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the builders of Cleveland that ranges parallel with any for faithful and honest execution of work. Cropping out all along the line of the older streets can be seen the work of his hand, and among the many can be seen St. John's cathedral, which was begun forty years ago or more. Mr. Weigman has filled many positions of honor and trust with credit to himself and profit to his constituents, while his habit and manner are so unpretentious, few would know that his life has been spent thus far in doing what he has to make the city habitable as well as ornamental.

In advance of these busy men who have made an honorable mark, should be placed the name of James Pannel, a man whose name attaches to more of the earlier buildings in and around Cleveland than any other, living or dead. The mark of stability follows his work, and were he not now in vigorous life and robust manhood, much more could be said respecting his integrity of purpose and his determination in all these years to keep his record up to the standard he started out with in the year 1832, when he was induced by Governor Wood to go with him out to Rockport and build a residence in the native forests—a building that has weathered a half century, and is likely to withstand more than another. Cleveland is dotted over with Mr. Pannel's monuments as well of modern as of ancient build. It is not a year since the old Weddell cottage on Euclid avenue stood as one of his early works. The Empire block, Edmund Clark and John Shelly blocks on Water street; George C. Dodge and J. H. Crittenden's residences on Euclid avenue; the older court-house, the old Ellery cottage, which stood on Superior street extension, east of Erie street, now removed to Muirson street farther north, the William Smyth house, now occupied by H. M. Claflen, and portions of the American house.

W. V. Craw would not be regarded by the present generation as a prominent builder of the olden times. His varied occupation for the past fifty-five years should not take from him the credit of building some of Cleveland's more early edifices. Until the last fraction of this year Mr. Craw has maintained that careful attention to business, insomuch that scarce a day in the past fifty years and more he has been missing from his office or from the building he had contracted to complete. The old Cleveland Centre block, which has had ever so many transformations, is one of the early monuments he has been the moving principal of its being. Miller's block is another; also the Chapman mansion on the West Side, which has its rear end looking toward Pearl street, having been built to face the valley; also the Dr. Long (stone) mansion on Woodland avenue (long the residence of the late Erastus Gaylord) the three-story brick block on Columbus street, corner Willey; the old brick tavern (Young's) in Brighton; the Mark Whitelaw residence on Lake street; Rev. Dr. Avery's residence, Euclid avenue; the Brainard residence, Sheriff street; the Dr. Mathivet residence, corner Lake and Ontario streets —all of these are half century monuments yet remaining as the handiwork of the Craws. Mr. Craw was one of the original architects and builders of the city itself—shaping its topography, its schools and all

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its early improvements; having all these years worked to a greater profit for others than himself, he is enabled to look upon a city of a quarter million people that he helped to set on foot with a couple of thousand, and is now enabled to look out upon its vast labyrinth of avenues, reflecting that he is the only living representative of its government at the time it assumed the panoply of a city.*

C. W. Heard had a reputation as a builder not inferior to any, and monuments of his skill are broadcast. He was among the earliest of the architects and builders of the city, a careful and considerate man, whose sole aim was to make his work to bear the most rigid inspection, and be fully up to, if not better than the contract. Among the early contracts of Mr. Heard was the stone mansion standing on the northeast corner of Ontario street and the park, once owned and occupied by Charles M. Giddings, and more recently by N. E. Crittenden; it does not have the appearance of a dwelling with its present surroundings. The Judge Starkweather residence, corner of Lake and Water streets, is another. The T. P. Handy residence, now the Union club-house, and the George B. Merwin residence, built at the (then) end of Prospect street, at Sterling avenue, moved farther south to give place to the opening of Prospect street farther east; also the present residence of Mr. Merwin in Rockport, the Case hall block and the New England hotel and St. Paul's church. Neither of the two last named is now standing. No one in the line of master-builder exercised more care in superintending the work than C. W. Heard; always present and in the most dangerous positions to see that the work was properly executed. Twice to the personal knowledge of the writer has he been taken home on a stretcher after falling from high points of buildings; he was not only superintending but helping to place the timbers in proper position.

W. J. Warner was among the first to commence to build up Cleveland in its better form. For many years Mr. Warner was connected in business with his brother-in-law, Mr. George Witherell, and the firm had a reputation reaching far beyond the limits of Cleveland. Mr. Witherell becoming engaged in erecting light-houses along the coast of the lakes, severed his connection in the building firm, when Mr. Warner united himself with C. W. Heard, firm name of Heard & Warner. This company had a wide range for their labors and a reputation that was worthy the men. One of Mr. Warner's individual contracts was the government building (post-office) in its original form; another was the Tracy & Kelley block, corner Superior and Seneca streets, a part of which is still standing.

Henry Blair is in no wise to be placed behind any builder named for all the qualities of a man and well-skilled mechanic. He had customers who would have no other if they could secure Henry Blair.

H. L. Noble was contemporaneous with those already named. Although not as active and prominent as some, his mild manner and careful efforts to do his work well gave him the reputation of being equal to any of his competitors in skill and executive ability.

* While the above applies to the legislative branch of the city, it should not be forgotten that at that time Henry B. Payne was the city clerk of Cleveland; and even the most partisan Republican will admit that Mr. Payne is tolerably active and somewhat prominent in public life.

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George P. Smith is now, and has been, as familiar to the people of Cleveland as a prominent builder as any one living or dead. The city was small; he began to place substantial monuments of use all over the young city. It was himself and Moses A. Elldridge who built the Weddell house, and the Merchants' exchange. And now that he has reached the age allotted to men of his uniform habits, he still remains active in looking after the interests of the local enterprises wherein he has invested a portion of his surplus, while he takes a youthful delight in spending a portion of his summers on the old farm near Newport, Rhode Island, the central spot of his ancestors that has been their home for nearly two hundred years.

John M. Brown was one of the most active architects and builders Cleveland ever had. It was Brown who drew the plans and executed the principal part of the American house in 1835 and 1836. He also built the Judge T. M. Kelley mansion on Euclid avenue.

Erastus Smith was active more than fifty years ago in building and overseeing the progress of buildings under other contractors. He superintended the erection of the old Insurance block, northwest corner of Water and Superior streets, which stands as firm as when it had its coping placed thereon.

Jefferson Thomas, in the many contracts he made, acquired a reputation for good work that gave him an excellent lead in his profession. Although slow in all his movements, he never was accused of making mistakes. There are many monuments to his credit among the older buildings of the city.

A. J. Piper may possibly be rated as slow in his mechanical movements, but he is equally sure. He is one of the old timers, but scarcely of the half century sort. Verging upon two hundred and fifty pounds avoirdupois, it could hardly be expected that he could skip like a squirrel along the ridge-pole of a very high building. However, he has made his name known and left many evidences of his labor on some of the older as well as the newer streets of the city.

Milo H. Hickox was early known and constantly employed in his profession as a master-builder. He had his peculiar methods, but they were of a nature that made him the more respected by his fellow-men. He also built for all time, and if the ravages of time obliterated his monuments, it was not his fault—wood will not last forever. Milo had a happy turn of mind, and he could be morose if the occasion required, a Christian and a deacon withal, but in spite of the admonition of his brethren, he said he felt it a duty to go to the circus now and then to get a laugh at the clown, for a person needed the effects of a good, hearty laugh, if it be by the sayings of a fool.

Mr. Hickox was a remarkably plain, blunt, outspoken man, and held opinions peculiarly his own. He was an inveterate enemy of slavery and land monopoly, and had often declared that the two evils were a disgrace to Christianity and modern civilization. He claimed that it was contrary to the will of God that a man should hold a title deed to a rod of his footstool, insisting that it illy became a Christian man or any one else to purchase by the square acre and sell by the square foot the soil which was intended for the generations who follow to earn a livelihood

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from. Had he lived to our day he may have formed new opinions as well as new ideas, but he was well set in those he had.

The two story frame structure on the east side of Ontario street, at the junction of Pittsburgh street (now Broadway), is notable not so much for its half century and more of existence, but that it became the subject of a siege by a band of lawless people in the winter of 1836-7, in consequence of a colored man and his white wife making it their place of abode. About all its furniture and every window in front was completely demolished.

Thomas Mell was an inborn Englishman who made himself known for his energy and John Bull determination to do his share towards making Cleveland what she is and aiding his own pocket with an addition of sheckles. He was early in the field and had his day of success.

John Gill was never known to do a poor job or a dishonorable act. He also was among the early builders and had his share of well-paying jobs to do. We can see his imprint upon many dwellings here and there and a few of the later blocks which he was instrumental in erecting. He was frequently called to the councils of the city, and was chosen once as representative to the state legislature.

Horace Fenton was an expert in draughting for all building purposes, and his skill was often called into service for the more elaborate buildings.

It is quite probable that there is not a building in Cleveland which has withstood the multiform changes and served so many purposes as the Pittsburgh house, a two story brick on the corner of Broadway and Cross streets. It was built for a hotel or tavern when Cleveland was a little village. It was not a marked success as a hotel, and the proprietor, T. P. May, transformed it into a couple of dwellings, and back into a hotel again, and since then the changes and occupations carried on within have been so varied that it would be idle to enumerate all, while fire has more than once purified its interior and suffered its outer walls to maintain their original form.

W. P. Southworth, like his former partner, Pannel, has lapsed into banking, and beyond this he has become the largest retail dealer in the necessaries of life that Cleveland contains. It has been said that if a man desires riches, he can obtain it by dealing in some article that every one wants at least a little of, and every one wants something to eat at least twice or more a day. Mr. Southworth does not make any invidious comparison between a builder and a merchant or a banker, claiming all to be necessary and useful, but neither entitled to a higher plane than another. He has built blocks, dwellings, bridges, sewers and plenty of other things that brick, stone and mortar compose; and more than all these, he has built a fortune, which appears to suit his taste better than all else. And now, at threescore years and ten, he is taking life for its best reward, carefully directing his later enterprises, and occasionally rusticating in a trip to Europe, studying the architecture and building of the cities, and the manners and customs of its people.

R. H. Lacy built the Case block, on Superior street, next west of Miller's block.

Pilgrim and Brown built the block next west of the Case block above named.

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R. R. Herrick has built many a first-class edifice as well as the same sort of a reputation. He is one of the old stand-bys from among the early builders, and has been twice honored by his party with the position of mayor of the city, and claims no more honor in the one position than the other—a true born mechanic of the old school with modern ideas. A fine monument stands to his credit in the shape of one of the first first-class blocks for residence, corner of Prospect and Huntington streets, his present home. He appears to be taking life for all it will fetch him, and what would disturb a person of one-half his avoirdupois would not in the least disturb his equanimity.

Corlett & Cubbon have been known as substantial builders for fully a half century, and the old firm appear as vigorous and able to put a purline plate or ridge pole in place as they did a generation ago. Their mark has been effectually made all over the city.

The Judge Barber mansion, corner Franklin avenue and Pearl street, now owned and occupied by J. H. Sargent, has little of the old-time appearance, having been modernized and adorned by the present owner so that it will scarcely be recognized as of three-score years and more, though built upon the sand.

James Gayton, Henry Morgan, James Welch and John D. Stillman have left honorable records as men who did their work well; they also were of the early days and have performed good work, that may yet be seen in the older habitations of the original streets.

John F. Chamberlin may be classed among the very best of that class of men who prefer to do a good job rather than sacrifice their reputation to secure a pecuniary profit. Well-skilled men who have won a reputation for honest work need not underbid for the sake of obtaining a contract. Chamberlin was that kind of a builder.

John and William Givens have handled the trowel to good purpose on so many walls now standing that it would appear they built for all time. William appears as vigorous as ever. Although he may have hung up the plumb-line and laid away the trowel, he is well justified in making a parlor ornament of the latter and respect it for the vast amount of good work it has been engaged in. He has heeled himself well in, and recently taken a new lease of life that promises an increase of happiness now that he has passed the mile-post of three-score and ten.

Samuel Mason, Peter Caul, Perley Abbey, George Hartnell, Leonard Kimball, William Scofield, E. A. Southworth and John Hale should be placed in line with the noble army of builders who have made the waste places to become the pleasant palaces of the people, while W. H. Stillman, Darius Adams, Joseph Wellsted, J. M. Blackburn, Horace Fuller, Ezra Thomas and J. J. Callister can speak for themselves if they are questioned on the subject of their labors, which have been performed within a period of the past sixty years. The most venerated of this list are Stillman and Adams, who have weathered so many years and weather-boarded so many houses.

S. C. Eason, Jacob Mitchell, J. S. Martin, C. F. Lender, T. C. Floyd, Stephen Griffin, John Malvin, Reuben Peck and

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Lavater Moulton have passed away, but their handiwork is in plain relief upon many an entablature, frieze and cornice of the older edifices of Cleveland and its neighborhood.

There still remains many an edifice unaccounted for that has weathered the storms of more than a half century, notable among which is the rare old home of Senator Payne on St. Clair street, the birth-place of some of his children; the old Case mansion, now far out on St. Clair street, removed from the present site of the postoffice; the Willey cottage now on St. Clair street, taken from its first abiding place on Michigan street; the old home of John M. Sterling, on Superior street, now owned and occupied by J. E. Hall as a stove and tin store; the inner part appears to have maintained its early form; the old folding-doors, mouldings and cornices are in a measure intact. It was in this mansion that Abolition concentrated, and the old barn is still standing, where many a runaway slave, looking for the north star, was housed like unto our Savior. It was in that mansion that Theodore W. Weld, Gerrett Smith, J. G. Birney, W. L. Garrison, Arthur Tappan Salmon P. Chase, and Lovejoy met in consultation with Mr. Sterling, and the Boston *Liberator* was the outcome of this conference. While the walls of this edifice were being built the elder Leonard Case told Mr. Sterling that it was an absurdity to erect a dwelling-house without a front door, but this view never changed the purpose of the proprietor, for he was a man that held to his opinions and plans with a wonderful grip.

On the south side of Superior street, between the Huffman block and the old Sterling residence, another monument of the past is yet standing in form of a story and a half brick building, built by Heard & Warner, now not entirely hid from view, its first story transformed into a store. Fifty-five years or more ago it was occupied by Mrs. Colwell as a private school for boys. Among her scholars were Honorable William Case, Dr. Elisha Sterling and Governor George Hoadley. Each of these young men was enabled to comprehend the intricacies of Cobb's spelling book at that institution.

Ahiemas Sherwin, residing in East Cleveland, was one of the earliest builders in the county. He was well known for his uprightness as well as his skill in the line of his profession. Schooled in that old time habit of making a frame building to last for all coming years, nothing of the "balloon" sort of architecture could possibly enter his mind or meet his approval, and the large number of dwellings yet standing in the eastern portion of the city have his "imprint" in the heavy beams, posts, sills and plates that were put there to stand the test of the severest winds common to our climate.

When the old Irad Kelley house, once the post-office, on the south side of Superior street, opposite Bank, was torn down in 1852 to give place to the present block, Captain Dibble found an heir-loom among its ruins in shape of a well burned brick on which, while in its plastic state, his brother, the maker of the brick, had written his name. Could that *brick o' bat* (no pun intended) but speak out and tell all that had been done in that old post-office building, it might furnish a story for the MAGAZINE

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OF WESTERN HISTORY that could not be found elsewhere.

Rumbaugh & Emerson took a leading part among the more prominent builders at a time when the real boom had not yet become manifest in Cleveland.

Samuel Truscott's handiwork may be seen in the roof and groins underneath St. Joseph's Cathedral; also in the mansion of the late Judge Bolton on Euclid avenue, and a line of residences on Woodland avenue and other streets, all of which are of more than forty years standing.

In calling back to memory some of those venerable piles of wood which at one time (verging near three-score years ago) were the admired residences of the leading men of Cleveland, we find a few of them yet lingering in our midst, hesitating and wandering from place to place and continuing not in one place. Mention having been made respecting the movements of some, there can be no harm to group them in this recapitulation. Those mansions now in mind were all built in a studied effort to maintain the purely Doric order of architecture, with their fluted columns and rich, plain cornice and entablature. If the lines of those fluted columns should be inspected in this day and generation, and found to be less or more than six diameters in height, or contain less or more than twenty flutings, or rise from anything except the stylobate, then the Doric would be lost to view. Among the oldest of all these mansions now in sight is the late Deacon Whittaker's residence on Water street, which stands overlooking the Union depot and the lake. It stands as it always has, and still remains the property of the good deacon's descendants. Following this is the stately house built for Judge Thos. M. Kelley, corner Euclid avenue and Huntington street, still in the hands of his descendants. On the brow of the hill north of the Viaduct, on Washington street, stands the same stately mansion once owned and occupied by Elisha T. Sterling, followed by Judge Horace Foot, and lastly owned and occupied by W. P. Ranney, esq., until sold to the parish of St. Malachi for a parsonage.* A square or two west of this, on the same street, is the old home of the late Charles Winslow, now owned and occupied by his son-in-law, C. L. Russell, esq., much enlarged and improved. Those four mansions, with one exception, have "held their own," so to speak, ever since they were tenantable.

Following these in the list come four of the same order of architecture, but not so stable in habit or position, for none of them save one maintain the same position on which they were built. The comely cottage which formerly stood on the northwest corner of Superior and Muirson streets, built by Jas. Pannell and owned by Geo. H. Ellery, has turned its face to the east and taken itself a few rods further north. Ambrose Spencer, the son of John C. Spencer, occupied it

* Upon a more recent survey of the premises and a refreshing of memory, I find that the mansion once occupied by E. T. Sterling and sold by Mr. W. P. Ranney to the parish of St. Malachi, on Washington street, west side, is no longer in existence. Soon after the tornado which demolished the spire of St. Malachi's, the fall thereof nearly destroyed that old-time edifice, and an annex to the parish school has taken its place. Otherwise, from recent inspection I find the other mansions as here delineated.

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for several years after, also owned and occupied by Jarvis F. Harper; also J. B. Bartlett, so long city clerk, lived and died in it. Next in order comes the Payne cottage on the north side of St. Clair street, now either hidden from view from the street or transformed into shops or stores so that its proper identity is lost. This mansion was planned and superintended in its construction by Wm. Rogers, an English gentleman of taste, in such labors as well as in landscape adornment. Further east on the same side of the same street is the famous Willey cottage so often regarded as the court centre of northern Ohio, where it stood on Michigan street, where Paul Smith's wine house is. One half of the structure has been transformed into a shop or store room while the other remains as a residence. Following this same street a half dozen or more squares to the east we find the old Case mansion hid behind a block of stores but with a bright and cheerful look as in the days when it faced the public square on the ground now occupied by the post-office.

These do not comprise all the ancient houses that clung so close to the Doric order. We have yet the stately residence of the late Dr. David Long, on Woodland avenue, a stone structure now owned and occupied by the widow of the late Erastus Gaylord. Next out of the three cottages built on Superior street by those three active business men, respectively, John Shelley, T. W. Morse and Stephen Clarey, only one remains to be identified. The Dr. Brayton cottage, on the west side of Ontario street, belongs to the list.

On the high bank of Hurd street, west side, with a wide outlook upon the valley of the river, stands a cottage which belongs in the same order, once occupied by Geo. B. Ely, recently owned and occupied by the late J. Wylie Smith.

Venerable and distinct, the comfortable and unassuming homestead of the late John Blair still stands where its owner built it over fifty years ago, on what is now Prospect street; but it claimed a frontage on Euclid street, for there was no such street as Prospect in front of the mansion. It is still owned by the family of Mr. Blair.

Out on Detroit street, just a few rods west of the city limits, is another of the same order, but its distinctive features are all gone. It was owned by D. H. Lamb and now owned and occupied by the decendants of Farnan.

Possibly the two last named structures were not made to follow the strict line of the Doric order, but they are both honorable veterans of a different half century from this we are now in.

The early work performed in Cleveland, so faintly outlined here, may be followed up in another half century with a record of wonderful proportions. The past twenty-five years have made a new city out of an old one. The great avenues here and there are a wonder of elegance in the number and beauty of their outer and inner workmanship, while in the valleys and on the hillsides the clatter of machinery is evidence of the prosperity that comes only from the labor of hands, guided by the unerring head—the brain-work of the skilled mechanic.

Strive as men may for fame or fortune, they will find that whatever they gain is not enduring. Building upon ever so firm

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a foundation it will be remarkable if, in their later days, the results of their labors are visible to the eye or to the memory, after a generation or two. The fine-wrought sentences and cunning words of one class are liable to take a higher shelf of fame than the more solid superstructures and fine-cut groins and arches of another, while each helps to build for himself and suffer the consequences to follow as they may.

To make the parallel between the two forces which help to build up a city to its highest eminence, it is as well to find an equivalent to that case of my friend Cross, wherein an eminent lawyer is forced by "a severe attack of *pneumonia* from the profession he highly adorned, into the maze of private life in building up our great manufacturing enterprises." A similar misfortune attacked a master builder, and forced him to abandon his trowel and plumb-line for the intricate mazes of the law, where he became a leading spirit at the Cuyahoga bar. After passing the severest examination of the committee appointed by the court, he became at once a thorough scholar in Blackstone and in all mandamus cases, and now claims that it is far easier on the brain to practice law than it is to practice stone-quarrying.

The ranks of labor lost another good worker from the useful avocations of an agriculturalist, in this wise: he being the cause of a mishap to a lady who met him with his load of compost, and a lawsuit was the outcome. The agriculturalist employed the Honorable D.K.Cartter in the defense, and the judge's plea made him famous. He plead thus: "May it please this court, my client is a farmer; his avocation is one that is necessary to keep up the life of the Nation; he was on his way to his fields with a load of compost from the barnyard of the Castlebar house on River street. He had trouble in coming up Union lane—broke a reach. Again he started on, and became involved in the heavy sand road of Euclid street, and while in distress he met a similar load coming to town, and there was a collision." The result of the trial was, that his client came off first best, and the lady had the costs to pay. This success caused the client to adopt the law as a profession, a clear case of *amonia*. He emigrated to Oregon, and possibly may come back to the Atlantic water-shed as a United States senator.

Whatever may be said respecting the importance and necessity of these two rival professions, we can do no less than rate their followers as mechanics; the one class labors entirely with the head and the other with both head and hands. In comparing the ultimate success of the followers of each a wide disparity is observed—the money power on one side does not equal the brain power on the other. A gardener and a lawyer were neighbors in the early days of Cleveland. The gardener said to the lawyer that he had a claim against a man, and he asked the attorney what was the best method to adopt for its collection, as the debtor was very backward in coming forward. He told him to make out the bill and take it to a justice and have it sued. The fee for advice was the small sum of five dollars. The lawyer wanted to know how best to keep his cabbages over winter; the gardener told him to bury them heads down with

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the roots on. The lawyer sued for his fee and the gardener claimed an off set. The lawyer won and the gardener lost. And here lies the difference.

The following are some of the men who helped to build up Cleveland from its foundation—men who operated mostly during the first part of the present century, some of whom are in active life upon the stage at the present moment. While some are still following the same line and plummet, others have found more profitable lines; yet upon an average, it is safe to say that they have all built better for others than they have for themselves:

Abbey, Perley,
Abel, Edward,
Adams, Darius,
Aldridge, Jesse B.,
Alger, William,
Allen, J. J.

Burgess, A.,
Brooks, S. C.,
Blair, Henry,
Brown, J. M.,
Belden, Silas,
Blackburn, J. M.,
Banton, Thomas,
Broadey, John,
Barnes, William.

Callister, J. J.,
Cubbon, William,
Caneen, James,
Collister, William,
Craw, W. V.,
Cottereli, M. S.,
Craw, J. M.,
Cook, Samuel,
Craw, J. A.,
Chamberlin, J. F.,
Corlett, John,
Condit, William,
Corlett, William,
Cotterell, Thomas,
Corlett, Charles,
Caul, Peter,
Colahan, Alex,
Cook, John,
Colahan, Thomas.

Davenport, E.,
Day, Thomas M.,
Delaney, M.,
Dalgleish, Simon,
Daniels, Spencer,
Darwin, Audin.

Emerson, T. S.,
Eason, S. C.,
Elldridge, M. A.,
Ensign, J. W.,
Eckert, D.,
Eddy, John,
Erwin, William.

Floyd, T. C.,
Fenton, Horace,
Freeman, Erastus,
Fell, George,
French, Burton,
Felcom, John,
French, Albert,
Fenn, Hubbard,
Fuller, Horace,
Fenner, David,
Freeman, Pliny,
Foreman, James,
Freeman, Charles.
Frisbee, ———

Garrett, Ammon,
Gunning, William,
Gibbons, John,
Gayton, James,
Girens, John,
Gill, John,
Girens, William,
George, William,
Gloyd, J. M.,
Gibson, David,
Griffin, Stephen,
Grannis, Robert,
Green, Sanford.

Harkman, Joseph,
Himebaugh, D.,
Hamlin, S. I.,
Harrison, John,
Hatch, D. L.,
Higbee, L.
Higgins, Francis,
Houck, Phillip,
Herrick, R. R.,
Hartnell, George,
Heard, C. W.,
Hickox, M. H.,
Haas, Martin,
Huntington, John,
Hale, John,
Hill, G. G.,
Henry, Robert,
Hamlin, S. I.
Hawkins, John.

Jailer, Peter,
Johnson, J. A.,
Jenkins, John,
Johnson, James,
Johnson, Peter.

Kelsey, Edward,
Kidney, G. H.,
Kimball, L.

Laundrith, Henry,
Lender, C. F.,
Lockwood, Henry,
Lacy, E. H.,

Malvin, John,
Mitchell, Jacob,
Marsh, Sumner,
Morris, John,
Martin, J. S.,
Moulton, L.,
McCann, Henry,
McGaughy, W. H.
McGrievy, Hamilton,
Mead, John,
Mason, Samuel,
Morgan, Henry,
Mell, Thomas,
Marsh, Sumner,

Noble, H. L.

Odell, James.

Pannel, James.
Peck, Reuben,
Piper, A. J.,
Phelps, Aaron,
Phillips, John S.,
Parker, David,
Porter, S. C.,
Parker, R. W.

Quayle, William.

Richardson, S. H.,
Ratcliff, John,
Rhoads, Charles,
Rhoan, William,
Risk, James,
Rees, Joseph,
Renner, John,
Rhoads, Levi,
Rositer, S.,
Rumbaugh, J.
Raddiff, J. N.,
Richard, John,

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Rennet, John J.,
Reed, C. M.,
Redrup, Richard,
Raymond, Francis.

Slaght, Joseph,
Scofield, John,
Sked, W. V.,
Slate, H. D.,
Stillman, W. H.,
Stillman, J. D.,
Stephen, E. C.,
Stiles, Ezra,
Southworth, W. P.,
Smith, Erastus,
Stebbins, A. V.,
Sherwin, Ahiemas,
Simmons, John,
Smiley, William,
Stanton, J. W.,
Still, Charles,
Stodard, Newton,
Scofield, William,
Slaght, E.,
Smith, Y. P.,
Southworth, E. A.,
Stebbins, Warren.

Thomas, Jefferson,
Thomas, Ezra,
Tucker, James,
Taylor, James,
Turner, J. J.
Tear, John.

Viets, L. W.

Walter, Jacob,
Wall, Robert,
Wadsworth, W. B.,
Warner, L. H.,
Welsted, Joseph,
Weston, Richard,
Witherell, George,
Waldo, Nicholas,
Wagoner, Nicholas,
Waur, William
Warner, W. J.,
Welch, James,
Weigman, J. B.,
Wood, Nicholas.

GEORGE F. MARSHALL.

HISTORY OF OHIO.

XIII.

SUBMISSION OF THE WESTERN TRIBES—BRADSTREET'S EXPEDITION.

THE fact that early in 1764 the Tuscaroras and Oneidas were induced by Sir William Johnson to take up arms against the Delawares and Shawanese upon the upper waters of the Susquehanna, struck terror to the hearts of the Senecas, and they sued for peace; one of the conditions upon which, at a preliminary meeting, it was granted to them was, that they should renounce all intercourse with the Delawares and Shawanese to the westward, and assist the English in bringing them to punishment. Meanwhile, two expeditions were fitting out under the direction of Major-General Thomas Gage, the successor of General Amherst, for the thorough chastisement of such tribes as still refused to make peace with the English; one, under the command of Colonel Henry Bouquet, to attack the Delawares, the Shawanese, the Mingoes, the Mohicans, and other Indians, settled in the south part of what is now the state of Ohio; another, to be commanded by Colonel John Bradstreet, to march against the Hurons, Wyandots, Ottawas and Chippewas, and other nations to the northwestward. Naval preparations on the lakes were to be looked after at Oswego, while Sir William Johnson was to go to Niagara to induce as many faithful Indians as possible to join Colonel Bradstreet. Bouquet was to march from Fort Pitt; Bradstreet, from Niagara.

Let us first follow the expedition of Bradstreet, as it was the first to march. The army, consisting of regulars, provincials, Canadians and a considerable number of Iroquois, left Fort Schlosser, a small post just above the falls of Niagara, on the eighth of August, 1764, marching to Fort Erie and then coast-

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ing along the south side of Lake Erie, on their way against the savages dwelling upon Sandusky bay and beyond. Before reaching Presquisle (now Erie, Pennsylvania, as before explained), on the morning of the twelfth, while detained on shore by contrary winds, Bradstreet "received a deputation [of ten Indians] from the Shawanese, the Delawares, the Hurons [Wyandots] of Sandusky and the Five Nations [Mingoes] of the Scioto plains, suing for peace; and, in the evening, he gave them an audience in presence of the sachems and other chiefs of the Indians who accompanied him."

The Indian deputies delivered four speeches, each upon a string (or belt) of wampum. In their first speech they bestowed a long compliment; in their second they begged leave to speak and be heard; and in their third they asked, in the name of the whole of the tribes represented by them, where Bradstreet's army was going and what was the colonel's intention. "On receiving," said they, "certain intelligence that you were coming against us with an army, we immediately called in our warriors who were out against your frontiers, and determined to meet you on this lake and beg for mercy and forgiveness and peace, which we now do in the name of, and by order of, the nations above mentioned, the whole being truly sensible of their past folly and unjust behavior to the English without cause." The reply of Bradstreet was pointed. While thanking them for their compliment, he assured them they might speak openly and freely. "The reason," said he, "for marching the army this way is to revenge the insults and injuries done to the English, on those savages who have not asked forgiveness and given sureties for their good behavior."

The terms upon which peace was granted the several tribes represented were these, in substance:

(I.) That all the prisoners then in the hands of the nations who had deputed them, should be delivered up to Colonel Bradstreet at Sandusky, in twenty-five days.

(II.) That the Shawanese and other nations represented should renounce all claim to the forts and other posts that the English then had in their country; and that the English should be at liberty to erect as many more as they might think necessary to secure their trade; and that the nations represented by the deputation present should cede to the king of Great Britain forever, as much land round each fort as a cannon-shot would fly over, for the purpose of raising provisions thereon.

(III.) That if any Indian should thereafter kill an Englishman, he should be delivered up by his nation and tried by the English laws, half the jury being Indians; and if any one nation should renew the war, the others who were represented by the deputation should join the English to bring them to reason.

(IV.) That six of the deputies should remain with Colonel Bradstreet as hostages, and the other four, with an English officer and an Indian, should immediately proceed to acquaint their nations of these preliminaries of peace and for-

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ward the collecting of the prisoners that they might be ready by the day appointed.

The peace being agreed upon, the Six Nation Indians, as well as those of Canada, got up and took the deputies by the hand, saying they were glad to see they were come to their senses and hoped they would continue so; if they did not, on the first breach of the articles just signed, they would immediately make war against them.

That the deputies had previously been authorized by their respective nations and clans to enter into negotiations with Bradstreet looking to a permanent peace, is certain. The original articles of the treaty were subsequently, on a certain occasion, produced by the head chiefs of at least two of the tribes represented; besides, afterward, when reminded of the fact of their having agreed to the treaty, they did not deny it.

The day following, Bradstreet proceeded on his way, reaching Presquisle on the fourteenth. From this point the colonel sent expresses to General Gage and Colonel Bouquet, informing them of his transactions with the Indian deputies, dispatching, at the same time, the four Indians already mentioned on the errand to their respective nations, as stipulated in the preliminaries previously agreed upon.

One of the objects particularly recommended to Bradstreet's consideration by General Gage in his instructions to that officer was the attacking of the Wyandot town—"some miles beyond the small village [at or near the present Fremont, Ohio,] destroyed the last year [1763] by Captain Dalyell [Dalzell]." "Major Gladwin [of Detroit] says," continues Gage, "they [the Wyandots] are much animated against us; that they have a good supply of ammunition, and plant abundance of corn with which they supply the other nations, and this you will no doubt destroy, and break up that nest of thieves." In addition to this, Bradstreet was required to attack the Ottawas, living some distance up the Maumee, and the Miamis dwelling at the head of that river. The necessity for all this the colonel had fondly hoped had been happily avoided by his preliminary treaty just before reaching Presquisle. However, upon arriving at Sandusky bay, he was met by a deputation of Wyandots, Ottawas and Miamis, not to confirm the treaty, but asking him not to attack their villages and they would follow him to Detroit where they would conclude peace.

Relying upon their sincerity, Bradstreet complied with the request of the Miami, Ottawa and Wyandot deputies. Before, however, proceeding on his way to Detroit, he sent Captain Thomas Morris, of his Majesty's XVII regiment of infantry, "to take possession also of the Illinois country in his Britannic Majesty's name,* as this country was still held by the French. Depending upon

* Journal of Captain Thomas Morris, p. 1. The captain says: "General Bradstreet, who commanded an army sent against those Indian nations who had cut off several English garrisons, of which we had taken possession after the surrender of Canada, having too hastily determined to send an officer to take possession also of the Illinois country in his Britannic majesty's name, sent his aid-de-camp to sound me on the occasion."

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the good faith of the Ottawa and Miami deputies from the Maumee, he did not doubt but the captain would find safe-conduct to the head of that river, and beyond that to the Illinois towns. But, in sending Morris upon this errand was a mistake that should not have been made, for the colonel had entered into no sort of treaty with the Indians upon that river; he had, as we have said, even agreed to go to Detroit before meeting the Ottawas and Miamis in council, none of whom had signed the preliminary articles of the twelfth of August. However, as we shall presently see, no bad results followed except imperiling the life of the gallant Morris. "Colonel Bradstreet," says Thomas Mante, who accompanied the expedition with the rank of major, "thinking this a good opportunity to take possession of the country of the Illinois, which had been ceded to his Britannic majesty by the peace of 1762, ordered Captain Morris of the Seventeenth regiment, with proper instructions, upon that service, with an Indian of each of the different nations that accompanied him and one God[e]froi, a Frenchman, as an interpreter; and he also sent presents for the different nations through which they were to pass."*

Colonel Bradstreet, after Morris had gone, continued his route for Detroit, where he arrived on the twenty-sixth of August, to the great delight of Gladwin and his garrison, who, for more than fifteen months, had been beset by savages. The Indians, in greater or less numbers, if they had not all this time been in sight, were, at least, not far away. Bradstreet, after forming three companies of the inhabitants into militia, after relieving the garrison by seven companies of the Seventeenth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell, and, after sending two other companies, with two of the militia companies and a detachment of artillery, all under the command of Captain William Howard, to take possession of Michilimackinac, which had remained unoccupied since its capture in the preceding summer, met, on the seventh of September, "the Indians in great numbers, particularly the Ottawas and Chippewas," at his tent. One of the chiefs brought from the Maumee the submission of Pontiac, which had been made to Captain Morris, by that warrior, on a belt of wampum. "He was heartily ashamed of what had happened, and if he could be forgiven he would be very thankful, and do all the service in his power to the English;" —"he would himself, thereafter, remain quiet."† Peace, "by the power and authority" to Bradstreet "given and granted by his excellency the Honorable Major-General Thomas Gage," was made, by the colonel, with the Ottawas, Chippewas, Miamis, Hurons, Pottawattamies, Sacs, and "all the nations of the Messassaguas." Included among the Hurons were the Wyandots of Sandusky, although this fact does not appear in the proceedings of the treaty.‡

The business with the Indians of the

* 'History of the Late War in North America.' (London, 1772), pp. 513, 514.

† 'Mante,' pp. 518, 519.

‡ That they were thus included is well established by subsequent events.

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lakes being thus happily finished and peace thereby restored to the northward,* Colonel Bradstreet began to prepare for his return to the Sandusky to meet the Shawanese and the Delawares and put the finishing hand to the treaty which had been entered upon with these tribes, through their deputies, before reaching Presquisle. He left Detroit on the fourteenth of September, "and on the eighteenth arrived at Sandusky lake." Here we will leave him for a brief period to follow the hard fortune of Morris, in his attempt to reach the Illinois.

After ascending the Maumee not a great distance, Morris and his party approached Pontiac's camp, where were several hundred Indians, which the captain calls "Pontiac's army." Pontiac himself was there, and he met the ambassador from Bradstreet with a scowling brow, refusing to offer him his hand. Here, too, was St. Vincent, a renegade Frenchman. Presently a conference was had. Pontiac declared that the English were liars, and he was desirous to know if Morris had come to lie to them, like the rest. Then he produced a letter purporting to have been written by the king of France directed to himself. It had been gotten up by some unscrupulous Frenchman purposely to keep alive a savage animosity in the breast of Pontiac against the English. It declared that the French king was on his way with sixty great ships to drive his enemies out of America. The next day, at a grand council, the captain made a speech which was answered by the Ottawa chieftain. Privately, to Godefroi, he declared he would lead the nations to war no more, though he would never be a friend to the English. His speech to Morris, as has previously been mentioned, was sent to Detroit and recapitulated to Bradstreet.

Morris now made his way to the head of the Maumee, where Fort Miami stood, which had been captured during the preceding year, and which, of course, had not been re-garrisoned; its only occupants were Canadians and Indians. Around it was a large band of Kickapoos, recently arrived; but the great Miami village was some distance away. The captain was roughly received, caused by the fact that a number of chiefs of the Delawares and Shawanese were among the Miamis urging them to renew hostilities against the English. This shows that (if Morris was not mistaken in his conclusions as to the cause of his ill-treatment) the Delawares and Shawanese had changed their minds. Such was the feeling they had stirred up, notwithstanding the Miamis inclined to peace, that Morris would have been tortured at the stake but for the interference of the principal chief of their nation.

The captain was soon persuaded that to attempt to go farther would be courting death, so he, relenting, made his way to Detroit, "nearer dead than alive" with hunger and fatigue, which post he reached on the seventeenth of September, only to find that Bradstreet

* I do not think it necessary to give the terms by which this peace was secured with the lake tribes. It is sufficient to know that a permanent one followed as a result of the treaty.

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had returned to Sandusky; but he was too sick and exhausted to follow.

Immediately upon reaching "Sandusky lake," Bradstreet "detached a party to destroy the settlement of the Mohican-John's, but it was abandoned before they could reach it." This Indian village has already been mentioned as being in what is now the township of Mohican, Ashland county, Ohio. It was not again occupied.

An Indian now arrived at Bradstreet's camp from the Delawares, one from the Shawanese, and one from the Mingoes on the Scioto plains, accompanied by a Tuscarora Indian, to inform the commander that they were using the utmost diligence in collecting their prisoners, and that they should be delivered up at Sandusky as soon as possible, but that as many of them were hunting and others were at a great distance, the savages requested an additional seven days from that time. This being thought no unreasonable demand, and as Morris' account of their hostility had not yet reached the colonel, the time was extended. At this time the army was encamped at the carrying-place (the portage) between what is now Portage river, in Ottawa county, Ohio, and the north shore of Sandusky bay. Bradstreet now proceeded up the bay and river to the village of the Wyandots, which Captain Dalzell had destroyed the year previous. Here, on the last day of September, he received a letter from General Gage, dated the second of that month, condemning his conduct with regard to the preliminaries of peace made by him with the Shawanese and Delawares, and annulling it.* "We all expected," wrote one of Bradstreet's officers on the fifth of October, "we came here to finish the peace with the Shawanese and Delawares. . . . Instead of that, in consequence of orders just come, we are to attack them and destroy them root and branch, or they must give us ten men to be put to death."

To judge properly of Bradstreet's faithfulness in obeying the orders of General Gage, it should be understood that, notwithstanding the preliminaries which had been signed, and notwithstanding the eight days' continuance granted, the colonel had moved up the Sandusky river as far as he could go with his boats, so as to be well on his way to attack those tribes, in case there was any failure on their part. Now, however, that he was ordered to march against these savages, notwithstanding the preliminaries which had been entered into (for that was the only alternative now that they had been abrogated), it was only a question, could he do so?

That the route up the Sandusky in canoes or boats was impossible, because of the lowness of the water at that time, Bradstreet soon discovered, upon making the trial.

Disappointed in this attempt, the colonel then considered whether it was practicable for the men to carry a sufficiency of provisions to subsist upon, supposing they were to march; but from re-

* Parkman ('Pontiac,' Vol. II., pp. 195, 196,) incorrectly gives the carrying-place as the point where Bradstreet received Gage's letter of the second of September. See 'Mante,' p. 527.

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peated trials, and the information of some of the most experienced hunters, both Canadian and others, it was represented as an impossibility, therefore not attempted.

He soon was convinced that the route by the Cuyahoga river (as that stream was also then very low) was also impracticable; so he returned to the Sandusky bay and again encamped at the carrying-place, where he was resolved to remain so long as he dare, before the setting in of winter, he having, meanwhile, received no prisoners from the hands of the Delawares or Shawanese. The reason for this was, as Bradstreet believed, their desire to get some advantage; but he soon learned the true cause—the marching of Bouquet.

But why, if he could not march against the Delawares and Shawanese, and if the lake Indians showed no signs of continuing hostilities, would Bradstreet remain longer at Sandusky? Why not at once start upon his return march? One reason was, he could have no positive assurance but that some of the western nations might, upon his leaving, hasten to the aid of these two tribes, in which event the carrying-place at Sandusky was a position that would enable him to be a check on any tribe which might show such a disposition. Another reason was that, should the two tribes before mentioned attempt to stand out against Bouquet, he (Bradstreet) would be able for some time, through the Iroquois, who were with him, and other Indians he might gather around him, to favor, in different ways, the march of the army from Fort Pitt. "Colonel Bradstreet," afterward wrote General Gage, "not finding the troops under his command in a condition to march to the plains of Scioto, kept the enemy in awe by remaining at Sandusky as long as the season would permit, and spiriting up the Indians with whom he had lately made peace, to declare war and send out parties against them [the Delawares and Shawanese]."

"Yesterday," wrote Israel Putnam from "Camp Sandusky," on the seventh of October, "Captain Peters arrived, which is the last party we have out. He says the Wyandots are all coming in; but the Delawares and Shawanese are not, nor durst they come, for they are afraid if they do, Colonel Bouquet will be on their towns. He has sent to them to come to him and make peace. On the contrary, if they go to him, we should be on them; and they intend to lie still until Bouquet comes to them; then [they will] send out and make peace, if possible; if not, [they are determined] to fight him as long as they have a man left." The informant also added that Bouquet was within thirty miles of their towns. Bradstreet saw plainly from this report that it would be best for Bouquet to make peace with the two tribes, and he at once gave up all attempts in that direction.

Finally, fully realizing if he remained longer at Sandusky, the danger there would be of exposing his troops to famine or of perishing on the lake by tempests, Bradstreet concluded to return, breaking up his camp for that purpose at the portage on the eighteenth of October, first writing to Bouquet that he had settled nothing with the Dela-

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wares and Shawanese, nor received any prisoners from them; that he had acquainted all the Indian nations as far as the Illinois and Green bay with the instructions he had received from General Gage respecting the peace he had lately made; that he had been at "Sandusky Lake" and up the river as far as navigable for canoes for near a month; that it was impossible to put General Gage's orders into execution to advance farther; and that now necessity compelled him to return eastward.

Bradstreet's army met with no accident until the vicinity of Rocky river was reached. Here, "in the evening, as he [Bradstreet] was going to land the troops, a sudden swell of the lake, without any visible cause, destroyed several [twenty-five] of his boats; but no lives were lost."* Little else than the small quantity of provisions that was in the boats could be saved, not even the cannon, of which there were six; ammunition, arms, baggage—all were lost or abandoned. The army then proceeded to Grand river, which they entered in a storm.† The tempestuous weather having the appearance of continuing, and the boats being deeply laden, by receiving the additional men from the boats which were lost, a number of the best marchers went along the lake side and the Indians took to the woods. The men who marched were for a time relieved by other men from the boats; but provisions becoming exhausted, and a snow storm upon the lake coming on, about two hundred men pushed on for Fort Erie, suffering greatly as they progressed; and they would have suffered more had not the most advanced been relieved with provisions and boats from Fort Erie, sent immediately to them by Bradstreet upon his arrival at that post with those of his men who had continued their way by water. The remainder were taken up on the second of November. The whole then made their way to Niagara. Some of the Indians (they took to the woods, it will be remembered) reached the Mohawk valley in twenty-six days, "without a morsel, but what they had killed, which was a trifle for their number." The main body were detained some days longer, having to carry their sick on their backs through the wilderness.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

*'Mante,' p. 534. But this account, in one respect, is misleading. "About seventy miles from Sandusky," says a better account, "the lake rose in the night, on a sudden, and the surf beat with such violence on the shore *where the army had landed*, that betwixt twenty and thirty boats were beat to pieces, notwithstanding the efforts made to save them."—*New York Mercury*, November 26, 1764.

†The narrative of 'Mante' (p. 534), as to the coming on of this storm, conveys the idea that it was at the place where the boats were lost; and Parkman ('Pontiac,' Vol. II, p. 197) has followed 'Mante;' but the facts are as stated above. Gage to Halifax, December 13, 1764; see also *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 29, same year.

[*To be continued.*]

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THE ANCIENT OHIO MOUNDS.

[ABSTRACT OF LECTURE UPON THE ANCIENT EARTHWORKS OF OHIO, DELIVERED BY PROFESSOR F. W. PUTNAM BEFORE THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 25, 1887. REPORTED BY G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.]

I.—IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY.

THE proper study of history begins with the earliest monuments of man's occupancy of the earth. We are in great danger of exaggerating the accuracy and completeness of written history. At the best it is but fragmentary, and distorted by the ignorance and prejudice, if not the mendacity, of the writers. From study of ancient implements, burial-places, village sites, roads, sacred enclosures and monuments, we are able to get as vivid and correct a conception (all but the names) of prehistoric times as of what is called the historic period.

II.—METHOD OF PROCEDURE.

The study of archæology is now assuming new importance from the improved methods of procedure. Formerly it was thought sufficient to arrange archæological ornaments and implements according to size and perfection of workmanship, and call it a collection. But, now, extended and minute comparison is the principal thing. Formerly, mounds were said to have been explored when trenches had been dug through them in two directions, and the contents thus encountered removed and inspected. Now it is considered essential to the exploration of a mound that it be sliced off with greatest care, and every shovelful of earth examined and every section photographed. The skeletons are now also handled with great care, being first gently uncovered and then moistened so as to harden them, when, ordinarily, they can be removed without fracture. The record of the excavation of the earthworks where implements, ornaments and skeletons are found, is more important than the possession of the objects themselves.

III.—GENERAL PROGRESS.

Although an immense field still remains to be explored, we have already gone far enough to show, in a general way, that southern Ohio was the meeting-place of two diverse races of people. Colonel Whittlesey's sagacious generalizations concerning an advance of a more civilized race from the south as far as southern Ohio, and their final expulsion by more warlike tribes from the lake region, are fully confirmed by recent investigations. The Indians of Mexico and South America belong to

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what is called a "short-headed" race, *i. e.*, the width of their skulls is more than three-fourths of their length. Whereas, the northern Indians are all "long-headed." Now, out of about fourteen hundred skulls found in the vicinity of Madisonville, near Cincinnati, more than twelve hundred clearly belonged to a short-headed race, thus connecting them with southern tribes. Going further back, it seems probable that the southern Indians reached America across the Pacific from southern Asia, while the northern tribes came *via* Alaska from northern Asia.

IV.—PRESERVATION OF THE SERPENT MOUND, ADAMS COUNTY.

Coming to objects of more special interest, it is pleasing to announce that the celebrated Serpent Mound of Adams county has been explored, restored and preserved for all the future. The mound is one of the most interesting and remarkable structures of its kind in all the world. But repeated visits had shown that it was fast going to destruction. Its surface had been repeatedly ploughed, and successive crops of grain had been grown upon it. Upon setting the urgency of the case before some public-spirited ladies of Boston last spring, they became so much interested that by subscriptions and lunch-parties upwards of three thousand dollars was raised for purchase of the mound with sufficient land to command approach to it, and to include other adjacent *tumuli*. In May last this purchase was effected. Subsequently about twenty-five hundred dollars more was raised in the same manner to enable me to restore the mound and make it accessible to the public. During the larger part of September and October, I have been on the ground overseeing the work of restoration. I have followed all around the outer edges and dug down to the old trodden path and had the earth that had washed down from the mound thrown back to its original position. This will now be seeded over and preserved from further incursions of the plough and the harrow. A road has been made up the steep hill from Brush creek, and a spring-house constructed for the comfort of visitors. Another year a park is to be set out with all the variety of trees growing in the county.

V.—DESCRIPTION OF THE MOUND.

The Serpent Mound is situated on Brush creek, in Franklin township, Adams county, Ohio, about six miles north of Peebles station, on the Cincinnati & Eastern railroad, and five miles south of Sinking Springs, in Highland county. The head of the serpent rests on a rocky platform which presents a precipitous face to the west, towards the creek, of about one hundred feet in height. The jaws of the serpent's mouth are widely extended, in the act of trying to swallow an egg represented by an oval enclosure about one hundred feet long. This enclosure as well as the body of the serpent consists of a ridge of fine earth about four feet high and from ten to fifteen broad. The body of the serpent winds gracefully back towards higher land,

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making four large folds before reaching the tail. The tail tapers gracefully, and is twisted up in three complete and close coils. The whole length of the mound from the end of the egg on the precipice to the last coil of the tail on the higher land is upwards of thirteen hundred feet.

What was formerly supposed to be two symmetrical limbs, or projections, on either side of the neck prove to be, on the right side, a small mound of stones, perhaps for sacrificial purposes, and on the other a prominence produced by the partially rotted stump of a tree. An extensive burial-place was discovered in the vicinity of the serpent's tail. This remains to be explored, and will no doubt yield important results. A conical mount about one hundred rods to the southeast was carefully explored, revealing in the centre at the bottom a well-preserved skeleton with many ornaments, and two intrusive burials at subsequent times and by parties evidently ignorant of the original purpose of the mound.

VI.—FORT HILL.

The Serpent mound is not in a conspicuous place, but in a situation which seems rather to have been chosen for the privacies of sacred rites. The rising land towards the tail and back for a hundred rods afforded ample space for large gatherings. The view across the creek from the precipice near the head, and indeed from the whole area, is beautiful and impressive, but not very extensive. To the south, however, peaks may be seen ten or fifteen miles away, which overlook the Ohio River and the Kentucky hills; while at a slightly less distance to the north, in Highland and Pike counties, are visible several of the highest points in the state. Among these is Fort Hill, on one of the best-preserved and most interesting ancient enclosures in the country.

Fort Hill is about eight miles north from the Serpent Mound, four or five miles from Sinking Springs, and nine or ten south of Bainbridge, on the Ohio Southern railroad. It is in Brush Creek township, on the extreme eastern edge of Highland county. This region lies along the western outcrop of the Waverly sandstone, corresponding to the Berea sandstone in the northern part of the state. These rocks dip gently towards the east, and are underlaid by thick deposits of rather soft shale. They formerly extended much farther to the west than now, but have been undermined and removed by various eroding agencies, including the ice of the glacial period. The terminal moraine, as marked by Professor Wright, passes about a mile to the northwest of Fort Hill. These outliers of the Waverly sandstones remain as isolated caps upon pedestals of shale which the streams have not yet had time to wear away, and are from four hundred to five hundred feet above the bed of the stream at their base. The stream winding around the north and west sides of Fort Hill is Baker's Fork of Brush creek.

In ascending the slope of Fort Hill it is found to be gentle for the first 250

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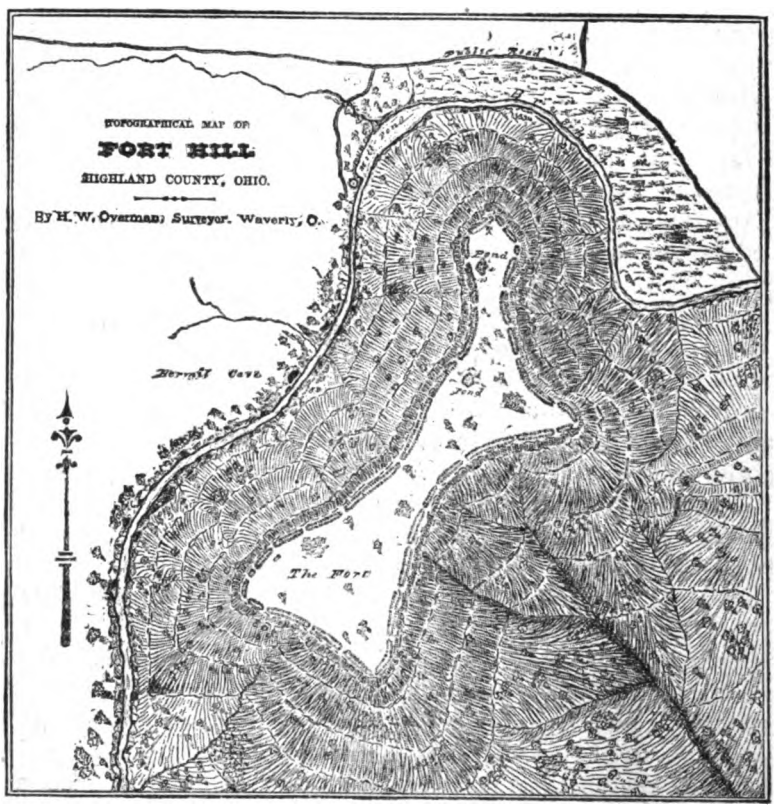
feet, then much steeper until the last 100 feet is so steep as to be almost inaccessible. The summit is completely isolated, is flat topped, quite irregular in shape, and includes about forty acres of land which has been cleared and cultivated, having at one time been partly occupied by a peach orchard. A heavy forest of first growth timber covers the sides of the hill in every direction. and their projecting leafy tops largely obstruct the view in summer. But the glimpses of the scenery from every side are among the most charming and extensive anywhere to be found in the state, looking down to the south, as already intimated, upon the valley of Brush creek, in the vicinity of the Serpent Mound.

This flat-topped summit of the hill is completely enclosed by an ancient fortification of earthworks, penetrated by numerous gateways at irregular intervals. The earthwork was formed by digging the dirt from the inside just back from the rim of the hill and



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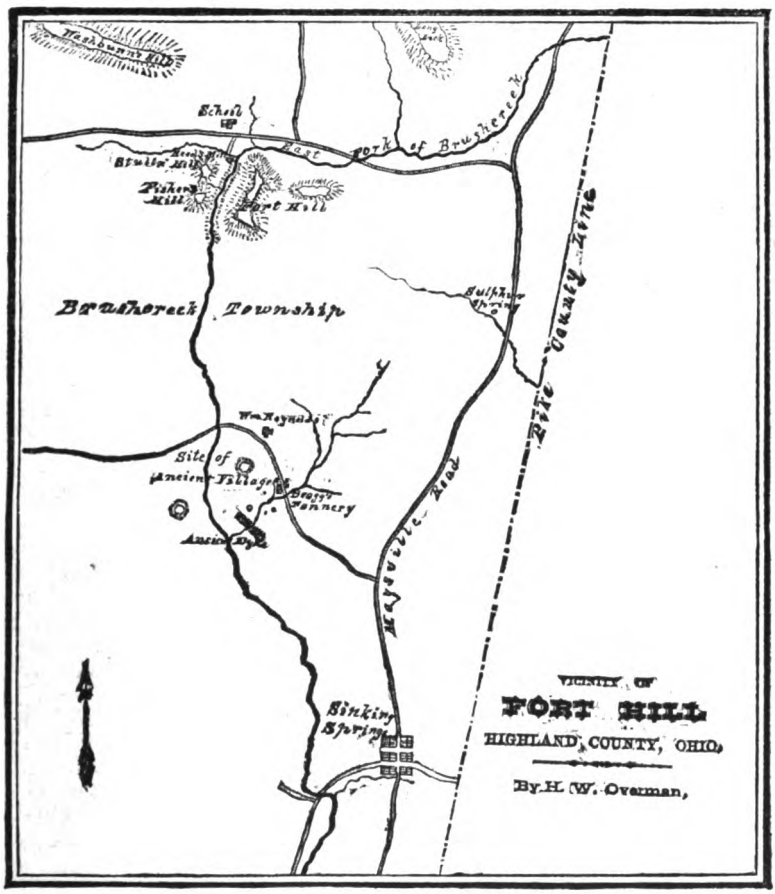
throwing it outside, so that its slope coincided with that of the summit. The ridge of earth thus formed is from ten to twenty feet high, and from twenty to forty feet broad, the ditch on the inside being everywhere visible. The minimum age of the work can be inferred from the size of trees growing upon it. One of the stumps was certainly several hundred years old, as shown by the rings of annual growth which could still be counted a year or two ago. Inside the fortification are two shallow hollow places where water could be preserved for a long time.

The purpose of this wonderful enclosure is evident. It is a fortification



most admirably chosen for defense against the enemies of that time. It commanded a most extensive view in every direction, and afforded opportunity to exchange signals with other

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elevated points from twenty to thirty miles distant. In the fertile valley of Baker's Fork there are numerous sites of Indian villages where doubtless the people lived in times of peace, but upon proper warning Fort Hill was a refuge easily accessible, easily provisioned, and easily defended. What signs of occupancy there may be in the enclosed area is not known, as no excavations have been made. But in themselves, both the fortification and the situation are of the most interesting anywhere to be found in the world. The friends of the Western Reserve Historical society could render no greater service to the archæological and historical interests of the state than to rescue and preserve this remarkable monument of the mound builders, as the ladies of Boston have rescued the Serpent Mound near by. By some such definite investment your own interest in archæological investigations will be stimulated. There is no reason why the public sentiment of the state cannot be aroused to a proper appreciation of these remarkable archæological treasures, so that tourist routes should be laid out for their inspection and study. I know of nothing else so calculated to help on this movement, at the present time, as the purchase of Fort Hill by this society.

THE SERPENT MOUND.

WHAT BOSTON PUBLIC SPIRIT HAS DONE IN OHIO —BEAUTIFUL PARK ESTABLISHED BY THE PEABODY MUSEUM—PROFESSOR PUTNAM'S EXPLORING PARTY IN CAMP.

[From the Boston Sunday *Herald* of Nov. 6, 1887.]

The following extracts from a letter written from the "Serpent Mound," will prove of special interest to subscribers to the fund for the preservation of that singular work of another race, and they show that the money has been judiciously expended. To Boston belongs the honor of setting an example which will, unquestionably, be followed in other places, until the remaining earthworks, and other ancient monuments of particular importance in the country are made secure from destruction. Professor Putnam, who has charge of the work at the Serpent Mound, is now on his way home, stopping at Cleveland to make an address before the Western Reserve Historical society.

IN CAMP, Oct. 20, 1887. . . . . .

The tract of land now known as the Serpent Mound park was procured for the Peabody Museum last spring, through the energy of a few Boston ladies, who obtained, by subscription, $5,900 for this purpose. It is beautifully situated among the hills of Adams county, Ohio, which are now in the full glory of autumnal foliage, and constantly remind one of those of New England. It is on a high ridge of country, some eight hundred feet above the level of the sea, suddenly terminating on the western side with a densely wooded cliff, which descends precipitously one hundred and fifty feet to the bottom lands, while the other three sides are closely bounded by high, thickly wooded hills, some of which almost deserve to be called mountains. Nature has done everything to make the sixty acres now inclosed for the park very attractive; the disposition of the large variety of trees, the graceful undulations of the land, the charming views to be had from every point, and, most important of all, the grand old monument of the past, all give a peculiar attraction and charm; beauty, interest, grandeur, nature, what more can be asked?

Hitherto this place has been almost inaccessible to travelers, as it could be reached only from the nearest railway stations by miles of very rough travel. Now a fine pike road is built, between Peebles and Hillsboro, touching at one end of the park. This brings it comfortably within the reach of the outside world, as it takes less than two hours to drive over this excellent road from Peebles and less than four from Hillsboro. The entrance to the park is from the pike, over a fine road lately made, which winds over the undulating grounds and forms a beautiful drive, passing the several points of special interest, first to "Cherry Tree hill," from which one of the grandest views is obtained; then on by a small mound, an ancient burial-place and an old village site; then by the large conical mound, a

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monument over a distinguished person of the ancient race; then sweeping down to the picnic grounds which nature seems to have made for the express use of picnickers; a sloping grassy knoll, covered with large, handsome sugar maples, with its spring of never-failing sweet water, now covered by a substantial stone spring-house, and the natural sulphur spring just beyond, both supplying a little brook which flows over a rocky bed. This picnic ground, with the springs and a portion of the park about the Serpent, have been enclosed by substantial fences of wire with oak palings, so they are now protected from wanton driving and stray hogs and cattle from neighboring fields. Fences of rail and of planks have also been put up about the park except along the cliff. Paths also run in all directions for the accommodation of the pedestrians. One of these follows the brink of the cliff, and from this, between the trees and shrubs, the most entrancing views are obtained of the richly cultivated bottom lands below, with the charming Brush creek, a tributary of the Ohio, which is forty miles away, winding its way through the fields, between its borders of oak, sycamores, chestnuts, elms and shrubs, and of the grand, glorious, old hills just beyond, whose beautiful woods, open glades and richly tinted fields are so clearly defined of a bright day, and so dreamily softened in outline when wrapped in a misty blue or in a rich golden haze, as often happens at this season of the year. An artist could be held here for weeks entranced by so many rich studies for his brush. But this little spot in the beautiful wilds of Ohio has not studies only for the artist, but for the scientist as well. It has much to offer to the botanist, entomologist, ornithologist, and, of course, to the archæologist, for, beside the Serpent to wonder over, there are several conical mounds, both large and small, a village site covering several acres, as is evident by the quantity of arrowheads, flint chips, knives, hammer stones and other rude implements and fragments of pottery, also by the color of the soil, which, having been lived upon and worked over is darker than the surrounding clay. Here, also, a singular burial-place has just been discovered, which may prove to have some connection with the Serpent. At present there is no hotel in the vicinity of the park, but the need of one is so greatly felt by the many visitors who come from all parts of the country to see this unique monument, and who now are obliged to depend on the farmers in the neighborhood for a night's shelter, that I doubt not the day is not far distant when a good one will be built, and a few enterprising persons are already talking of the feasibility of such an undertaking. One need not wait, however, for a hotel, to visit this enticing place. Speaking from my own experience, I can most enthusiastically recommend others to do as we have done—to come with tents and set up their own establishments on some of the hills about. For eight weeks we have lived in this delightful way, in a tent eleven by nine, wholly independent of hotels and farmhouses, and have been always comfortable, healthy and contented, nay, more, fascinated! This living alway out of doors, breathing the pure, fresh air, laden only with perfumes from the fields and woods, listening to the birds, watching mother nature at work all about, and studying the beautiful scenery, is sweet, healthful and novel. I spend hours daily at what I call my study window, right at the very edge of the cliff, between two large oaks, across which boards have been nailed to keep me from being precipitated straight down into the creek below. Here I never feel loneliness or *ennui*, for before me is spread out a beautiful view, across which the lights and shadows are ever playing, making it constantly new and interesting, while all about is an infinite variety of animal life for study, which becomes fascinatingly interesting when seen and watched every day and explained by our geologist. One soon forgets foolish fears and prejudices for these little crawling, wiggling, creeping, flying creatures, or, at least, I am trying to forget mine. Taking up large, biting snakes and allowing them to twine about my wrist, or handling freely great scratchy pinchbugs, as some of our party take absolute pleasure in doing, I have not yet brought myself to do! But the gentle little lizards, spiders as large as a thimble, walking sticks, daddy-long-legs, field mice, etc., etc., I can, with perfect equanimity, let roam about my tent, provided they confine their roaming to the daytime. Watching at a respectful distance, a long black snake slowly crawl out of his old skin and appear in his new and glossy coat, or seeing him swallow an animal two or three times his own diameter, is very interesting and fascinating. The animals in such an isolated spot as this has been for many generations have not learned to fear man, so that one has an excellent opportunity of studying them. Birds will alight close to one, and the chipmunks, field mice, gray squirrels, woodchucks and rabbits will come out of their holes and hiding to feed at one's very feet.

Our encampment consists of four tents, two large and two small, accommodating five persons, includ-

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ing a native maiden who does the house work, which in our camp consists of cooking, dish-washing and milking the cow. The cooking is necessarily simple, as it is done in the open air on a stone furnace, a primitive affair, an oblong built of stones, laid in moistened clay, piled one above another over a hole, with openings along the top under which the fire is made. Our daily bill of fare, however, is considerably varied, though our chief reliance is upon ham and eggs, chickens, milk, potatoes, coffee and cocoa. We can fry and boil and broil over coals, and bake in a "Dutch oven," and with flour, meal and corn-starch, and plenty of pure milk and rich cream from our own cow, we have many dishes which only the most favored can obtain at home. We also have had corn, melons, grapes, native peaches and lately pawpaws and nuts from the trees on the park.

Doubtless our friends wonder what becomes of us when the rain pours down in torrents, as it often does, or in the vernacular of the country, when "a right smart heap of rain falls." We then betake ourselves to our water-proof tents, and in the event of a long, cold rain, we have a fire made under the fly in front of the tent, where the cooking can be done, and where we can keep comfortable while occupying ourselves with indoor work, of which there is always a large amount accumulating that can be straightened out only on wet days when one's attention is not diverted by outside interest, such as writing up notes, making further plans for laying out the park, attending to the mail that reaches us three times a week, packing up the many archæological specimens that have been found, etc., etc. A siege of rain is no worse to cope with here than it is in town, not so bad, in fact, for here there are no fears of damaged drains backing up with foul water, nor of dirty streets sending up sickening odors, as they do when moist and warm. Oh! give me summer weather under canvass; I should always feel contented!

I must confess that a very great interest is added to our camp life, which would not occur in an ordinary "camping out," I refer to the work which is being carried on here—the laying out of the park, restoring portions of the Serpent Mound, exploring other mounds and the burial places and village site, taking up skeletons and the things that were buried with the bodies, trying to find out the difference between the burials that have taken place in some of the mounds and graves; as there are many indications of at least two periods of occupation of this place in the past; walking over the village site to pick up rude implements, and learning to know the stones that are in place and those that are not, with many side issues of a geological, zoological and botanical nature.

Our amateur photographer also adds not a little enjoyment to our summer campaign, for it is truly delightful to feel that the views we have become so fond of can be carried away with us in a more substantial form than in their imprint on our memory. It is exceedingly interesting, too, to watch the process of developing and printing the plates by our friend, whose skill is happily combined with the artist's appreciation of the beautiful.

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RIFLE AND CABIN.

"BRING euery man a Musket or fowling Peece. Let your Peece be long in the barrell, and fear not the waight of it. . . . Let your shott be most for bigge Fowles, and bring store of Powder and shot." So Edward Winslow wrote back to his English friends, within a year of the arrival of the Pilgrims, in his letter dated: "Plimmouth in New England, this 11 day of December, 1621." Mark Twain has playfully said, that the earliest pioneer of civilization in this country is always whiskey. We incline to say gunpowder, also, for that pilgrim advice has always come back from the borders and has always been adopted. The phase of wilderness life which it indicated at Plymouth has proved typical on the frontier down to our last examination in 1887. The Ohio company, under General Putnam, by vote of the directors, ordered, concerning the axemen, surveyors, road and boat builders, who were to precede the emigrant train, "that each man furnish himself with a good small arms, bayonet, six flints, a powder-horn and pouch, priming-wire and brush, half a pound of powder, one pound of balls and one of buck-shot."*

Of course, in a wilderness expedition like that of Lewis and Clark, there must have been an almost total dependence on the rifle for camp supplies. Thirty-two hard-working men must draw rations from the wilderness through which they passed, and their daily consumption was four deer, or an elk and a deer, or one buffalo, and when in the region of game their hunters were supposed to bring so much into camp each night. They had taken with them the iron skeleton of a boat, to be used when they could launch it. On the last day in June, 1805, being above the Great falls in the Missouri, they were ready to make the experiment, and so covered the frame with twenty-eight elk skins; but these could not be drawn water-tight in the seams, and it was not a region where pitch could be had, and so the boat project was a failure at the end of about two thousand six hundred miles. The rifles were of no avail for boat building, though they fed the company amply, as a few facts taken from the narrative between the dates of June 23 and July 9 will show. That last was the fatal day of the launch. One hunter "had fixed his camp on the opposite bank, where he had killed seven deer and dried about six hundred pounds of buffalo meat." Others "had killed several buffalo at the bend of the Missouri above the falls and dried about eight hundred pounds of meat and got one hundred pounds of tallow; they had also killed some deer." Two who had been sent out four miles to hunt,

* 'Walker's History of Athens County, Ohio,' p. 79.

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for an afternoon, "killed nine elk and three bears . . . One proved to be the largest we had yet seen; his nose appeared to be like that of a common ox; his fore feet measured nine inches across, and the hind feet were seven inches wide and eleven and three-quarters long, exclusive of the claws." "A more than usual number of buffalo appeared about the camp to-day and furnished plenty of meat. Captain Clark thought that at one view he must have seen at least ten thousand."

As to the size of that bear's foot, and for the relief of the skeptical, we add, that while camping under the Unita mountains, in Wyoming, on one of the heads of Green river, in 1885, a grizzly left his footprint one night, near, and near enough to our tent—within easy rifle-shot by daylight. It was of the hind foot, in hard mud, a clear imprint, measuring twelve inches strong from toe to heel. The claws left their mould in the mud to the depth of two inches. We were not anxious to verify our measurement by having the foot itself offered.

Nor has this dependence on the rifle been confined to exploring and wandering parties. In 1790 a colony of thirty-six emigrants settled in the Muskingum valley in a beautiful tract called Big Bottom. "Isaac Meeks, a Virginian frontiersman, was employed as a hunter in the settlement and brought with him his wife and two children."* The frontier settlers followed the chase often as a pursuit or means of support. The year before this government expedition started for the Pacific Dr. Harris visited the settlements beyond the Alleghanies, and makes this remark of those daring frontiermen: "The abundance of game allures them to be huntsmen. They not only find sport in this pursuit, but supply of provisions together with considerable profit from the peltry."† The farmer as soon as he had gathered his harvests and yarded his stock turned hunter. An uneasiness for the forests seized him, and the rifle, quiet in its rest over the big fire-place, made him restless. His bear-grease lamp and his buffalo tallow candle recalled the hunt which brought in those supplies the winter before. He becomes nervous by night and restless by day, and finally takes to the forest.

Wild game constituted the chief portion of animal food. The flesh of the bear was highly prized, and could easily be made a good substitute for beef and bacon; the deer yielded the most delicious venison, far preferable to veal; occasionally the flesh of an elk or buffalo supplied the place of fresh beef. The flesh of the partridge, the wild pigeon, the pheasant, the wild turkey and the like yielded a more delicious fare than any domestic fowl. The squirrel, the rabbit, the opossum, and many other small quadrupeds, supplied the delicacies of veal, lamb, mutton and pork.‡

Then in the soft and rich skins of the bear and buffalo and deer, the family found robes and blankets and outer garments and head coverings. These skins, as well as the smaller and richer ones of the beaver and otter and sable

* MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, 1885, pp. 314-15.

† 'Tour of Thaddeus Mason Harris, M. D., into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghanies in 1803.' Boston, 1805, p. 59.

‡ 'Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi,' Vol. II., pp. 7, 8.

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and fox, found their way to the east in exchange for showy clothes and prints, and some of the staples of the cabin, as rifles, salt, and iron in some of its domestic forms.

In those times on the border, as now on a farther border, peltry and furs were a kind of circulating medium, or lawful tender, in the wilderness. And for this there was eminent and even kingly warrant. The crown charter of Charles II. to the Hudson Bay company, 1670, covered the Hudson Bay basin from rim to rim, touching the Atlantic and extending over into the Pacific. With Indian territory afterward leased to the company, their domain was larger than all Europe by one-third. The rent for the same, stipulated by the charter, and payable annually to the crown, and on the premises, was "two elks and two black beavers."

This reference by Captain Clark to so large a herd of buffalo recalls scenes now out of date in North America, but exceedingly important, and that kept back the Indian question from becoming such a weighty and humiliating one.

"There have now almost disappeared from the vast Buffalo ranges, extending between the Missouri and the Saskatchewan, the last vestiges of what was once the most perfectly-organized, effective and picturesque periodically recurring hunting excursion known to any nomadic people, ... forming the almost entire support of certain well-defined border communities." At the rendezvous, before starting on the Great Fall hunt, "from 2,000 to 2,500 carts line the banks; 3,000 animals [ponies] graze within sight upon the prarie; 1,000 more, with their following of women and children, find shelter under carts, and in the tents and tepes of the encampment; the smoke of the camp almost obscures the sun, and the Babel of sounds arising from the laughing, neighing, barking multitude, resembles the rush of many waters." This vast Indian multitude would keep the Sabbath morning devoutly with their priests, while the afternoon would be given up to racing, gaming, and frolicking. Such a hunt was principally for robes, and when completed "the plain for miles is covered with the carcasses of buffalo, from which nothing has been taken save the hides, tongues, and it may be the more savory portions of the hump."*

As an incident common in such a hunt, it is interesting to see the Indian, who is able to be the head of a family and of a pony and of a cart, take steps to renew his harness. He strips a heavy burly buffalo of his thick hide, spreads it out, raw side up, marks off a harness on it, cuts it out, and suddenly his gallant steed appears in new trappings! It is without a stitch or a buckle, and every part trimmed with buffalo hair.

The destruction of the buffalo has changed the problem of Indian life. In the times of those old hunts pemmican was worth only ten cents a pound, and the supply of the market did not much reduce the staple of Indian life; now it is worth thirty, and what with the de-

* 'The Great Fur Land.' By H. M. Robinson: Putnam's Sons, 1879, pp. 135-165.

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mand of the whites for buffalo robes, tongues and humps, the main dependence of large tribes is disappearing, and so the Indians also. Of course national and general human economics cannot afford grazing for buffalo, that Indians may have game supplies, but it were devoutly to be wished that our higher and somewhat vaunting civilization would properly furnish these wild wards of the nation with new means of living, after we have deprived them of their ancestral ones.

The author will not forget what he saw on the Kansas Pacific the year that road was opened through to Denver, 1870. We were 350 miles beyond Kansas City, and nearly as far east of Denver, when we stopped at Buffalo station. By actual count from the platform of the car more than fifty dead buffalo lay in sight, out on the prairie. Some were quite fresh, and some had lain for weeks. Perhaps the skin, or head and horns, or the tongue, or a roast had been cut from the huge beast. No wonder the United States troops were necessary to protect the construction party of the road, and the underground forts still remained and were occupied; and no wonder the Ute and other Indian wars followed in Colorado.

The temptation to the mixed life in the wilderness of trapper, hunter and farmer, is quite unknown to the eastern man of highways and bridges, pavements and gas light, with travels only among European castles. What a fascination to a border man to see such a beaver camp as Mackenzie found in that first overland trip of white man to the Pacific. "In some places they [the beaver] had cut down several acres of large poplars." "Thirty thousand of these little beauties are annually caught along the shores and swampy shallows of Peace river."*

Each skin of those beavers would be as eagerly taken as a cash coupon by Astor in the wild north land, or at the office of the Hudson Bay company, Fenchurch street, London.

The frontier towns of old colony days and of to-day are at once suggestive of this mixed life of the chase and the farm. The gun and powder-horn were a part of the daily dress, and hung over the same shoulder with the axe and the hoe, and they clicked together. This reminds us of those very early days in New England when the farmers clubbed to do their field work under fear of the Indians, and stacked their guns when they took hold of the plough and the spade; and in the house of God, on the Sabbath, leaned their muskets against the heads of the pews, as they opened "the Bay Psalm book," prepared "for the edification and comfort of the saints," or stood up to pray. The rough cabin, stout dress and simple, substantial fare of the table were in harmony with such a life. As late as 1816, "St. Genevieve with a population of fifteen hundred people, had only half a dozen comfortable American

* 'Voyages of Alexander Mackenzie. From Montreal, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, 1789-1793., London: 1801. pp. 187-247.

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houses in the town"—then a leading one in Missouri.*

Washington's life at sixteen, in the work of a surveyor of land, gives an inkling of frontier growth from the first:

> Among skin-clad savages with their scalps and rattles, or uncouth emigrants, "who would never speak English;" rarely sleeping in a bed; holding a bear-skin a splendid couch; glad of a resting-place for the night upon a little hay, straw or fodder, and often camping in the forests, when the place nearest the fire was a happy luxury; . . . himself his own cook, having no spit but a forked stick, no plate but a large chip.†

What but wild border settlements could be expected to follow up surveys of frontier lands in such circumstances?

But this was much superior to the life which Mackenzie found among the Hudson Bay Company's trappers on his Pacific excursion.

> We have slept in structures of this kind, of not more than twelve by fifteen feet in superficial area, where the families ranged from fifteen to twenty members of all ages and both sexes.‡

In the matter of hunters in full dress, with furs and peltry as common as dry goods, and fresh game on the corners, one who has seen Omaha, or Bismark, or Cheyenne, or Denver, within a few years, has seen Buffalo and Detroit and Cincinnati and St. Louis, as they were as early frontier towns. In 1840 we found St. Louis both ancient and modern in this regard; and a squad of louting Indians, now and then trailing their blankets along the streets of Pierre Lingueste Leclede, with their wigwams within the grounds of the American Fur company, made a very suggestive hyphen between the old and the new. Some of the venerable and noblest now living in that city were born there in honor, and in log cabins, too.

The first directory of St. Louis places the old and the new in that magnificent city in bold contrast. Referring to the time when they killed buffalo on Mill creek and near Chouteau mill, the author says: "What a prodigious change has been operated!"‖

Sometimes the hunter prevails over the farmer in the backwoodsman and the gun is more loved and trusted than the spade. Such a man becomes impatient of new neighbors, would rather have the original solitude, into which he moved, left undivided between himself and his game. At the approach of more settlers he inclines to sell out his claim and improvements and move on to a wilder front. The smoke of another man's cabin hurts his eyes. In the first decade of the present century Bradberry, the English traveler, thus speaks of this class:

> The backwoodsman is alarmed at the approach of population and is anxious to remove farther back into the woods. The "improvement" consists in a log cabin, a peach and perhaps an apple orchard, together with from ten to thirty or forty acres of land, inclosed and partially cleared. For this seldom more than from fifty to a hundred dollars is asked, exclusive of the value of the land, which, in most

* 'Flint's Travels in the Valley of the Mississippi,' p. 210.

† Bancroft's 'History of the United States,' Vol. III., p. 468.

‡ 'Voyages to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans,' p. 255.

‖ 'The St. Louis Directory and Register, 1821.' By John A. Paxton—a very rare book, unpaged, with about fifty leaves. Private copy.

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cases, belongs to the United States and may be purchased at the land office on the usual terms.*

Flint, who observed and published somewhat later, speaks of "the great class of frontier or backwoods people, who begin upon the retirement of the Indians, and in their turn yield to a more industrious and permanent race, who succeed them, and they in turn push on still farther with their face ever toward the western sea. And thus wave propels wave. Then the frontier still broadens and there are many white settlers fixed in their homes eight hundred miles above St. Charles."† [On the Missouri twenty-two miles from its mouth.]

Nor has it been infrequent, or the instances yet ceased, where a single man or a family will become a voluntary Alexander Selkirk and fix an island home in a vast waste of wild land. The author last quoted says:

> The surveyor, who ran the base line from the mouth of the Osage to the Arkansas, found a white family on the vast intermediate desert, between the settlements of the one river and the other, a hundred miles from any settled habitation, even of the Indians.—p. 203.

In 1885 we found a family in Wyoming, fifty miles from the railroad or any neighborhood life. The cabins of the cattlemen were here and there ten miles apart. This family consisted of the parents and six children, all small, with an outfit of a span of horses and wagon, a cow, a little bedding and scant camp furniture. The man said he was looking for a place to settle. He left southeastern Kansas five months before and had been constantly on the trail, and was now far beyond the borders of surveyed lands. Very likely he may now be in Washington territory or southern California. Such uneasy men have their place and use in our advancing nation, like the star which heralds the morning while all is yet wrapped in darkness.

The case of Boone is a bold but not too strong an illustration of this passion for separate life in advance of all others. Born, 1735, in Pennsylvania and among Indians and wild game, he kept the company of both by following them through several removals in Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri, where he died in 1823. Harding, the artist, who took the only portrait of him and at the age of eighty-five, found the old pioneer, true to himself, lying in his bunk in the cabin and cooking a venison steak on the ramrod of his faithful rifle. He lived there among his children and died while they were near to him, even of the fifth generation.

These solitary men—though of less native force and of less pronounced character—are still to be met in our western wilds. In the deep and wide ranges among the slopes of the Rocky mountains and the Wasatch and Cascade and Sierra Nevadas, where the waters are shaping their courses for the Gulf of Mexico, Hudson bay, the Arctic and the Pacific, there are areas whose breadth and wildness only the Boones of to-day comprehend. In the upper parts of the Green River valley a basin

* 'Travels in the Interior of North America,' p. 291.

† 'Travels in the Mississippi Valley, 1815-25,' p. 203.

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seventy-five miles wide and hundreds long, and where the headwaters of the Missouri and Colorado and Columbia are neighbors, "Uncle John" has been a trapper, hunter and wanderer since 1844, and has not once left the valley during these forty years. We found in the basin a few cabins besides Uncle John's, and he may feel it necessary to move on. Ours for four weeks in the autumn of 1885 was the most northern of fifteen, as we traveled up that valley from the railroad, one hundred and twenty-five miles. The nearest and next farther north was in the Yellowstone Park, two hundred miles. "Dick," our host, had bands of magnificent horses, on an unlimited "range." Nothing could exceed the amplitude and richness of his hospitality unless it were to be found those two weeks in tent twenty-five miles farther up, beyond any human roof, where the snow-capped Rockies maintained their silent watch over us. Two years later we enjoyed a more unlimited range and far wilder scenery and a grander solitude as for eight hundred miles we threaded our path and lighted our camp-fires and eased our saddle and pack-horses around and among and over the Wind river, Big Horn, Teton, Bridger and Uinta mountains. It was an inspiring, elevating, enlarging excursion, close to nature, with only two of us human beings to mar the grandeur.

It surprises the eastern man, who statedly attends the social gatherings "at early candle-lighting," and puts out the lights in his house for the night when "the nine o'clock bell rings," that sensible families should be willing to live where there are Indians, elks and grizzlies. Such, however, is the fact, showing that there are sensible families who do not live in the east, and who carry the rifle as a part of their clothing. An incident is as good as a chapter on this subject:

"Indian Jim" was a terror in the settlement, and had a very personal enemy in one Morgan, a daring backwoodsman. Leaving his cabin for a neighbor's, six miles away, Morgan stepped back, saying to his wife: "Betsy, I think my gun should go, too, for I may meet Indian Jim." "Never you worry, John; Indian Jim will die when his time comes." "I know it, Betsy, but suppose I meet Indian Jim down the creek, and his time has come to die, and my gun is home in the hut?"

Up and down our long and deep border, extending a thousand miles and more north and south, there is the restlessness of tide water on the beach, among the cabins and shanties and fair frame house and dugouts. What Flint said fifty years ago of the settlements lining the Mississippi, is true to-day on a parallel belt five hundred to a thousand miles farther west: "The general inclination here is too much like that of the Tartars. Next to hunting, Indian wars and the wonderful exuberance of Kentucky, the favorite topic is new countries."*

In respect to this tidal movement of our population, the action in the United States is phenomenal. No other nation, indeed, has an opportunity or

* Page 204.

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opening for it. With a territory equal to that of Europe and much more, it will be seen that we have capacity in wild land for a constant and long continued invasion into the west. Some questions which perplex and alarm European cabinets, when masses of the dense populace ask for work or demand bread, are solved pleasantly and profitably among us, in an emigrant wagon going west. Pertinent to this statement, and full of meaning to the thoughtful American, is the remark of Goldwin Smith before the New York Historical society in 1864: "The great migrations of mankind are the great epochs of history." Herein is a grand stimulus for those who direct the educating and Christianizing forces of benevolence. For the broad and far-reaching man, fundamental work must be to make up material for new alcoves of history, by the development of our newest west, where the last great migration of mankind is now settling. Of course, old volumes will be tenderly guarded and some will be rebound, but the next epoch of human history will be beyond the Mississippi, and this working generation of Americans must create the material for the historians of it.

That is a very fortunate passion for the United States and the new world, which Washington Irving has set forth in his own most pleasant and playful way, when speaking of the native American emigrant:

> His whole family, household furniture and farming utensils are hoisted into a covered cart; his own and his wife's wardrobe packed up in a firkin—which done, he shoulders his axe, takes staff in hand, whistles "Yankee Doodle," and trudges off to the woods. . . . Having buried himself in the wilderness, he builds himself a log-hut, clears away a cornfield and potato patch, and, Providence smiling upon his labors, he is soon surrounded by a snug farm, and some half a score of flaxen-headed urchins. . . . He soon grows tired of a spot where there is no longer any room for improvement, sells his farm, . . . reloads his cart, shoulders his axe, puts himself at the head of his family, and wanders away in search of new lands, again to fell trees, again to clear cornfields, again to build a shingle palace, and again to sell off and wander.

This passion for a border life and for hunter cabins beyond, is seldom cured. The enjoyment and fascination take stronger hold as the years run by. Many of the Hudson Bay company's agents who entered those northern wilds, as Scotch young men, had a full purpose at the first to return to civilized life in a ripe age, and with stored funds, enjoy the remnant of their days. Some lost all desire to see the old country again, and some tried Scotland for a brief time and wearied of it; and it came to pass finally that enough, with their tawny families, settled Winnipeg, then on the twilight border, and with their means and leisure and old habits and forest opportunities, they then constituted the aristocracy of the wilderness—London, West End, of Prince Rupert's Land.

About seven hundred miles up the Missouri, and near to the present Nemaha City, Bradbury, about seventy-five years ago, found a French trader among the Indians, with one Rogers from St. Louis, as an interpreter. Their only food was stale beaver meat, and the nearest white neighbor was four hundred and fifty miles away. And near the mouth of the L' Eau qui Court,

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near Yankton, about eleven hundred miles up the Missouri, the same party met three hunters who had families in Kentucky, but had been in the wilds of the Missouri for several years. They had come down the river so far, on the return, to visit their childhood homes. Here Mr. Hunt met them, in his overland expedition to found Astoria, and the forest fever had a relapse and carried them off up the river. Wives, children, farms, and all in Kentucky were forgotten, and they headed their canoes up stream again and toward the mountain wilds and the Pacific. My trapper, friend and guide in the Rocky mountains, so at home anywhere in the wilds between the Missouri and the Pacific for thirty years and more, had no pleasant anticipation of the coming winter, in citizen's clothes and under roofs, and among carriages and gas-posts.

Of course the civil, social and moral grade of such border life as we have been outlining cannot always be very elevated. Many of the cabin families are of the second, third, and, perhaps, the fourth remove or generation from the school-house and the church; books are few, and intellectual food generally is scarce, and their very isolation in vast unsettled districts makes their human world narrow.

When interior Iowa had but few cabins and farms, we were on a week's hunt in the upper valley of the Wapsipinicon, and finally lacked wadding for our primitive muzzle-loaders. An old newspaper, even, could not be found for the emergency. Our camp was then in Hangman's Bend, and we passed down to it under the oak where the people's court hung up a horse thief not long before.

If any persons, eminent, or even fair in generous culture, adopt this border life, they feel and soon show the need of supporting and elevating aids. A suggestive and warning passage is found in a letter of Robert Ryce to John Winthrop, under date of August 12th, 1629. About this time Winthrop, and scholarly men like him, were emigrants to the wild Atlantic frontier of America. "How hard it will be for one brought up among books and learned men to live in a barbarous place, where is no learning and less civility." *

With this agrees what Mackenzie said ninety years ago, when speaking of the lapses from civilization in British America: "Experience proves that it requires much less time for a civilized people to deviate into the manners and customs of savage life than for savages to rise into a state of civilization." †

Coronado, Cortez and their successors carried the Spanish civilization of the sixteenth century into Mexico, but not only did the Spanish immigrants and settlers degenerate and decivilize, they even debased the pagan Aztecs from a fair morality. As to their improvements, as late as 1846, the year the United States took posession there, the "Adobe Palace" in Santa Fé was said to be the only building in New Mexico which had window-glass. With good

* 'Mass. Historical Collections.' Fourth Series, VI. 398.

† 'Voyages.' Introduction, I, II.

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show of truth, therefore, the Edinburgh Review had made the remark the year before, stating an American, and not merely Mexican, fact:

> The experience of a century had shown that the indiscriminate admission of civilized men as traders is destructive to the morals of the Indians. It has been tried by the French; it has been tried by the English, and it has been tried by the Americans, and in every case the natives have been swept away by war, disease and famine, and the whites have exhibited a frightful mixture of all the vices of civilized and savage life.*

It was a point well taken in legislature for the good of the commonwealth when the Bay State colony ordered as follows: "It is agreed that hereafter noe dwelling-howse shalbe builte above halfe a myle from the meeteing howse in any new plantacion without leauve from the Court." †

Of course, compactness of settlement was designed for safety against the Indians, but decivilizing influences threatened the scattered frontiermen of that day, to guard against which a meeting-house was thought to be indispensable. The Puritans were statesmen as well as Christians.

The fact lies up plain on the face of history that no people ever attained to a fair government, guarding the rights of person, property and conscience, or achieved a respectable grade of education or fair morality, who made their homes in tents and shanties. The lack of permanency, the hindrances to accumulation, and the scantiness in such a life, with the chronic fever for change, forbid the growth of the elements which enter into a strong and growing civil state. Only as the rifle and the cabin disappear, and domestic animals take the place of wild ones, and the cultivated grains and fruits and vegetables displace the natural ones, can the neighborhood and the courts and text books and the commonwealth come in. The first are natural, indispensable and therefore honorable, but temporary; and the simple annals of that primitive life, uncouth it may seem to the city bred, are among the noblest, as they are the first, chapters in our history. Taking the people, man for man and woman for woman, in the old cities and on the frontier belts, it would be difficult to match the heroism, the chivalry, the patriotic work, and the high thought, perhaps set in rough courtesy, that have characterized and honored our border lands.

Certainly for vigorous heroism, frontier life furnishes the best instances, as it provides the best opportunities for calling them out, or rather imposes the sternest necessities for them. In the very early days of Worcester county, Massachusetts, the wife of Samuel Bemis, of the Proprietors' Part of Leicester, afterwards Spencer, went to Sudbury, fifty miles, under a mother's necessity, through fear of the Indians, who came frequently to her home. When the child was two weeks old she returned to her home on horseback, and in one day, carrying the babe in her arms.‡

The growth from those simple and

* July, 1845.

† 'Records of Massachusetts for 1635 and 1636,' I., 157, 181.

‡ 'History of Worcester County,' Spencer.

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crude beginnings to the magnificent western states of to-day is not approached by any illustration or comparison in old world history. In 1780 Colonel George Rogers Clark built a block-house, where Cincinnati now stands—the first habitation there for white man; and slowly, after a most venturesome manner, the log houses sprang up under its shadow and encouragement. It is but very recently, 1879, that he who claimed to be the first white child born of that rude, backwoods village, has died — William Moody. So far had civilization gone out from those lowly log homes, and treaties taken the place of war with the Indians, that in 1796 Chillicothe was founded without a stockade—the first town over the Alleghanies without such defense. True, the days of peace with the red men did not then fully come in, but the beginning was made, and by men who had anxiously kept their rifles near the cabin door and by the first rows of corn and acres of wheat and in the pews in the house of God.

This was such a condition of society as Choate tersely and graphically described as existing in Oregon a half century later, when he was pleading that immigration and agriculture might be left to settle the Oregon question: "Are not the rifles and the wheat growing together, side by side?" *

An intense interest attaches to that germ life of early days, as we see it change and develop into the great industries which now are so prominent in those empire states. From the wild animal as food the settler came gradually to have, roaming in the forests and natural meadows about him, his half wild domestic animals for beef and pork. This was a great advance, and yet but one remove for meat from the hunter life. "When a farmer has an inclination to export a quantity of beef or pork, he carries his barrels and salt into the woods, and with his rifle he kills his cattle and swine and packs away the meat ready for market."†

Here we find the germinal *abattoir* and the nascent Cincinnati and Chicago, now packing meat for the world. And a similar idea of development from a pair of domestic hand-cards to a factory arises as one reads this item in Flint's travels: "I counted forty-five female dresses hung around my sleeping room, all of cotton, raised and manufactured and colored in the family."‡

Thus the rifle and axe and cabin have led the way and founded such magnificent states as Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri and Iowa, and all the others between the Alleghanies and the Rocky mountains.

Chicago had her last great prairie wolf hunt within her present city limits, October 4, 1834, and took forty scalps of the noisy and thieving coyotes.

The canoe and the pirogue have given place to the steamboat; the family coach of John Shackford from

* Speech in U. S. Senate, March 21, 1844.

† 'Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana.' By Major Amos Stoddard: 1812. p. 229.

‡ Page 236.

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Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to St. Louis in 1819, between sixty and seventy days on the way, has yielded to the locomotive—the tough half-breed Indian has given up his route of ninety miles between Chicago and Niles, Michigan, over which he carried the mail on foot once in two weeks.

Nor is the mail-bag now often retarded for several weeks in the great wilderness between Louisville and St. Louis as formerly. The small hand mills of Henry Cassel, used in 1800 for grinding grain by the quart, have become unpopular, and the flour mill has crowded Cassel's mill and the "hominy block" much into disuse.

One who has not made a study of our new country stands amazed, and sometimes skeptical, over this growth. Some first-class eastern men and women laid aside Smith's geography thirty years ago, or Olney's forty years ago, or Goodrich's fifty years ago, or Woodbridge's and Willard's longer ago than they often say. The man took up day-book and ledger instead, and the woman domestic and social and local duties. One has read, miscellaneously, politics and trade, and the other, perhaps, about persons loved and jilted, fooled and married and suicided, who were never born, and living in weird castles and sweet arbors and old-town gardens, never existing. If fortunate financially, they may have dropped into a tour of Europe. Now, in the presence of this extension of our settled domain, they stand confused, as when the common man looks up into space among the stars. While they have been expending this sunny, or drudging, or locally useful life, their early schoolmates in the tattered and dog-eared geography, have been men of the rifle and axe and women of the cabin, who have achieved this wonder among the nations. They have fed and groomed and spurred the American horse, which, as Gladstone said, is passing by the United Kingdom of Great Britain "in a canter."

If any other statement can surprise such persons more than what is embodied in this paper, it is the fact that the west is doing a more marvelous work in growth and development in these current years, and to-day, than ever before. Not long since, 1875, standing on the platform at Duluth, we were shouted, "All aboard" for the far west, and the final brakes were put on at Bismark, on the Missouri, somewhat more than three thousand up stream from the mouth of the Mississippi. Since that time they have changed the announcement for us at the head of Lake Superior, and now say: "All aboard for Puget Sound and the Pacific"—a total run by rail of more than two thousand miles. It is now but a few years since that road-bed and belt were held in common by the buffalo and the Indian with no third party to dispute the right or to enter a claim.

In 1837 John Steele inaugurated the lumbering interest in Minnesota territory. His six half-breed Indians were the first to swing axes there in that interest. Mr. Steele had for his outfit camp on the St. Croix one ox with a cart to match, one barrel of flour, in sacks, one of pork, a half bushel of beans and some molasses. He

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is reported to have built that year the first cabin of white man at the Falls of St. Anthony. To the rifle and the cabin he added six axes and a saw mill, and now we have the railroad and its belt of settlements. Where the lone echo of those axes could almost be heard, stand now two cities with more than two hundred thousand people each, and one of them could manufacture for those six Indians 29,400 barrels of flour a day. Persons who have not studied American geography since they laid aside Goodrich and Olney and Smith, would find, on review, some new matter in that region, where, in their school-days, the rifle and cabin were just going in. A suggestive fact shall close this chapter of miscellanies.

In 1793, April 29, Moses Beal advertised to run a stage from Albany through Schenectady to Johnstown and Canajoharie, about fifty miles. It was to be a weekly trip, leaving every Friday and returning every Tuesday. Fare threepence a mile and fourteen pounds baggage; one hundred and fifty pounds of baggage equal to a second passenger. Moses Beal has taken down his hand-bill and discontinued the route.*

WILLIAM BARROWS.

* Magazine of American History, July, 1880, p. 60.

BRITTON A. HILL.

BRITTON A. HILL, a practicing lawyer in the city of St. Louis since 1841, and for several years in the firm of Thomas Ewing of Ohio, B. A. Hill of Missouri, and Orville H. Browning of Illinois, at the city of Washington, D. C., during the civil war, was born at Milford, in Hunterdon county, New Jersey, on the seventh of December, 1816. His father, David Hill, the son of David Hill and Mary Leete, was born in Beaver county, Pennsylvania, in May, 1776. His mother, Abigail Benjamin, the daughter of Isaac Benjamin and Abigail Ewing, was born in Milford, New Jersey, in April, 1795. Britton was educated in Ogdensburg, New York, where he studied law under Bishop Perkins, esquire, and was admitted to the bar at Albany, and to the court of chancery at Saratoga, New York, in the year 1839. He practiced law in Ogdensburg for two years, in copartnership with Amaziah B. James, late judge of the supreme court of New York, when he removed to St. Louis in the summer of 1841.

His law practice in a few years became the largest and most lucrative of any in the city of St. Louis. He was noted for his moral courage, his integrity, his eloquence, his indomitable energy, unfailing memory, critical accuracy of analysis and extraordinary powers of endurance, which enabled him to rise, with the increase of his professional engagements, to the very highest grade of legal attainment, until at length he is acknowledged to be one of the ablest lawyers in the United States. In these forty-eight

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years of law practice in state and federal courts, Mr. Hill has established a reputation that has become National. He had acquired a moderate fortune at the age of fifty years, when he devoted all his spare time to a more thorough study of the science of government and its kindred subjects, with the idea of publishing a book, presenting all the constitutional amendments and laws, state and federal, necessary to perpetuate and fortify our system of representative republican government. This idea had taken form when he began the study of the law in 1835, and all his studies from that time on were directed to the accomplishment of this object. The War of the Rebellion furnished the opportunity for the adoption of Mr. Hill's theory of a new scheme of finance, based upon National legal tender notes. He suggested to his friend, Mr. Lincoln, amendments to the revenue act, in June, 1861, for the issue of legal tender demand notes, receivable for all debts and duties in sums of fifty millions of dollars when required, to be redeemed in coin, at Washington, at the treasury, and in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco, at the sub-treasuries, on demand, and if the coin was not on hand at either one of these places for redemption, that treasury drafts should be issued by the treasury at Washington, in sums from one hundred dollars to ten thousand dollars each, upon any one of the sub-treasuries named, to satisfy any demand for coin redemption. The act of congress of July 17, 1861, for the issue of fifty million dollars of legal tender demand notes omitted San Francisco as a place of redemption, and the issue of drafts in aid of the plan of redemption. It also omitted the provision for the receipt of the demand notes for duties at the custom-houses. The object of the original amendments was to furnish an ample circulation of demand notes for war expenses without issuing interest bearing bonds. The bond issue, however, was adopted, and an enormous National debt was created.

In August, 1873, Mr. Hill published his first work, entitled 'Liberty and Law under Federative Government,' presenting a new system for the improvement and perfection of the state and federal constitutions, the codification of the laws, the enforcement of public hygiene, of non-sectarian public education, and the establishment of National railways, telegraphs, absolute money, graduated income taxation, etc., so as to produce coöperative representative governments, with perfected governmental machinery, adapted to regulate and administer the laws required for the new era of steam and electric machinery and the gigantic corporations arising out of them, which already seek to control legislation.

With great sagacity he has pointed out the growing dangers threatening our Republican institutions, from partisan, legislative, judicial, corporative, and other despotisms that are silently but surely sapping the foundations of our common liberties. He proposed in this work the remedies to correct these evils and abuses, and to avoid the impending National disintegration. It has been fitly styled the new gospel of human freedom, and when we read the searching analysis of the true foundations and principles of representative government by this master of Republican states-

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manship, a feeling of confidence in our race and in the certainty of its progressive elevation, takes possession of the mind. It is the most encouraging and patriotic book of the century. It fills the souls of the friends of freedom and humanity with a thousand noble aspirations.

Thirty-three years practice of the law, in the courts of New York, Missouri, Illinois, the supreme court of the United States, and the departments of the Federal government, had given Mr. Hill many opportunities to observe and study the practical working of our federal system, and of state constitutions and laws, upon the civilization, harmony, progress, welfare, happiness, rights and liberties of citizens, for whose benefit the Constitution of the United States declares our form of government has been established. A careful analysis and study of our present system, and its practical operation, convinced him that the weakness of our federal union was directly owing to a defective adjustment of the claims of sovereignty, state and federal, and of their respective positive duties under their organic laws.

To the former defect he attributes the outbreak of the late civil war, which would not have occurred if an inter-state National court had been primarily provided for the decision of all questions of state rights, of federal supremacy, and all others arising under organic laws. Mr. Hill recommends the creation of such a court in the second edition of 'Liberty and Law,' of 1880. To the latter defect he believes the great monopolies have been enabled to grow to their present enormous proportions, threatening the destruction of our common franchises and liberties. The remedies for all these evils are fully set forth and elaborately discussed in the second edition of 'Liberty and Law.'

These works attracted widespread attention. The press at home and abroad commended them as valuable contributions to political science and economy. In July, 1875, he published a new work, 'Absolute Money,' elaborating the chapters on money in 'Liberty and Law,' developing a new financial system for the United States, to prevent the destruction of the greenbacks by the Specie Resumption act of January, 1875, which took effect in January, 1879.

In May, 1876, while the money crisis was crippling trade, commerce and manufactures, Mr. Hill wrote a powerful review of Professor Newcomb's 'A, B, C, of Finance,' and a pamphlet entitled "Specie Resumption and National Bankruptcy, Identical and Indivisible." In January, 1877, he published another pamphlet entitled, "Gold, Silver and Paper," *as full equal legal tenders*, in aid of his system of "Absolute Money," which was then on trial before the country. In July, 1878, Secretary Sherman ordered the greenbacks to be received for duties on and after the first of October, 1878. This order by the treasury made the greenbacks equal to gold when the Specie Resumption act took effect; the whole paper currency of the greenbacks and the national banks—about $740,000,000, was thus thrown into general circulation again, and the *coin basis* became a full legal tender *greenback basis*, which restored the business of the country to a rich prosperity. The seven years' war of the money power to destroy the greenbacks,

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and restore the old fraudulent coin basis system of banking, terminated in establishing Mr. Hill's system of National "Absolute Money" forever. The supreme court of the United States, in March, 1884, decided that the greenback was a legal tender, a constitutional money, having full intrinsic value, and the vexed question has thus been finally settled in favor of Mr. Hill's theory of "Absolute Money." The result has been a wondrous success. The National debt has rapidly diminished, the surplus in the treasury has steadily increased, and the speculators in bonds fear the National debt will be paid off, and that the swindling coin basis system of banking will never be restored to plunder the people, as it had done for so many years before 1861.

This "Absolute Money" system has proved itself to be the most safe, practical, economical, and business-advancing of any ever invented. It has a firm and solid basis upon the annual products of $15,000,000,000, and the total wealth of the Republic, now estimated at $300,000,000,000. No bank can present one thousandth part of this capital, and our present money system is the safest, most useful and universally acceptable of any in the world. The European nations, by adhering to the old coin basis system of banking, have come to a period of monetary distress that threatens revolution. If we continue faithfully to hold the advantages of this new money system until the close of the century, our Republic will have the control of the finances of the world. Mr. Hill regards the federal treasury as the largest, safest, and most perfect financial agency in existence, and insists that the surplus money on hand is not too large to secure and protect the National credit. The chief object should be the purchase and cancellation of federal bonds. This will furnish the natural means to avoid too large an increase of our surplus money, and to secure the gradual payment and extinction of the National debt.

As a lawyer, an original thinker, a political economist and author, Mr. Hill holds a National reputation. His sole aim has been to satisfy the most pressing wants of humanity, so that each citizen may attain the greatest good, happiness, wisdom, truth and spirituality of which his faculties are capable, without abusing or inharmoniously using either or any of his powers of mind or body.

Mr. Hill is now residing in St. Louis, in excellent health, still engaged in his literary work and in giving advice to his clients in important cases. He has but two children. His elder son is judge of the St. Louis circuit court, and his younger son, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, is practicing as a physician and surgeon in St. Louis.

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

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ST. JOSEPH, THE QUEEN OF THE MISSOURI VALLEY.

NOT many short and fleeting years,
With all their hopes, and joys, and fears,
Have marched, unhalting to the dead,
With steady, stern, and silent tread,
Since o'er the hills and valleys here,
The red man chased the panting deer;
And by the dark Missouri's tide
The warrior wooed his dusky bride.
The paddle of the light canoe
Flashed where the water-lilies grew;
In nature's garb the land was drest,
From mountain's foot to craggy crest,
And all was fresh, untouched and wild—
The free home of the forest child.

But soon, from to'ard the rising sun,
Was heard the white man's axe and gun;
The forest bowed before his hand,
And as a garden bloomed the land;
The plowshare turned the virgin soil,
And rich rewards repaid the toil
Of every hardy pioneer
Who built his humble cabin here.
And now among the Blacksnake hills
Spires, and homes, and shops, and mills,
Have risen, as though genii hands,
Had wrought where this fair city stands.

For unknown decades before the foot of white man had trodden any portion of this fair republic, the aboriginal tribes seem to have made the point where St. Joseph now stands the starting-place for their expeditions farther west. The character of the great river at this point and the topography of the country doubtless controlled in the matter, and St. Joseph has always been a great natural distributing point, even before it had a name.

The first white settler of the place was Joseph Robidoux, who was born at St. Louis in 1783, on the tenth of August. His father, also named Joseph, was a French Canadian, who left Montreal and located in St. Louis, shortly after the settlement of that city by the French. This head of the Robidoux family in the west being a shrewd business man and possessing unusual energy, even for a Frenchman, accumulated a fortune and educated his six sons and one daughter in the best manner possible in those days in that city. Yet this is saying not a little, for his children received, beside the usual plain education, scientific and literary courses. The elder Robidoux was also noted for his hospitality, and occupied a large and handsome mansion in St. Louis, surrounded by every comfort and convenience. Here he entertained his numerous friends, the leading and influential people of the place and time, and in his house the First General Assembly of Wisconsin held its first session, on the seventh day of December, 1812.

When but eighteen years old, Joseph, the elder of his boys, and founder of the city of St. Joseph, married Eugenie Delslille, the daughter of a wealthy citizen of St. Louis. Following her death, four years afterward, young Robidoux, then in his twenty-third year, started out to find a favorable location for a trading post. He visited points on the lower Mississippi, between St. Louis and New Orleans, but discovering no place which suited him,

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afterward located on the present site of Chicago. There he was plundered by the Indians, and, returning to St. Louis, shortly started on a voyage up the Missouri river with a member of the American Fur company.

"Blacksnake Hills" had been reported to the two voyagers by some of the hunters of the company as a place of promise for a trading post, and here they disembarked, meeting congregated tribes of the Sac, Fox and Iowa Indians, whom, it appeared, were in the habit of assembling at this point at certain seasons, preparatory to crossing the river, either on visits to other tribes or for the purpose of hunting.

After looking at the point, and noting its advantages as a probable future trading post, these two proceeded on their way to Council Bluffs, now in the state of Iowa, opposite the city of Omaha. This place was the headquarters of the Otoe, Pawnee, Omaha, Ponca, and other Indian tribes, and young Robidoux being so well pleased with the location, returned to St. Louis, and purchasing a stock of suitable goods, transported it to the Bluffs by keel-boat, and remained there for thirteen years, beginning in 1800. His goods were exchanged with the Indians for money, furs and other commodities, Mr. Robidoux meantime making frequent visits to St. Louis. During his residence in the Bluffs, and while on a visit to St. Louis, he married Angelique Vaudry, a daughter of that city, who died in 1857 in the city of St. Joseph.

Readily adapting himself to the habits, manners and customs of the Indians, and learning to speak fluently the dialects of the different tribes, he became an expert Indian trader, and achieved remarkable success in that calling. Indeed, his success was much more satisfactory to himself than to the American Fur company, with whose trade he was in direct competition. That company finally purchased his stock of goods, giving him its actual value on the spot and 50 per cent. more, with an additional sum of $6,000, conditioned that he would retire from the trade at that point for three years.

Returning to St. Louis, he remained for three years and until 1826, when he took charge of the fur company's trading post at the mouth of Roy's Branch, a short distance north of the Blacksnake Hills, and from there the company shortly afterward moved him to the site of the city which he founded. He remained in the employ of the fur company until 1830, when he purchased the company's entire interest in the "outfit," and became sole proprietor of the post at Blacksnake Hills.

For many years the solitary cabin of Joseph Robidoux was the only evidence among these hills of civilized man's residence. With every puffing steamer that ascended the turbid waters of the "Big Muddy" came the emigrant and the adventurer seeking homes or booty in the far west. Embryo settlements had been made along the banks of the great river, at where now stand Independence, Kansas City, Leavenworth and Omaha, but very few persons, and they at long intervals, became even distant neighbors to Robidoux. With a fortitude unsurpassed, however, and with a tenacity of purpose which knew no defeat, he patiently bided his time. It may have been that he had not dreamed, until it had begun to come, that he was to

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be the founder here of a beautiful and populous city, now numbering seventy thousand souls, but he was succeeding as an Indian trader, and that was, doubtless, his only ambition at first.

Northwestern Missouri, including what was afterward known as the "Platte purchase," soon came to be noticed more carefully by the passing pioneers, and favorable reports of the great beauty of the region, its rich prairies, fertile valleys, grand forests of timber, perennial springs and numerous water courses, together with the salubrity of the climate, reached eastward, and settlers began to gather around Robidoux' post, until, in 1839, such a settlement had been made that three gentlemen came from Independence for the purpose of purchasing the land held by Robidoux and laying out a town. They failed, however, in their mission and went away. Meantime, the Robidoux establishment had grown in importance. Not only the Indians, but numerous whites were his customers. His house and store grew imposing in dimensions, and he had, beside his numerous family and domestics, more than twenty men in his employ, trading in every direction among settlers and Indians, and bringing in furs. Finally, in June, 1843, Robidoux employed a surveyor named Simeon Kemper to plat a town on his land, which was then, for the most part, covered with a luxuriant growth of hemp. F. W. Smith made a map of the place, and the new town was christened St. Joseph, losing the name of Blacksnake Hills and taking that of the founder and his patron saint. The lots were then placed upon the market and sold rapidly, the uniform price being $150 for corner lots and $100 for inside places. At the close of 1843 the population numbered about five hundred, having increased three hundred during that year. The first two-story brick building was erected in 1843, and the first church in 1844-45. This church was a log building, 20 by 30 feet, and was erected under the direction of a Presbyterian clergyman, Rev. F. S. Reeve.

Soon after the church building was completed and occupied, an incident occurred in it which was more amusing than the holy cause for which it had been raised would have warranted, but as illustrative of some characteristics which prevailed to some extent on the frontier at that time might be considered fairly faithful: One Sabbath day, while religious services were being held, a loud and rough knock was heard at the door, but before anyone could open it, a burly-looking settler from the Grand river region entered, without ceremony, further than the removal of his coonskin cap, and advanced toward the pulpit, motioning the preacher to stop. The man of God being thus strangely and inopportunely accosted, naturally brought his discourse to a sudden standstill, when the intruder asked: "Is Bob Donnell in this house?" and continuing, he said: "Ef he is, I've got a bar'l er honey out here fer him."

Mr. Donnell was present, and, while the assembled multitude gave way to roars of laughter which no one could have expected to have been smothered, the gentleman called blushingly arose and accompanied his acquaintance to the outside, and did not return that day to report whether the "bar'l" was satisfactory or not.

A few years ago the following poem

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concerning that same old church was written by this writer:

THE OLD LOG CHURCH.

On olden walls, in memory's halls,
With roses 'round it clinging,
A picture rare, of antique air,
The old log church is swinging.

Of timbers rough, and gnarled, and tough,
It stands in rustic beauty,
A monument to good intent
And loyal, Christian duty.

The forest trees, kissed by the breeze
Of early autumn weather,
Stand grimly by, and seem to sigh,
And bend their boughs together.

They seem to feel that woodman's steel
Will come to end their glory,
And whisper low, and soft, and slow,
Among their leaves, the story.

Down by the mill, and up the hill,
And through the hazel thicket,
And o'er the mead brown pathways lead
Up to the rustic wicket.

And by these ways, on holy days,
The village folk collected,
And humbly heard the Sacred Word,
And worshiped unaffected.

Sweet Fancy's art and poet's heart
Can see the old-time preacher
And village sage, now turn the page
As minister or teacher.

For in the church, with dreaded birch,
On week-days he presided,
In awful mien, a tutor seen,
'Twixt lore and licks divided.

But where it stood, in dappled wood,
A city sprang to life,
And jolly noise of barefoot boys
Is lost in business rife.

With years now flown, the children grown,
Are launched on life's mad billows;
The pretty maid is matron staid,
The master's 'neath the willows.

The first officers of the town of St. Joseph were elected in 1845, as follows: Joseph Robidoux, president; Isadore Barada, John F. Carter, Johnson Copeland, Wiley N. English, St. Clark K. Miller, and Benjamin C. Powell, trustees; B. F. Loan, clerk; Howell Thomas, constable and collector; Robert J. Boyd, treasurer.

In the year 1845 the Asiatic cholera prevailed in the United States, and the Missouri valley did not escape the scourge, although St. Joseph was more exempt from its ravages than many other surrounding towns, owing to the beautiful situation, and to the good drainage of the site. On the nineteenth of December, 1846, the census of St. Joseph showed a total population of 967, being an increase of nearly five hundred in three years.

In 1845 the feeling that St. Joseph was destined to become an active commercial centre prevailed in the region, and a newspaper, *The Gazette*, which is now a flourishing daily, was established.

When in 1849 the gold excitement in California fevered the country, St. Joseph had grown to important dimensions as a western city, and during that year sixty thousand persons left St. Joseph, having come from all parts of the country to cross the plains and mountains to the new Eldorado. Thus St. Joseph became a famous outfitting post, and the trade thus produced gave the place a strong start and it grew with wonderful rapidity.

In 1847 the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad was incorporated. This was the pioneer railroad west of the Mississippi river, and Joseph Robidoux, John Corby and Robert J. Boyd of St. Joseph were among the incorporators.

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It was not, however, until 1852 that the road was assured, and not till 1859 that the first through train was run. In the meantime, the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak created a great excitement, and an immense tide of emigration swept to the westward. St. Joseph was so situated as to be in the direct line of travel, and at once became the outfitting point for the emigrants and for the immense volume of freight that was transported across the plains. St. Joseph was then a scene of great activity, and fortunes were rapidly accumulated by those who were then in business. The future of the city seemed to be assured, but within the next decade the dark cloud of civil war spread over the land, and St. Joseph became the scene of hostilities for some time. The people of the state were divided on the questions then agitating the public, and for a number of years all progress in business was paralyzed, and many of the prospects for the future rudely dissipated. When the struggle had ended, the participants came home, and with those who had weathered through the storm, gathered up the tangled threads of commerce and industry, and set to work to repair the damage that had been done, and to forge ahead as much as possible.

In 1860 the population of St. Joseph was 8,932. During the war it increased but little, yet in 1870, five years after the conflict, it had a population of 19,500.

A noted event in the history of St. Joseph was the starting, on Tuesday evening, April 3, 1860, of the pony express.

The projectors of the enterprise had first established stations and riders all along the route, from St. Joseph to San Francisco. Each rider averaged about sixty miles, and was supplied with three relays of the fleetest and best bred horses which could be obtained in Kentucky and elsewhere. The route lay across the country in a general western direction from St. Joseph, and inclining a little northwardly to about where the waters of the North and South Platte join, near a point upon which now stands the city of North Platte. Thence up the North Platte and across the Laramie plains, through the Black Hills of Wyoming, up the Sweet Water valley through South Pass to the great Salt Lake, across Nevada, along the route which is now taken by the Central Pacific railroad, through passes in the Sierras to the Sacramento valley, and down that stream to San Francisco bay. The country was infested with Indians, more or less depredatory, and bands of robbers who made their rendezvous in the Wind River mountains, and attacked trains and coaches along the Sweet River valley. But the riders of the pony express were mounted upon horses so strong and fleet that they could always elude pursuit by the Indians on their small ponies, and in the same way avoid the road agents of the South Pass. Besides, they carried powerful field-glasses, by which they could detect at long distances the presence of such dangers, and avoid them by *detours*. The saddles they rode were light, and their only express matter was telegraph dispatches. The dispatches were placed in pouches which were covered with oil-cloth, so as to prevent injury by water, and when a rider arrived at a relay post he threw himself from his horse, a fresh ani-

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mal was held ready by attendants for him to mount, and with his precious pouches he would be again, in less than a minute, dashing at full tilt on his way. Frequently the riders met, but they halted not for the exchange of courtesies, but flew past each other on duty intent, but with a shout of recognition, perhaps.

As may be supposed, the transmission of messages over this line was effected at no trifling cost, and those who had occasion to avail themselves of its convenience made it a point to study brevity of expression. In this connection an amusing incident is chronicled as having transpired: Thomas McGuire, the noted theatrical manager of San Francisco, sent to Artemus Ward, the famous humorist, a dispatch: "What will you take for forty nights?" Ward, who never lost an opportunity for a joke, promptly replied, at the expense of the manager, "Brandy and water." A better understanding was finally arrived at, or at least a less ambiguous one, and an engagement was afterward effected, which was mutually profitable to both the humorous lecturer and his California manager. The dispatches sent by pony express were telegraphed to St. Joseph from eastern points and sent west in the manner suggested. Those from the west were brought to St. Joseph by pony express and sent thence to their destination by telegraph.

On the day mentioned, in 1860, at a given signal, a cannon shot from the Patee House, the first pony express rider and his lithe charger darted from the doorway of the old Pike's Peak stables, opposite Patee park, and in a few seconds was at the United States express office on Third street, between Felix and Edmond, and from there, at 7.15 P. M., having received his light burden of dispatches, darted away amid the cheers and huzzas of a vast throng which had assembled to witness the "new departure." A ferry-boat at the foot of Jules street bore horse and rider to the Kansas bank of the Missouri river, and away he went careering into the west. This rider was named John Fry, and among the dispatches he bore was President Buchanan's last message to congress.

Previous to the year 1861 no one had ever thought of such a thing as that the transcontinental road, which was to be built under government patronage to some extent, would start westward from any other point than St. Joseph, not only for the reason that the route would be more direct, the topographical difficulties more easy to overcome, and the point of starting the most important on the Missouri river, but for the reason that at no other point on the river was there the terminus of an eastern railroad connection. Unfortunately, however, just at the time when congress had under consideration the bills to subsidize roads to the Pacific coast, political excitement consequent upon the war raged fiercely throughout the country, and especially in both branches of the National legislature. St. Joseph being situated in a slave-holding state was represented by persons who championed the claims of rival towns as a disloyal city, and in the senate debate this was made an issue, and extravagant charges were made on the floor of that body to that effect. The escapade of a party of harum-scarum

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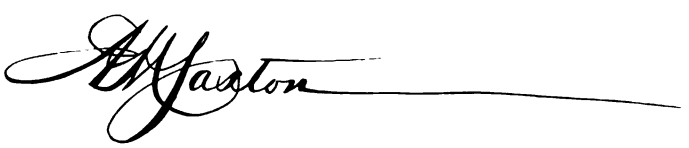

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youths, which took place in the early days of the rebellion, and resulted in a Federal flag being removed from the post-office building, was represented as a formidable Confederate movement, though 'twas nothing more nor less than a "spree," which lasted but a few hours.

The pivotal point in the debate as to whether one of the subsidized roads should start from St. Joseph was decided by a speech from the famous Senator James H. Lane of Kansas, who, just after Senator Sumner of Massachusetts had signified his preference for St. Joseph, arose and thundered forth, in his tragical way, "What! will you give this magnificent highway, which is to be built with public lands and public moneys, to rebel St. Joseph, when loyal cities are asking for it? If you do, judging from what has already happened, it will not be long before you will be sending to these loyal cities for soldiers to protect the National flag in the city you are about to favor." He then went on to repeat the trumped up story, founded on the "spree" of the boys, and Mr. Sumner catching, as if by contagion, Senator Lane's loyal indignation, voted against his own bill, and the Union Pacific was given to Omaha.

Since that, however, arising above all political embarrassments, strong in her position as a natural distributing point, and the energy and enterprise of her people, St. Joseph is to-day the centre of a system of sixteen lines of railroad; a city of beautiful homes, magnificent public buildings, great mercantile and manufacturing establishments, with a far-reaching commerce, and on her throne of hills she sits, the queen of the Missouri valley.

COLONEL ALBE M. SAXTON.

The men who pioneered the Missouri valley builded better than they knew, and it required more pluck and patience than the work of opening to settlement almost any other portion of the far west. There was no great rush as to gold fields, not even colonies in which crowds bore company and the solaces of friendship. In the settlement of what is now known as the "Platte Purchase," men came single handed to spy out the land, and left every trace of civilization far behind them with a great wilderness intervening.

Among the first to halt among the Blacksnake hills on the banks of the turbid Missouri, was young Albe M. Saxton. His parents had been settlers in the Connecticut Western Reserve of Ohio during the War of 1812, and at Ridgeville, Lorain county, in 1813. His father, James Saxton, with his wife and two older children, came by wagon from the Green mountains of old Vermont and built the regulation log-cabin of the times; and the mother, Mrs. Rosetta Saxton, who is now living within three miles of St. Joseph, still blessed with good health and unimpaired faculties, in her ninety-sixth year, yet takes delight in the indulgence of reminiscences of those early and trying days. Lately, in conversation with this writer, she laughingly told how, in the journey from Vermont to Ohio, with her husband, they purchased on the way, at Albany, a box of 7x9 window-glass, and when they afterwards used it in the windows of their log-house on the Western Reserve, the fact created among the other settlers feelings of envy and a disposition

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to remarks concerning the "airs" they were assuming.

In that "aristocratic" log-house, February 12, 1821, was born the subject of this sketch, the seventh of eleven children. Having received the education to be acquired at the neighboring district school, and some further tutelage at a private academy in Cleveland, young Saxton, at twenty years of age, in 1841, left home, and during that year arrived in St. Louis, then the starting point for all the boundless west. In the meantime his father and family had removed to Racine county, Wisconsin. Not finding employment otherwise, he began with his small capital of fifty-six dollars, trading in country produce, and was so successful as to lay the foundation of an ample fortune.

About the time young Saxton was leaving the academy in Cleveland, which, by the way, was kept by A. N. and J. W. Gray, an incident occurred which not only showed a certain bent of Saxton's mind, but which had much to do with his future fortune. He has always had a tendency to write satirical verse calculated to ridicule the snobbish pretensions of society, but has generally resisted the temptation. At the time referred to, however, in 1840, there had come to Cleveland, and sprung up there, a set of young men who in these days would be called "dudes," but dubbed themselves "the nobility." This association was in the habit of holding meetings which they advertised in this way: "The nobility will meet at the Star Chamber this evening to transact important business, by order of the great K. G." The members gave themselves and the ladies whom they affected titles of nobility, and arranged in their meetings for their social gatherings at the American house, then *the* hotel, to the exclusion of the plebians, who held their parties at the Franklin house. Thus quite a spirit had been aroused between the old timers and the new-comers and their adherents. They were given to much ostentation and unnecessary "style," and were the butt of more sensible people. One of the nobility lost his pet dog by death, an Irishman having killed it with a club on account of some nefarious incursion. Saxton wrote a satirical *brochure* in verse on the subject, which was entitled "The Last Night of the Star Chamber." He pictured "the nobility" holding a meeting in which indignation over the death of their canine friend was depicted, while at the same time they condoled with the chief mourner and indulged in eulogies and panegyrics upon the deceased. The pamphlet made such a hit that it "sold like hot cakes," and in a few days Saxton realized one hundred and fifty dollars from the sale, which had been placed in the hands of others. The star chamber never met again, and the author of the satire remained unknown. With this money Saxton purchased the fruit of an orchard near Cleveland and shipped it on board the brig *Rocky Mountain* to Milwaukee, accompanying the cargo. The vessel barely missed shipwreck, being dismasted in an equinoctial storm. They, however, put into Grand Traverse and rigged temporary masts and made their way safely into the port of their destination. The people of Milwaukee were hungry for fruit, and the cargo quickly sold at large prices. He realized from the speculation one thousand

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five hundred dollars. This he invested in Wisconsin land and went to St. Louis, where he used the cash he had left, fifty-six dollars, as mentioned above.

During the summer of 1842 Saxton was a clerk on a steamboat which traded up the Illinois river, and during this time embraced every advantage afforded for acquiring business information and the attainment of any useful knowledge, having in the winter previous attended the night sessions of a commercial college in St. Louis, from which he attained the distinction of a diploma.

Coming of pioneer parents, and inheriting the spirit of adventure which conquers the wilderness, it was natural that young Saxton should desire to push out to where the western star of empire beckoned, and thus it was natural enough that he and another young man, Elias H. Perry, should start as they did, up the Missouri with a stock of goods which formed part of the freight of a little side-wheel steamboat which was named the *John Golong*. It was a ten days' trip, with considerable "sparring" over sand-bars, to their destination, Robidoux' landing, or Blacksnake hills, where they debarked and unloaded their goods, and on the first day of May, 1843, opened the first store to trade with the whites that was started in what is now the superb city of St. Joseph. This part of Missouri, comprising six counties, had been an Indian reservation and was placed by the government under control of Missouri laws and became part of the state twenty years after Missouri's admission to the Union, and was called "the Platte Purchase."

At that time there were only three houses at the point mentioned and they belonged to Joseph Robidoux, an Indian trader, who was the first settler. When young Saxton and his partner arrived at Robidoux, it was a year previous to the opening of the country under the United States Land Office laws for the entry of claims. Robidoux, who owned the pre-emption rights at the landing, would not allow the erection of houses by others on his claim; they therefore rented a room in one of Robidoux' log-houses, a compartment about twenty by thirty feet square, and began business. Taking no time for vain regrets, Saxton began the process of "growing up with the country," and both have grown well together. The region in which he settled is now the garden spot of the Missouri valley, and Albe M. Saxton is many times a millionaire.

The store proved a success, as has everything Colonel Saxton has touched. There being no place for these young frontier merchants to board, they cooked their food, which was a monotonous round of corn-bread and bacon, in an open fireplace at the back of their store, and frequently arose from the box which formed their table to wait on customers from among the settlers of the surrounding country.

Later on, in the year 1843, young Saxton preëmpted one hundred and sixty acres of land about one mile east of Robidoux, near where the Missouri State Lunatic Asylum No. 2 now stands, and built upon it a log-cabin. In due time he paid the government fees which amounted to two hundred dollars for the entire tract, and lately some of that same ground, known as "Saxton Hights," was

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sold by him for one thousand dollars per acre. The city of St. Joseph now has asphalt streets reaching near to it, railways run through it, and a cable line now in course of construction will shortly reach it, and near by are dwellings which have been erected at cost varying from five hundred dollars to one hundred thousand dollars.

With pleasant recollection and much good humor, Colonel Saxton tells how he made that log-cabin his home in order to comply with the preëmption laws. His furniture was such as he has not cared to keep, the bedstead being a "puncheon" held up by wooden pegs which were driven into augur holes bored in the logs, near one corner of the room, and on which the puncheon—a rude hewn plank—was laid. A straw "tick" and some blankets completed that outfit. The seats were three-legged stools, and the table was an ordinary "store-box." The roof was of "shakes" with a hole for the smoke to escape, and cracks between the logs not being well chinked, it became an open question with a burly fellow known as "Bully" Smith, who coveted the land, whether or not the house was sufficiently snug to answer the requirements of the land laws as affected by preëmption. Moreover, Smith argued that the alleged proprietor didn't "stay thar long enough at a time, nohow. Besides he was a storekeeper, and how could he live in town and be a farmer too?"

The upshot of this was that Smith concluded to "jump" Saxton's claim, in the temporary absence of the proprietor. "The value of the material in that house," says Colonel Saxton, "was at least twenty dollars. The logs, which were the principal expense, had been hauled several miles, but Smith ruthlessly razed my residence from dome to basement, and from the *debris* built a house of his own near a spring on the land. Smith sent word to the former owner of those logs, that if the said former owner came fooling around there he would get some lead in him, and 'Bully' Smith was just the sort of man to do that sort of a thing, so the former owner concluded to adopt the idea that 'prudence is the better part of valor,' and he let Mr. Smith severely alone during the following winter."

Colonel Saxton, speaking of this matter and the fact that the people of the Platte purchase have been called "border ruffians," says that he has never in his life carried a larger weapon than a pen-knife. He has never felt called upon to carry any other protection than good-nature, reason, tact and a just cause.

The matter of the claim was taken to the adjudication of the land office, however, and Smith was ousted according to law. Saxton afterward made friends with Smith and gave him money enough to enter another, though less valuable claim, on shares, and Saxton also made the same arrangement with one Dr. Hays on another claim.

"These facts," Colonel Saxton says, "will never injure the feelings of either by their recital in print, for both are dead, and even were they alive they couldn't read it. Some of the early doctors of those days never bothered themselves about learning to read, and they were not required, in those early times, in the backwoods, to have diplomas. They

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acquired their science in surgery and physic by practicing first. That is to say, they learned by experimenting on their first patients. Luckily, this has always been a healthy country, and the services of physicians at that time were not often required."

In 1848 Colonel Saxton formed a partnership with Robert W. Donnell, now a New York banker, and with him continued merchandising. This partnership lasted until 1858, at which time the business of the firm had grown from a retail trade to a large wholesale and jobbing business, the most extensive at that time in St. Joseph, having grown with the growth of the settlement which was then an incorporated city.

In 1858 Saxton and Donnell closed their mercantile business, and a branch of the Bank of the State of Missouri having been established at St. Joseph, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars, Colonel Saxton was appointed cashier. This institution was merged into a National bank in 1865, under the name of the State National bank, Colonel Saxton retaining the position of cashier. In 1870 the affairs of the State National were closed up voluntarily and profitably, and the State Savings bank was organized, with Colonel Saxton as president. This position he held until 1881, after which the Saxton National bank was established, of which he is now president, in the most magnificent bank building in the city, of which he is the owner.

Besides his connection with banking and mercantile concerns, Colonel Saxton has been connected with many public enterprises. In partnership with T. D. Hastings he built about eighty miles of the St. Louis & St. Joseph railroad and two hundred and thirty-nine of the St. Joseph & Denver road. In company with Milton Tootle and others, in 1853, he built and launched on the Missouri river two steamboats, the *Silver Heels* and *Omaha*. He has never been an aspirant for public office, and never held one except that of treasurer of the Missouri State Lunatic Asylum No. 2, to which he was appointed in 1874, when the building was being erected, and held that office for eleven years, when he resigned. In 1878 a military company was organized in St. Joseph, which body was called the "Saxton Rifles," and that has been his only military association though he is universally called "Colonel," a title which was often applied to men of prominence in the west as a distinguishing mark of popularity.

Colonel Saxton's residence is near Saxton station, five miles from St. Joseph, near the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, where he has erected a handsome mansion and owns a large body of excellent land, which he delights in improving and beautifying, and until recently has made daily trips from his business in the city, by carriage or on horseback, to his country home. He also has a handsome city residence in which, latterly, he spends much of his leisure.

His business career has been a remarkably successful one, and in it he has confined himself to regular transactions, never having been tempted by the spirit of speculation. While liberal and generous and ever open-handed in matters of large charity, he has always been safe

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and cautious in his business methods. He is remarkably popular with all classes, and yet remarkably modest. Though now in his sixty-seventh year, Colonel Saxton is in rugged health, active and light-hearted, full of bright good humor and delightfully companionable. He is utterly unostentatious, being thoroughly a western man, and seems to delight in doing a kind act.

When approached by this writer for the obtainance of facts in his career, he pointed out where they might be found, and added:

I have always been so much occupied with my common affairs that I have scarcely taken time to get sick or to count the years that have passed. I know I have not been ambitious to get wealthy, but to succeed. My greatest pleasure has been, and is, to use my property as a means, as I go along, to aid the deserving ones whom I love, like a judicious trustee. It would cause me mortification to have it thought that I have any desire to make a display that would create an envious feeling in any one. I want to do what is prudent in order to be able to be useful, and to leave the world, by example in diligence and good acts—with all my bad mistakes—better than I found it. You ask me to give you the incidents of my life, because it is a part of the history of this city. Well, what of it? It is like a tale twice told. The city will show for itself, and my part of the work is in sight. You say that folks like to hear about self-made men—as you are so kind as to call me. An eminent humorist, celebrated for bad grammar and worse spelling, to clothe wise sayings—Josh Billings—has observed that he liked self-made men, but when they come to talk of themselves they generally show too much pride in the job.

To put my picture in a book with other friends is well enough, that those who regard me may see how I looked, after I am dead and gone, but I fear that a sketch of my life may not be interesting to others since I have done nothing startling. The only political office I ever held was that of road overseer in my district, and that doesn't look much as if I ever even aspired to honors and fame. Does it? In the language of the poet, Harvey Rice of Cleveland, "I have never dabbled in the turbid pool of politics."

Colonel Saxton was married twenty-five years, and his wife died in 1882. He has no living children. His oldest brother, ten years his senior, celebrated his golden wedding two years ago, with his ten children around him, and Colonel Saxton knows that he can never have one. This brother was an early settler in Ohio, and now with wife and children is a pioneer in Kansas.

"A happy state to have in its young years,
Such stalwart offspring for its pioneers."

Liberal, public-spirited, happy, popular, earnest, diligent, and blessed with a character for the strictest integrity, Albe M. Saxton is a grand citizen of a glorious young city, which he has watched as it grew from a sparse settlement on what was then the far distant frontier, and he has seen the wilderness bloom as a garden. And he has done more than his share to make the garden and build the city, as many stately edifices on various streets, and his splendid farm near by, will amply show. Thousands who know and honor him will be glad to see him live through all the fruitage of a ripe old age, with all the blessings that peace and prosperity can bring him.

MAJOR F. W. SMITH.

The city of St. Joseph, Missouri, received its name and was surveyed, platted and mapped by Major Frederick William Smith. This pioneer of the Missouri valley was born October 3, 1815, at Trier, in Rhine Province, Prussia. His special education in the schools of his native city was that of a civil engineer. With his parents and brothers and sisters he came to America in 1833, landing in New York,

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but the family, soon after, located in Philadelphia. A few months later Frederick started out to make his own fortune, and went direct to New Orleans, making what was then considered a very long trip. After living several years in the south, young Smith went to St. Louis. There he secured employment in his profession and made surveys and maps of that city. He also located and surveyed the site of the old cathedral, now in the heart of the business center of that city. While located in St. Louis the nuns of Kaskaskia, Illinois, sent for him to plan a new convent for them, which the gallant young Catholic did to their entire satisfaction. In addition to a liberal remuneration for these services and the hearty thanks of the good nuns, he obtained what was not bargained for, an exceedingly tenacious case of swamp fever. He was very ill with this for a time, but with returning health he sought "green fields and pastures new," and started, per steamboat, for the Upper Missouri country. Seized again with illness on the way, he was left at Liberty Landing, near where is now Kansas City, where eventually he recovered entirely, but bereft of every cent of money. He had a dauntless spirit, however, and pushed on up the river, making his final stop at Blacksnake Hills, where he arrived in 1837. This was almost six years before the town was laid off. The settlement had a post-office, however, and Smith obtained the appointment as postmaster. The duties were not onerous, an occasional hatful of letters brought by passing steamboats being his only responsibility.

Looking at St. Joseph now, with its grand buildings, miles of paved streets, luxurious homes and modern comforts, one is very apt to forget that less than fifty years ago this was, to use a worn expression, "a howling wilderness," and that life in those days was one continual struggle. Indians, always unpleasant neighbors, were constant visitors, frightening women and children, begging and stealing and keeping the settlement in constant dread. Food was scarce and of the plainest kind. Corn bread, hominy, potatoes and pork, with plenty of game, were all that was to be had. Sugar, flour, coffee and the like were beyond the reach of the scanty purses of the early settlers. Calico, even, was too valuable to be used except for weddings and great occasions.

The pioneers of those days required the same qualities of bravery, endurance and tenacity as did those of the early settlements of Ohio and Illinois. It took men of daring and indomitable will and many other strong traits of character to accomplish the settlement of the Platte Purchase. Fever and ague, the inevitable visitant, after weeks of pain and wearying illness, left one weak, despondent and homesick. Many left on the first opportunity, but some remained. The ordeal, though trying, did not conquer their purpose, but in the face of privations and hardships innumerable, they continued to improve their farms and to build up the country. Of the noble band but few remain. Nearly all have gone to their reward, and of the number none did more for the upbuilding of St. Joseph or deserve warmer memories than Major Fred Smith. Though hardships were every day attendant, the settlers did not lack for sport and recreation. Hunting and fishing made

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part of their business, and it helped to fill an always meager larder. Dances were given often, and the whole neighborhood would attend. Fifteen to twenty-five miles were none too far, and the happy bachelor, or more favored benedict, would hitch up and drive, or more commonly ride horseback, through rain or shine, to attend. I have often heard Major Smith telling of his experience at "gumbo balls." He said his first invitation to one was obtained by *finesse*. It seems that the good Blacksnakers stood somewhat in awe of the government official, so when the "invites" were passed around, none were handed to Postmaster Smith. He fully appreciated the situation and thought, as he did not wish to sit alone in his bachelor cabin, the time had come to show that he was not proud—(proud was a very opprobrious epithet in those days of sylvan simplicity). The postmaster sat in his study alone until he thought the fiddles would be scraping their liveliest heel and toe, and then he sallied forth. He had donned his blanket coat, pulled his cap over his ears and slung his gun over his shoulder. Thus equipped he mounted his horse and started for the ball room. He did not make directly toward it, but made a *detour* around, as if he had been out on a hunt. As he expected, half a dozen stood at the door, and he was greeted with "Hello! who's that? Been out hunting? Oh, it's you, is it, Smith? We're having a ball, won't you come in?" "Indeed, I'd like to," returned the postmaster, affecting bashfulness, "but I'm not dressed to see ladies." "Oh, if that's all, come in, we're not strict about sitch." After a little more bashful holding back he went in, and ever after he had the first invitation. He played the flute exceedingly well, and as music was not only primitive but scarce, his accomplishment brought him many invitations and served to make pleasant many a long evening.

Moot courts were also a standing diversion. The simple victim was arraigned before a jury of his peers to answer for some trivial act, as being contrary to the code of frontier ethics. The assumed seriousness, the enforced decorum and lengthy charges and arguments served to enliven the tedious monotony of life, and for days or even longer it would make fun for the court, though of grievous alarm to the poor victim.

The major had an original ghost story that may be of interest. He had been spending the evening with Mr. Robidoux and his friends at "Uncle Joe's" house, near Prospect hill. While discussing things past, present and to come, and arguing about the name of the prospective town, the hours sped by until it was later than he intended to be away from home. His domicile was where the St. Joseph brewery now stands, and the road lay over the present site of the courthouse, then an Indian graveyard. Whistling or saying a *paternoster* to keep up his courage as he went past the scaffolding whereon the red men lay their dead, he got on very well until he saw, in the dim star-light, a figure like a man, just before him. As he looked it disappeared. He proceeded; again it appeared, and at the sound of his voice vanished. Trembling in every joint and with cold drops of perspiration oozing at every pore, he paused to reflect. If he went forward it

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would surely catch him, either in the graveyard or in the field south of it. If he turned his back—horrors! it might fly onto his shoulders and drive him to death like a Walpurgis goblin. He thought he'd better go on. He advanced a few steps when the phantom again stood before him and again at the sound of his voice seemed to sink into the earth. "It does not mean any harm," he reasoned, and began to muster up courage. "Perhaps if I get close and ask what it wants, it may unburden its conscience and get rest." It was not long till he saw the apparition unevenly moving in advance of him, and he peremptorily ordered it to stop. It did so, directly under one of the Indian biers. As he came up, a timid and deprecating voice asked, "Is that you, Smith?" It was Sanganette, a tipsy Frenchman with whom Smith had disagreed an hour before. The poor sinner was so drunk that he had missed his way and wandered into the graveyard. When he saw the major coming he was not so befuddled as not to recognize him, and forget the thrashing our friend had promised him. So every time Smith drew nigh he either hid behind something or dropped down and rolled out of the way.

Major Smith was married February 1, 1843, to Miss Jane Tolin, a young lady of Daviess county, who was then visiting her relative, Squire Samuel C. Hall. The fruits of that marriage were five sons and two daughters, of whom only two, Dr. Frank Smith and Mrs. J. A. Duncan, survive. Three died in youth and two in promising manhood. Frederick W., jr., the eldest child, and first male born in the city, on January 2, 1844, was one of the brightest and handsomest boys that ever a mother clasped in her arms, but his course was soon run. An unfortunate accident terminated his life while he was yet in his twenties. Gus, the third child, died at the age of thirty, February 25, 1887. He was his mother's joy, and a good, whole-souled and genial son.

Soon after his marriage, Major Smith made a survey and map of the prospective town for Mr. Robidoux, suggesting as a very appropriate name, St. Joseph, as it would be after its founder and, also, as a good Catholic, would honor the name of his patron saint.

Uncle Joe listened, but other admirers insisted on Robidoux as the name and made a map which Mr. Robidoux took to St. Louis to have lithographed. The lithographers felt constrained to make it clear that the founder knew more about business than map-drawing, so Robidoux wrote his friend, Smith, to send his map. Smith complied and St. Joseph had an existence —at least on paper. Before this, Major Smith had preëmpted a quarter section of land lying immediately east of Robidoux' claim, and he obtained a patent for it in 1846. This, years afterwards, was platted and sold, and was known as "Smith's Addition," now the very heart of the city. Through this tract ran a stream which was called Smith's Branch, and that is now the course of a great sewer, there being no external traces of the stream. At this day it is somewhat strange to remember that this ground was a great place for hunting wolves—the gray wolf and the coyote being very numerous and exceedingly annoying to the pioneers.

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Major Smith was a lieutenant of the "Robidoux Grays," the first military company St. Joseph had. He was afterwards captain of a company of militia and then major of a battalion, thus obtaining the title by which his acquaintances addressed him. Previous to 1861 Major Smith served several terms as a city councilman, and in that year was elected mayor. In 1873 he was elected to the important and responsible office of associate justice of the county court. In every office which he held, his record for uprightness, justice and integrity challenged the admiration of every citizen, and stands to-day an example for all his successors.

Major Smith's business career was one of intimate connection with the growth of the city. Here at its birth, and standing sponsor in its baptism, he labored unceasingly through all its young years, with heart, soul and strength for the city's prosperity, and never, for one moment, during all that time, gave up a firm belief that it was destined to be the greatest city of the Missouri valley. It was his pleasure and satisfaction to witness the laying of stone and brick that shaped the chaste and beautiful architecture of superb St. Joseph, and to watch its daily progress from the hour in which he began to survey and plat the town nearly half a century ago.

Major Smith was anxiously interested in every venture of a public or general character that tended to aid in building up the city. He took stock in all of the city's early banks; paid subscriptions to the Hannibal & St. Joseph, her first railroad; was interested in the first iron foundry in St. Joseph and west of St. Louis, afterward known as the Burnside foundry; was one of the few who worked diligently and finally succeeded in locating in St. Joseph the convent of the Sacred Heart, which from a small beginning now looks down from an exalted position among St. Joseph's hills and from an imposing structure. He contributed largely to the Christian Brothers' college, an excellent institution of learning in St. Joseph, and, in short, there was not, at the time of his death, a school or public enterprise in the city which had not received aid at his hands. He owned the first hall in the city, and it was long used for theatrical purposes in the fifties. He was engaged in building a large and modern theatre on Fourth street in 1861, but owing to the business demoralization caused by the war, it was abandoned and sold, and is now used as a church building.

An old proverb says the charm of a man is his kindness. Major Smith had that charm to its fullest extent—kind to his family, friends and every one. He was never known to bear malice or seek revenge. Though greatly wronged at times, and deceived by pretended friends, he always bore it patiently, and forgave and forgot. The poorest individual had the same access to him as the richest. His heart was warm toward all mankind. He was charitable at all times and to every claimant. He did not stop to question if it were policy or a good object, but gave at once, believing that it was better to give to nine unworthy ones rather than deny one that might be worthy. To a person asking his counsel or aid he could not say nay, and many of his financial troubles came of this unbounded generosity. To

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F. W. Smith

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his family he was ever kind. He lived plainly but homelike; nothing was stinted, but the best of everything was at the disposal of his family. He loved home dearly and seldom left the city. Occasional trips with his family to St. Louis, the east and once to Europe were made; but they were short, and he always returned with delight. He would romp and play with his children, and in later life was wrapped up in the pleasures of his grandchildren. He never came from town without bringing them some remembrance, a toy, fruit, cake, or novelty. On leaving his office all business care was thrown away, and he came home cheerful and enjoyed his rest. No matter what troubles he had in business, he never brought them home; that was his haven of rest and enjoyment. Plain in his own dress and manner, he wished his family to have the best. He retired early and was an early riser. Being fond of horses, he always kept a good team, but used them sparingly himself.

He gave his children the best education the state afforded, sending them to the most excellent St. Louis schools and never questioned the cost. He deeded them property and allowed them to manage their own means, never once questioning their expenditures.

In his demise, May 7, 1883, his family lost its mainstay and dependence, a loving father and affectionate husband and counselor, consoled only in the thought that he died in the full faith of a blessed immortality and after receiving the last sad rites of the Catholic church. The older citizens will ever think of him kindly and with deep regret, for he was associated with them in many ways, in enterprises of a business nature and socially. During the span of an average life they become a part of St. Joseph, so closely are their lives and its history interwoven.

In the sixty-eight years of his pilgrimage here below, Major Smith lived as nearly a blameless life as is possible for men. Of quiet and steady habits, filled with sparkling good humor, charitable to a fault, like "Abou Ben Adhem," he loved his fellowmen and delighted to see their tribes increase. His friends were nearly all those who knew him, and his life was well rounded up to begin auspiciously the life in the Great Beyond. When St. Joseph shall erect statues to commemorate the virtues of those whom she loved the best, and to whom she owes the most, amid the marble array will stand a white figure, upon the face of which will be graven the lineaments, and on its base the name, of Frederick William Smith.

COLONEL A. N. SCHUSTER.

One of St. Joseph's (Missouri) best and most successful citizens is Colonel A. N. Schuster, born in Rheinish, Prussia, and educated in the schools of his native land. He came to America in 1857, when he was just twenty years of age, and proceeded at once to Savannah, Missouri, the county-seat of Andrew, about fourteen miles from St. Joseph. There he entered the employment of his uncle, August Schuster, a thrifty merchant, and at once applied himself to the work of acquiring our language during his leisure. His diligence, unremitting perseverance and clear-headedness, traits which have been apparent in all his

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career, quickly made him proficient in English, and he speaks it without the slightest apparent accent.

In those early days at Savannah there were no theatrical amusements, nor any public places of recreation to which young men of exemplary habits could go, so one of their chief amusements was the holding of a moot legislature in which the questions of the day were discussed, and, as it was during the war and the members differed in politics, the questions were serious ones, and were discussed with much warmth at times. In these days young Schuster was called a black Republican on account of his pronounced Union sentiments, and was known as "the senator from St. Louis"—that district being strongly Republican—and the debates of the body assisted him very much in the study of the English language.

His business success was immediate, and he had advanced so far toward a competency by May 1, 1862, that on that day he felt sufficiently justified in taking the first steps toward the care of a family, and was married to Miss Lucretia Price, the accomplished daughter of W. A. Price, a man of prominence in the state and a representative business man of Savannah, and to this twain were born three daughters, Luada, Florence and Edna. Luada is now Mrs. J. W. Hingston, Florence is Mrs. F. B. Hooper, and the husbands of these accomplished young ladies are—the first a member and the second connected with the firm of Schuster, Hingston & Co. Both are excellent business men, handsome, genial and popular. Little Edna died on the sixteenth of March, 1884.

In 1865 Mr. Schuster removed to St. Joseph and took charge of the United States revenue collector's office for the district, which now includes two congressional districts, as deputy collector, his father-in-law being the collector. Carefully and with credit to himself he performed the functions of this office for about a year, when he began merchandising on his own account in St. Joseph. For the six years following he was engaged actively and enterprisingly in his retail mercantile pursuits, and carried on, beside his St. Joseph business, mercantile establishments in three other towns, and at the end of that time went into the wholesale trade.

Notwithstanding his immense and exacting business demands, Colonel Schuster was appointed, in 1869, collector of internal revenue, to succeed General James Craig, and successfully and satisfactorily conducted the business of that office for a district embracing twenty-five counties, until in 1871. In 1872 he was the member for his district of the famous electoral college which discussed so strongly the matter of enfranchising the ex-Confederate element, and warmly and zealously advocated enfranchisement although he was and always has been an intense Republican, politically, and has since had the satisfaction of seeing his views, which were warmly antagonized by some of his colleagues at that time, fully indorsed.

Colonel Schuster has always been a public-spirited man, ready, willing and anxious with his services and means to advance the interests of St. Joseph, and is full of enthusiastic patriotism. Any enterprise calculated to improve St. Joseph or the region thereabout, socially or commer-

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cially, has had his help when needed, and he was one of eight men who from their private means built and equipped the St. Joseph & Des Moines railroad, then a narrow gauge, but since broadened to a standard gauge in the hands of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad company.

Colonel Schuster is yet a strong man and active in his business. He manages the immense establishment of Schuster, Hingston & Co., a wholesale clothing and furnishing goods house, and gives much attention to the private banking establishment of Schuster, Hax & Co., of which he is president. He is also president of several banks in Kansas.

In an interview with Rev. Dr. R. S. Campbell, the pastor of the First Presbyterian church of St. Joseph, the church to which Colonel Schuster belongs, the writer hereof learned much of Colonel Schuster's inner life, which is little known by that gentleman's most intimate friends, and it is all so much to his credit. But so modest a man as he is could not be brought to any talk on that subject. Dr. Campbell says:

For many years Colonel Schuster was one of the deacons of this church and is now an elder. He takes a deep and earnest interest in religious and philanthropic work and is exceedingly liberal with his means in forwarding these matters and always unostentatiously. Frequently, on rough, rainy and bitterly cold nights, I have found him the only male member of the church at prayer meetings, and aside from his effective work for the general good of the church, I have discovered in him a kind-hearted and sympathetic nature that never fails. When there have been funerals of poor, humble and comparatively unknown members of the church, he has, whenever possible, been in attendance and has followed in his carriage the hearse to the burying ground, and in every way he has shown himself to me to be a devout, sincere and untiring Christian gentleman.

The Young Men's Christian Association building of St Joseph is one of the handsomest structures of its kind in the country, beautiful in architecture and imposing in dimensions. It contains, besides the stores which occupy the ground floor, the rental of which serves to assist in the maintenance of the institution, a splendid library and school, a gymnasium with all the modern appliances and accessories, and a spacious and elegant lecture hall, capable of seating nearly a thousand persons, with all the adjuncts and conveniences necessary to such an institution. This superb building was erected with Colonel Schuster as the master spirit. He furnished many thousands of dollars from his own fortune toward the construction of the building, was unceasing in his efforts among his fellow capitalists in securing further large donations, has never halted in the good work, and is now the president of the association in this city.

In the work of advancing the Young Men's Christian association in St. Joseph and erecting the building, Colonel Schuster had zealous co-laborers in Messrs. George T. Hoagland, Milton Tootle and other St. Joseph capitalists, and he is far more inclined to talk of what they did in the matter than of his own most valuable services and donations.

Among all his fellow-citizens, Colonel A. N. Schuster is admired and beloved for the purity of his character, his exemplary life and generous disposition. He is universally regarded as a model man, and his example has wrought well upon the society, and especially among

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the young people of the city which is proud to be his home. His hundreds of good deeds among the deserving poor have filled many hearts with deepest gratitude toward him, and the prayers of the widows and orphans who have been generously helped from his bountiful store have thousands of times been for blessings on his head. One seeing today the grave and thoughtful man, careful and systematic in everything he does, gentle and quiet in all things, would not suspect that in his younger days, in the region where he now lives, in times of war, when dangers often beset him, he was a lion in the defense of his rights and the principles which he espoused. But like all good men, Colonel Schuster is brave physically as well as morally, and hundreds of thrilling incidents of his life in the troublous times mentioned could be told of him if he would allow, but concerning these he says: "I would rather not. Let bygones be bygones."

GEORGE T. HOAGLAND.

A venerable and highly esteemed citizen of St. Joseph is Mr. George T. Hoagland, who has been a potent factor in the enterprises which have made this so fair a city. Only the kindest and warmest words of commendation are used when he is mentioned by those who know him, and in his presence the veriest stranger is won by his gentle and genial manner. His father, Cornelius H. Hoagland, had been many years a resident in the state of New Jersey when George T. was born, February 7, 1814, at Elizabeth. The father died in 1832, and the mother, whose maiden name was Catherine Brown, died in 1880.

George T. Hoagland spent his youth in Elizabeth, and in June, 1832, when he was eighteen years old, made a public profession of religion and joined the Presbyterian church. He has been a devout Christian ever since, but has been for many years a member of the Methodist church, and has at times occupied the pulpit, and has always been a zealous worker in religious affairs.

In his early manhood, and, in fact, before he had gotten beyond his teens, Mr. Hoagland applied himself to the work of acquiring the art of the carpenter, and in 1837 started with a companion for the then far west, for the purpose of spying out a place to locate. Arriving at Cincinnati, after a travel through Pennsylvania for the most part by canal, he found some relations whom he visited and then pushed on, going to St. Louis by steamboat. His companion concluding that Cincinnati was far enough west, decided to go no further. Finding that the water was too low to proceed by steamboat up the Missouri at that time, Mr. Hoagland took passage on a steamer bound down the Mississippi. On the vessel he made the acquaintance of a gentleman who was arranging to start the first bank at Somerville, Tennessee, about forty miles from Memphis. He occupied the same state-room with the banker, who had been to St. Louis for the purpose of obtaining specie for use in his new bank. This specie was contained in a number of boxes which were piled up under the berths in the

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state-room. The banker took a decided fancy to the young carpenter and persuaded him to go to Somerville. Arriving at Memphis, the specie was loaded into two wagons and one of the teams was placed in charge of Hoagland. They journeyed that day nearly half way to Somerville, and put up at night at a wayside tavern. Here the banker met many friends and acquaintances, and Mr. Hoagland says he was astonished to find so many "colonels" and "majors" in one small party. Early the next morning he and the banker resumed their journey toward Somerville and arrived there about dusk, and Mr. Hoagland remained in the place until the spring of the next year. He says his sojourn in Somerville was an exceedingly pleasant one, and he looks back yet to that time with gratifying recollection.

In the spring of 1838 Mr. Hoagland returned to St. Louis and proceeded thence immediately to Boonville, up the Missouri river. There he remained until 1852, working at his trade, and established there the first lumber yard. He was also prominent in the establishment of the first Presbyterian church in Boonville, and was for fourteen years one of the most excellent and respected citizens of that place. Four years after settling in Boonville he returned to Elizabeth on a no less pleasant mission than that of becoming a principal in a wedding. This was in February, 1842, when he was married to Miss Nannie Gale of Haverhill, Massachusetts. Mr. Hoagland returned at once to Boonville with his bride, traveling over the Alleghanies by stage-coach. To them were born three children, George A., Theodore B. and Emeline B. The latter is now the wife of Mr. Benjamin R. Vineyard, a prominent lawyer of St. Joseph. George A. is a leading business man of Omaha, and Theodore is yet in St. Joseph with his father and mother, assisting in the conduct of his father's business, and carrying on a large real estate business of his own, in which he is eminently successful.

In 1852 Mr. Hoagland located in St. Joseph and opened up the first lumber yard in that city for the sale of pine and domestic lumber, sash, doors and blinds and other building material. Afterwards, in 1861, he established the first lumber yard in Omaha of the same character, and soon thereafter did the same thing for Council Bluffs, though he continued to reside in St. Joseph.

At the time of the outbreak of the civil war, the son, George A., then a youth of sixteen or seventeen years, was a student at William Jewell college, Liberty, Missouri, and being associated with many young men whose families were of Confederate proclivities, naturally enough he took the color of his surroundings and became thoroughly imbued with the same ideas. His father, being a Union man and fearing that George might take some contrary steps in that regard, proceeded at once to put a stop to such a movement, and sent the young man to Omaha to look after the lumber interests there. George immediately became diligently and actively concerned in the business, and has remained in Omaha ever since,

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having married a daughter of Mr. Wyman, then the postmaster, one of the leading citizens, and became the owner not only of the lumber business which he formerly had charge of for his father, but of other large commercial interests and landed property in that city.

Mr. Hoagland was, for a number of years, one of the directors and president of the Buchanan County Bank of St. Joseph, which position he resigned before the bank paid up its depositors and suspended business. Owing to ill-health, Mr. Hoagland retired from active business several years ago, and is now engaged principally in the investment of loans, though he is a stockholder in the Badger State Lumber Company of Badger Mills, on the Chippewa river of Wisconsin. He was one of the organizers and was president of this company, which owns large tracts of pine lumber land in Wisconsin, and has its principal wholesale depot at Badger Mills, having removed the headquarters from Hannibal, Missouri. He is also a stockholder in the Badger Lumber Company, which has its headquarters at Kansas City, and extensive yards throughout Missouri, Kansas and other western states. Mr. Hoagland has been closely identified with the interests of St. Joseph, municipal, commercial and social, ever since he located in that city, and has served faithfully and efficiently as a member of the board of aldermen. He has contributed largely to various public enterprises, among the latest being a subscription of five thousand dollars to insure the construction of the Rock Island railroad west from St. Joseph.

He has taken special interest in religious affairs, and was one of the most zealous and valuable members of the Young Men's Christian Association board, in furnishing and raising the money for the erection of the superb structure which that organization owns in St. Joseph. This building was erected at a cost of over sixty thousand dollars, and is an ornament as well as a blessing to St. Joseph.

A man of strong and decisive character, upright, just and generous, George T. Hoagland is a gentleman of high standing among those whom his city delights to honor, and his legion of friends trust that he will live long to enjoy the bounties and blessings which diligence, fair-dealing and business success have brought him.

Rev. Dr. C. I. Van Deventer, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church of St. Joseph, writes concerning Mr. Hoagland as follows:

Mr. George T. Hoagland came to St. Joseph in July, 1852, and the writer in November of the same year, at which time a personal and Christian friendship dates that has been kept up through the passing, changing years to the present.

Others, no doubt, can well represent the successful secular side of his life, but having for a number of years, at different times, been his pastor, it is a pleasure for me to record something of his uprightness and usefulness as a devout and pronounced Christian. He was licensed to preach by the Quarterly Conference of the Methodist Epi-copal church, south, in St. Joseph, in the year 1852, and for several years, while his health was sufficient, was a laborious and useful local preacher. He has also served the church efficiently as class leader, steward and Sunday-school superintendent.

In the latter relation, eight or ten years consecu-

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Geo. T. Hoagland

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ively, and for this last-mentioned and difficult work he was, and with good health would still be, specially fitted and useful. He was a welcome help to the pastors, not only by occasionally supplying the pulpit, but in visiting and comforting the sick. How many, upon beds of pain and death, have had their faith and their hopes revived by his counsels and prayers? Always mindful of the temporal as well as spiritual interests of the church, while growing in ability, he has also enlarged in Christian liberality. He bought the lots on which the Francis Street church and parsonage stand, and turned them over to the church at first cost, aiding liberally in the erection and subsequent improvement of these buildings. He contributed liberally to the cost of the Tenth Street Methodist church and to the East Side Mission, since called by the trustees Hoagland chapel, in St. Joseph, and has given material aid to all of the enterprises of the church with which he is connected, at home as well as to others abroad.

Among his more recent *connectional* as well as *un*denominational contributions, we may mention during the Methodist centenary year—$1,000 to general church extension; $1,000 to missions; and $1,000 to Christian education under the direction of Central college at Fayette, Missouri; also more recently $500 to conference church extension; $500 to the Conference Ministerial Education society; and $500 to Central Female college at Lexington, Missouri. He also gave a valuable building, with ten acres of ground, to the Home of the Friendless in St. Joseph, which, while it could not be made available for the purposes of the Home, yet it is believed that the generous offer, with his subsequent contributions to this object, was a chief incentive in securing the present valuable premises occupied by the Home. He also more recently gave $5,000 towards purchasing ground and erecting a building for the Y. M. C. A., of which association he had been a member and supporter from the date of its organization in this city—while no doubt many of his gifts to charities and religious objects are unknown, it may be, to his most intimate friends.

Mr. Hoagland cannot be far from, if he has not already passed his three-score years and ten, and for a decade or more has been much of his time in poor health, but we trust that a life so long and so actively identified with the good, and so uniformly opposed to the evil, may yet be considerably protracted, and that he may live to be in the future as in the past, a means of blessing in many ways to those of his adopted city as well as to others.

ST. JOSEPH, MO.

Dr. Van Deventer is one of the most able and revered of St. Joseph's clergymen.

WILL L. VISSCHER.

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THE BATTLE OF THE PENINSULA, SEPTEMBER 29, 1812.

GENERAL WADSWORTH'S DIVISION, OHIO MILITIA.

[TRACT No. 51 of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical society, published in December, 1879, contains a paper by the late Colonel Charles Whittlesey upon the part taken by General Wadsworth's division of Ohio militia in the War of 1812. In the concluding paragraph of that paper the writer uses the following words: "It is remarkable that the only engagement known to have been fought on the Western Reserve was not fully described until after the lapse of half a century. We have found only one detailed account of it by a party who participated in the affair. It was written by the late Honorable Joshua R. Giddings of Ashtabula county, a volunteer from Captain Burnham's company. It was first published in the *Fire Lands Pioneer*, Volume I, No. 4, for May, 1859, the details of which must be reserved for a future paper." By the kindness of Honorable C. C. Baldwin, president of the Historical society, we are now permitted to lay before the public Colonel Whittlesey's promised account. Aside from its historical value it will possess an added interest to our readers in the fact that the honored name of the venerable writer once more appears in the list of contributors to these columns, after his labors in this life have ended forever.

An interesting paper upon this same battle, from the pen of Honorable A. G. Riddle, appeared upon page 398, Volume I, of this magazine.—THE EDITOR.]

Captain Cotton's detachment, seventy-two men, landed on the peninsula soon after sunrise. Eight of them were left with the boats under Corporal Coffin. Skirmishers under Sergeants Root and Hamilton, with twelve men each, spread themselves to the right and left of the trail, in the woods. Within ten minutes from the time their feet were on the shore the forward movement commenced. The command rapidly crossed the peninsula to Ramsdale's place on the lake shore, a distance of about eight miles in direction somewhat to the west of north. No Indians were there, but the fires seen by scouts the day previous where the slaughtered cattle were cooked, and other evidences of a savage feast, were abundant.

Beyond Ramsdale's house was the wheat field which had been already harvested, but required some attention in order to make it more secure. This grain was too precious to be lost. The force was collected in the field, when Captain Cotton concluded to return to the boats, Hamilton and his flankers on the right, and Root on the left.

They had abandoned the expectation of a fight, but had not wholly given them-

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selves up to false security. Their flankers were still in position, covering the rear. Root's little party remained a while at the wheat field, following leisurely past Ramsdale's deserted house, about a mile in the direction of the boats, where he was near to the command of Captain Cotton. It was between eleven and twelve in the morning of a clear and pleasant autumn day. They were moving through open timber, the ground covered with a luxurious growth of native grass as high as the waists of the men. A party of Indians rose from the grass, fired a volley into the flankers under Root, gave a savage yell and dropped out of sight. Ramsdale's son was killed and one man wounded, leaving only nine, each of whom sprang behind a tree. In the words of J. R. Giddings, "Root directed his men to shelter themselves behind trees, and by his cool and deliberate movements stimulated them to maintain their ground. Whenever an Indian showed any part of his person he was sure to receive the salutation of our backwoodsman's rifle. The firing was kept up in an irregular manner, constantly interspersed with the yells of the Indians, until the little guard were reinforced from the main body. As the sound of the enemy's rifles first struck the ears of Captain Cotton and his party, they stopped short and stood silent for a moment, when they began to lead off from the rear without orders and without regularity. Many of them raised the Indian yell as they started. As they reached the scene of action each advanced with circumspection as the whistling of balls informed him that he had obtained the post of danger. The firing continued for some fifteen minutes after the first arrival of assistance from the main body, when it appeared to subside by common consent of both parties. As the firing became less animated, the yells of the savages grew faint, and the Indians were seen to drag off their dead and wounded. About the time of these manifestations of a disposition on the part of the enemy to retire from the conflict, Captain Cotton ordered a retreat. It was a matter of much doubt among the officers and men whether the Indians who attacked Root's flank guard were the same who appeared in the bay early in the morning, and who sunk the boats left by Corporal Coffin and his guards. It has always been the opinion of the writer that it was a different party and far less in numbers. Captain Cotton retired and was followed by a large portion of his men. A few remained with Sergeants Root and Rice and maintained their position until the enemy apparently left the field. Mr. Rice was an orderly sergeant in the company to which the writer belonged. He was a man of great physical power, and while in the field exhibited such deliberate courage that he soon after received an appointment from the brigadier-general as a reward for his gallant conduct. He was also permitted to command the next expedition which visited the mouth of the bay a week subsequently. When the firing had entirely ceased, our intrepid sergeants had a consultation, and thought it prudent to retire to where the main body had taken up a position some sixty or eighty rods in the rear of the battle ground. Sergeant Hamilton and his guard were so far distant at the time of

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the attack, that they arrived in time to share only in part of the dangers of this skirmish. As soon as they reached the party under Captain Cotton, that officer proposed to take up a line of march directly for the orchard at which they landed in the morning. To this proposal Sergeant Rice would not consent until the dead and wounded were brought off. He was then ordered to take one-half the men and bring them away. This order was promptly obeyed. The dead and wounded were brought from the scene of action to the place where Cotton was waiting with his men. The dead were interred in as decent a manner as could be done under the circumstances, and the line of march was again resumed. There were but two dead bodies left on the ground at the time of the retreat. Ramsdell, who fell at the first fire, and Blackman, who belonged in the southern part of Trumbull county. James S. Bills was shot through the lungs, and after being carried back to where Cotton had made a stand, and after leaving his last request with a friend, he died before the bodies of Blackman and Ramsdell were interred, and the three bodies were buried together between two logs covered with leaves, dirt and rotten wood. There was but one man so wounded as to be unable to walk. A ball had struck him in the groin, and he was carried on the back of Sergeant Rice most of the distance. Rice was a man of great determination of purpose, and refused to leave his charge during the subsequent skirmish.

There was a very general expectation that the enemy would make an attempt to retrieve their evident discomfiture. They had lost some of their men, but had not taken a single scalp, which, with them, is regarded as disreputable, particularly when they are the aggressors, as in this instance.

The order of march was the same as it had been previously. All proceeded regularly and silently towards the place of landing. When the main body moving along the road had arrived in sight of the improvement at the middle orchard, there suddenly appeared two Indians, some thirty or forty rods in front of the foremost numbers of our party. The Indians appeared to have suddenly discovered our men and started to run from them. Our men in front made pursuit, while others, more cautious than their comrades, called loudly for them to stop, assuring them there was danger near. Our friends stopped suddenly, and at that instant the whole body of Indians fired upon our line, being at farthest not more than twenty rods distant, entirely concealed behind a ledge of trees that had been prostrated by the wind. It was a most unaccountable circumstance that not a man of our party was injured at this fire. The Indians were on the right of the road, and, of course, between the road and bay. Our party betook themselves each to his tree and returned the fire as they could catch sight of the enemy. The firing was irregular for some three or five minutes when Sergeant Hamilton, with the right flank guard, reached the scene of action. He had unconsciously fallen somewhat behind the main body during the march. As he advanced he came directly upon the Indians' left wing. His first fire put them to flight, leaving two or three of their number on the ground. As they retreated they crossed

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the road in front of the main body, who by this time had been joined by Sergeant Root and the left guard. Having crossed the road, the Indians turned about and resumed the fire.

At this time Captain Cotton began to retire towards a log building standing within the cleared land. The retreat was very irregular, some of the men remaining on the ground and keeping up an animated fire upon the enemy until Cotton and those who started with him reached the house in which they took shelter. Those in the rear at last commenced a hasty retreat also, and were pursued by the Indians until they came within range of the rifles of those who had found shelter in the house. The Indians commenced a fire upon those in the house and kept it up for a short time, keeping themselves concealed behind the brush and small timber. Captain Cotton, with about twenty men, entered this building and very handsomely covered the retreat of those who remained longest on the field. There were about thirty of those who passed by the house and proceeded to the place where we had landed in the morning, expecting to find the boats in which they might escape across the bay. There were six wounded men brought away that evening, making with the guard left in the boat thirty-seven. These were joined by those who had remained on Cedar Point from the time they left Bull's island on their way from Lower Sandusky, so that the whole party who reached Huron that night were between forty and fifty. The guard and two of the boats were gone. The other two boats were scuttled. They dare not venture to the house, naturally supposing that it was surrounded by the enemy. Some of them pulled off their clothes and attempted to stop the holes in one of the boats, so as to enable them to cross the bay in it. Others fled at once down the shore of the bay in order to get as far from the enemy as they could, entertaining a hope that some means would offer by which they might cross over to Cedar Point. Others followed, and before sunset all those who had not sought shelter in the house were on the eastern point of the peninsula with their six wounded comrades. The firing was distinctly heard on Cedar Point by Corporal Coffin and his guard of seven men, who, under a state of extreme anxiety for the fate of their companions, put off from the point and lay as near the peninsula as they thought safe from the rifles of the enemy, should there be any there. They rejoiced to see their friends coming down the point, bringing their wounded, wet with perspiration, many of them stained with blood, and all appearing ready to sink under the fatigues and excitement of nearly twenty-four hours' unmitigated effort.

The boats were small, and one of them was loaded at once and crossed to Cedar Point and returned, with the assistance of the other took in all that remained on the point of the peninsula, and crossed over. All were now collected on the beach at Cedar Point. Sergeant Wright was the highest officer in command. Eight men were detailed as oarsmen and ordered to take in the six wounded men and move directly for the mouth of Huron river. I do not recollect the number of men placed in the other boat, but believe it was eight. The remainder took up the march

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for Huron by land. It was my lot to act as one of the oarsmen on board the boat on which the wounded were placed. Daylight was fast fading away when we put out from Cedar Point into the mouth of the bay. Here we stopped some little time and listened in the silence of the evening for any noise that might come from the house in which our companions were left. Hearing nothing from that distance, we started for the mouth of Huron river. We entered the river and arrived at a place then called "Sprague's Landing," about a mile above the mouth, about one or two o'clock on the morning of the thirtieth of September. An advance post was kept at that point, and we fortunately found one of the assistant surgeons belonging to the service at that place. We soon started a fire in a vacant cabin and placed the wounded in it, and delivered them over to the care of the medical officer to whom I have alluded, but whose name I am now unable to recollect. Having accomplished this, our Sergeant Rice proposed going to headquarters that night, provided a small party would volunteer to accompany him. Anxious that the earliest possible information of the situation of Captain Cotton and his party on the peninsula should be communicated, some eight or ten of us volunteered to accompany our determined and persevering sergeant. In the darkness of the night we mistook the road, and finding ourselves on a branch leading south, and which left Camp Avery on the right perhaps a mile and a half, we attempted to wend our way through the forest. We soon lost our course, but wandered through openings and woods until daylight enabled us to direct our course with some degree of correctness. We struck the road near what was then called "Abbott's Landing," and reached camp a little after sunrise. Arrived at headquarters both officers and men were soon made acquainted with the situation of our friends who yet remained on the peninsula. But in the enfeebled state of our skeleton army it was difficult to obtain a sufficient force to send out to relieve them. During the forenoon Lieutenant Allen (of the company to which I belonged) succeeded in raising some thirty volunteers, and started to the peninsula in order to bring home those we had left there. The necessity of this movement will be understood when the reader is informed that Captain Cotton and his men were destitute of all means of crossing the bay. Lieutenant Allen, however, met with difficulty in obtaining boats to convey his men across the bay, and did not reach Captain Cotton and his party until the morning of the first of October. They then found our friends in the house, but the enemy were not to be seen.

Soon after Captain Cotton and his men commenced firing upon them from the house, they retired out of danger. They seemed not to have noticed those who passed by the house in order to find the boats, and who then passed down the bay to the point of the peninsula, on Monday, during the skirmish. Had they discovered those men, they would doubtless have pursued and massacred them all. Being unconscious of this, and there being no prospect of effecting any injury to those in the house, they retired to the scene of action and stripped and scalped two of our dead whom we left on

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the field. They mutilated the body of Simons, who fell during the skirmish. His right hand was cut off, and the scalping knife of a chief named Omick was left plunged to the hilt in his breast. This Indian had previously resided at a small village on the east bank of the Pymatuning creek, in the township of Wayne, in the county of Ashtabula. I had been well acquainted with him for several years, and so had many others who were engaged in the combat of that day, some of whom declared that they recognized him during the skirmish. It is also supposed that he must have recognized some of his old acquaintances, and left his knife in the body of Simons as a token of triumph. The knife was recognized by some of the soldiers from its peculiar handle of carved ivory. The Indians took away and secreted the bodies of their own dead. There were three of our men killed during this latter skirmish. Mason lived on Huron river, and cultivated the farm on which we were encamped. He came into camp on the twenty-eighth, about sunset, volunteered for the expedition and accompanied us on our march. He was shot through the lower region of the breast, the ball evidently having passed through some portion of the lungs, as the blood flowed from his mouth and nose. A friend took him upon his shoulder and attempted to bring him off the field, but as the enemy pressed hard upon them, Mason requested his friend to set him beside a tree, and give him a gun and leave him to his fate. His friend, knowing that at best he could only prolong his life a few moments, sat him down as requested and left him. He was seen some moments subsequently by those who passed him in haste, flying before the pursuing enemy. They reported him as still sitting up beside the tree, and the blood flowing from his mouth and nose. They also stated that they heard the report of his musket soon after they passed him, and the report of several rifles instantly followed. On examining the body, it was found that several balls had passed through his breast, and it was generally supposed that he fired upon the enemy as they approached him, and that in return several Indians fired at him. His body was stripped of its clothing and he was scalped.

On the arrival of Lieutenant Allen and his party at the house, Captain Cotton joined him, and they proceeded to bury the bodies of those two men. Mingus (I may have forgotten the name of this man, but I think such was the name) was also killed during this skirmish. His brother saw him fall, immediately seized the body and, raising it upon his shoulder, proceeded to the house with it. After the Indians had retired out of sight and left our friends somewhat at leisure, they proceeded to raise a portion of the floor, composed of planks split from large timber. They then dug a sort of grave and, burying the body, replaced the floor, leaving no signs of the body being deposited there. Captain Cotton and Lieutenant Allen and his party then recrossed the bay, and returned to camp on the evening of the first of October. The next morning we again mustered, and the roll of volunteers was called. The names of the killed and wounded being noted, we were dismissed, and each returned to his own company.

CHARLES WHITTLESEY.

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THE BENCH AND BAR OF RAMSEY COUNTY, MINNESOTA.

RAMSEY county is the lineal descendant of the county of St. Croix, which the territory of Minnesota inherited from the territory of Wisconsin when the latter territory became a state of the Union. It is one of the original counties established by the first legislature which convened in the territory, and was created by act of October 27, 1849. It has always been the leading county of the territory and state in population, wealth, commerce and social influence, as well as containing the capital of both territory and state, and since the admission of Minnesota into the Union the circuit court of the United States has always been held at St. Paul, the principal city of the county. With all these elements of power and advantage, it is not surprising that the bar of Ramsey county, regarded collectively, has always been the most prominent and influential of any in the commonwealth. From the earliest days in its history it has had inscribed upon its rolls the names of many men who would adorn the bar of any state as well for learning and ability as for high and honorable standing in the profession.

The industries and capital of St. Paul having been, during all the earlier period of its existence and up to quite a recent date, devoted almost exclusively to commerce and finance, were much more prolific of important litigation than the manufacturing, lumbering, and the agricultural interests of other portions of the state. It is a well ascertained fact that any given amount of capital invested in the various branches of business which combine to create commerce, will be productive of more litigation than three times the amount engaged in any kind of manufacturing. It is quite natural, therefore, that about the financial and commercial centre of the state should be found the leading representatives of the bar, and this is said without any disparagement of the individuals who compose the bars of other counties of the state, many of whom are second to none in Ramsey county, or, we can truthfully say, in the entire northwest.

In treating of the bar of this county we will divide the subject into two periods: the traditional, the materials for which rest mainly in the recollection of a very few living men, and the record period, which covers the time since the methods of civilization superseded those of the rude frontier.

Much more interest usually attaches to the early days of a country when everything is fresh, free and disorderly, than to the more regular proceedings of courts and lawyers in after times, when judicial work is conducted in a manner which robs it of the possibility of humor, romance or adventure. We shall, therefore, endeavor to record the history of the traditional period as fully as the facts attainable will permit.

Henry H. Sibley, now a distinguished citizen of St. Paul, was undoubtedly the

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first person who ever engaged in the practice of the law in any part of what is now the state of Minnesota. In 1835 and 1836 he resided at St. Peter's, now Mendota, in Dakota county, and was connected with one of the great fur companies which occupied the country at that time. He was not then admitted to the bar, but being a young man of fine ability, and having familiarized himself with the principles of the common law, and there being no one else in the country who made any pretensions in that direction, the necessities of the situation induced him to hang out a shingle announcing himself as an attorney and counselor at law. Even tradition does not inform us that Mr. Sibley ever tried a case, as there were no courts nearer than Prairie du Chien, except the one held by himself as a justice of the peace, which we will speak of hereafter. General Sibley still retains the professional sign he put up fifty-one years ago. It is ornamented with a bullet hole, which was accidentally made in it from the careless handling of a gun by someone, indicating that powder and lead were more in vogue in those days than the wordy weapons of the profession.

General Sibley was also the first judicial officer who ever exercised the functions of a court of law in any part of the new state of Minnesota. He was commissioned a justice of the peace in 1835 or 1836 by Governor Chambers of Iowa, with a jurisdiction extending from twenty miles south of Prairie du Chien to the British boundary on the north, White river on the west, and the Mississippi on the east. When he committed an offender for a crime of sufficient magnitude to preclude his trying and sentencing him, there was no place to send him except Prairie du Chien, which often involved the necessity of holding him for a long time before an opportunity would occur to dispose of him. Tradition says that this magistrate would sometimes, in cases of pressing urgency, extend his jurisdiction into Wisconsin, on the east side of the Mississippi, one instance of which is well authenticated: A man named Phalen, from whom the lake which supplies St. Paul with water took its name, was charged with the murder of a discharged sergeant from the United States army, named Hayes. The murder was committed on the east side of the Mississippi in Wisconsin. Justice Sibley held the examination, committed the offender to jail at Prairie du Chien, and he was duly forwarded and no questions asked by anyone. After the organization of our territory, General Sibley was duly admitted to the bar.

Prior to the admission of Wisconsin into the Union, which occurred on the twenty-ninth day of May, 1848, all the country west of the St. Croix river and east of the Mississippi was a part of the county of St. Croix, in the territory of Wisconsin, which was a fully organized county for judicial purposes, having its district court and all proper county officials. The first attempt at holding a term of the district court west of the St. Croix was in 1842. Joseph R. Brown had been appointed clerk of the court and had his residence on the bank of Lake St. Croix, at the point where now stands the city of Stillwater. Mr. Brown was not a lawyer, but he was a man of extraordinary ability, enlarged experience on

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the frontier and among the Indians. His versatile talents fitted him for anything he undertook, and there were very few things, from playing the fife in the army to editing the leading newspaper in St. Paul, and framing the state constitution, that he did not take a prominent part in. He was among the first lumbermen on the St. Croix, Indian trader with the Sioux, member of the legislature of both Wisconsin and Minnesota territories, United States agent for the Sioux, editor of the *St. Paul Pioneer* and other papers, and a member of the constitutional convention that framed our present state constitution, and in every important position he held he displayed marked ability. His last undertaking was the invention of a steam motor to traverse the western prairies. On this idea he expended large sums of money, but died before bringing it to a state of practical utility.

In 1842 Judge Irwin, then one of the territorial judges of Wisconsin, came up the river from Prairie du Chien to hold a term of the court which had been appointed for St. Croix county. He landed at Fort Snelling, and could find no one who could give him any information about localities, or anything concerning the court, until he reached the trading house of Norman W. Kittson, which was situated a mile or two above the fort, at Big Spring, and near where the St. Louis house subsequently stood. Mr. Kittson gave him the address of Joseph R. Brown, the clerk of the court, and furnished him a horse on which to reach Stillwater. After a weary journey he arrived at Lake St. Croix, but could find neither habitation nor human being until he discovered a log house, which was occupied by Joseph R. Brown, the clerk of his court. Either Brown had not been informed of the contemplated term or had forgotten it, but at all events no preparations had been made for holding it, and the disgusted judge took the first chance down the river, swearing it was the last time he would ever answer a summons to St. Croix county. Tradition says that Brown, being of a speculative turn of mind, had procured the appointment of the term for the purpose of advertising the country and luring immigration to his region.

Five years elapsed before another attempt was made to hold a term of court in St. Croix county. In June, 1847, the district court convened at Stillwater, Judge Dunn, then chief-justice of Wisconsin territory, presiding. Much interest was felt in this term on account of the trial of the Indian chief "Wind," who was charged with murder. Many noted attorneys of Wisconsin took advantage of this opportunity to visit the remote county of St. Croix. Among those who attended the court were: Benjamin C. Eastman of Platteville; Frank Dunn, Samuel J. Crawford, Moses M. Strong of Mineral Point; Thomas P. Burnette of Patch Grove; Hiram Knowlton of Prairie du Chien, and others.

Judge Dunn appointed Samuel Crawford prosecuting attorney for the term, and Benjamin C. Eastman to defend the prisoner, "Wind." The trial was had and the chief acquitted. This was the first jury trial that took place within the present limits of Minnesota, as well as the first criminal trial in a court of record, and this term was the only one ever held

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within the limits of the state while it was part of Wisconsin.

When Wisconsin was admitted into the Union in May, 1848, its western boundary was the Mississippi river up to the mouth of St. Croix, and the lake and river St. Croix beyond that point. The adoption of this boundary left all the territory west of the St. Croix and east of the Mississippi without any government. Stillwater was then something of a settlement, having the largest population of any place west of the new state, included in which were some lawyers. Morton S. Wilkinson had been living there since early in the year 1847. Henry L. Moss located there in April, 1848.

Morton S. Wilkinson is a native of New York and a man of great natural ability and brilliancy. As an advocate he has few equals. His figure is tall and commanding; his features are thin, marked and intellectual. He has been in the practice of his profession ever since his arrival at Stillwater, and has filled many positions of honor and trust, and has always performed all his public duties with ability and fidelity. He was once register of deeds of Ramsey county. Has been in both branches of the local legislature. Was United States senator and member of the house of representatives from the state of Minnesota. He practiced for many years as a member of the Ramsey county bar; lived for some time in Mankato and now resides at Wells, in Faribault county, and was county attorney there. Mr. Wilkinson enjoys excellent health and has the prospect of a long life before him.

Henry L. Moss was appointed United States district attorney for the territory of Minnesota at its organization, and held the office during the administration under which he was appointed, and until Governor Gorman succeeded Governor Ramsey, performing its duties with ability and success. Mr. Moss is a good lawyer and has seen much practice in the early days of the territory and state. He removed to St. Paul from Stillwater about the time of the organization of the territory, and at one time was engaged in the practice of his profession with Lafayette Emmett, the first chief-justice of the state. For many years Mr. Moss has not practiced, but has devoted his attention to the business of insurance, in which he is now largely engaged. He resides in St. Paul, and is in vigorous health.

On account of the uncertainty created by the anomalous condition of things existing in the strip of country embracing Stillwater and St. Paul, as to whether it was within any political jurisdiction or had any government, no courts were held west of the St. Croix, not even justices' courts, during the year 1848. To remedy this difficulty, the leading citizens met for consultation in the month of August, 1848, and adopted the theory that the admission of a part of the territory of Wisconsin as a state did not necessarily disorganize the remnant. They opened correspondence with John Catlin of Madison, Wisconsin, who was secretary of the territory of Wisconsin at the time of its admission as a state, and who had become *ex-officio* governor, on the election of Governor Dodge to the United States senate, and invited him to come to Stillwater and proclaim the government of

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the territory to be in force over the remnant of it which was left. Accordingly, in the month of September, 1848, Governor Catlin, with his family, removed to Stillwater and assumed the position of chief magistrate of the territory of Wisconsin, and issued his proclamation for the election of a delegate to congress. An election was held in November following, and Henry H. Sibley was chosen. He was admitted to a seat in congress, and the next year the territory of Minnesota was organized, as we shall see hereafter.

The first effort that was ever made toward the erection of a court-house in the territory was in Stillwater, in December, 1847. The following subscription paper was circulated, with the success which it bears on its face. It shows that even in that very early day the inhabitants were public-spirited according to their means:

We, the undersigned, hereby agree to pay the amount set opposite our respective names, to be invested in a court-house and jail in the town of Stillwater, to be built according to a plan submitted by Jacob Fischer, provided the county of St. Croix will pay the balance of the cost of said building after deducting $1,200; which amount we propose to raise by this subscription and pay the same to the holder of this paper as may be required for the progress of the building.

STILLWATER, December 18, 1847.

John McKusick	$ 400 00
Jacob Fischer	50 00
Churchill & Nelson	200 00
Orange Walker for Marine L. Co	100 00
W. Holcombe	50 00
John W. Brewster	50 00
John Morgan	20 00
William Cave	25 00
William Stanchfield (paid)	50 00
A. Harris	25 00
Jesse Taylor	25 00
Wm. Willlm	25 00
C. Carli	$ 25 00
A. Northup	100 00
Nelson McCarty	15 00
M. S. Wilkinson	15 00
	$1,175 00

Quite a number of the subscribers to this enterprise are still living and will be recognized by the old settlers. The court-house was erected on the summit of one of the hills in Stillwater, and the first court of 1849 was held in it.

The only evidence we have been able to find of any legal proceedings being had in St. Croix county in 1848, is the record of a writ of attachment issued out of the district court at the suit of Thomas H. West against Anson Northup for the recovery of $3,100 39-100. It is attested in the name of the Honorable Charles Dunn, judge of the district, on the fifteenth day of May, 1848, and signed by Joseph R. Brown, "Clerk D. C. S. C. C. W. T.," which, interpreted, means "clerk of the district court of St. Croix county, Wisconsin territory." To this writ is a return of the sheriff, John Morgan, of service.

Nothing further appears to have been done in the suit, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that Mr. Northup was armed with a good and sufficient defence, or the uncertainty of the jurisdiction of Wisconsin over the county deterred the prosecution.

On the third day of March, 1849, the organic act creating the territory of Minnesota was passed by congress. It is entitled, "An act to establish the Territorial Government of Minnesota." The President of the United States appointed Alexander Ramsey governor of the territory; Charles K. Smith, secretary; Aaron Goodrich, chief-justice; David Cooper

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and Bradley B. Meeker, associate justices; Alexander Mitchell, marshal; and Henry L. Moss, United States attorney.

At the time of the passage of this act the only attorneys residing in what is now Ramsey county were David Lambert, William D. Phillips and Bushrod W. Lott, all of St. Paul. David Lambert was admitted to the bar of New York, and came from Madison, Wisconsin, to St. Paul in 1848. He was a man of fine ability, but his career was short. He was drowned from a steamboat on the Mississippi river, in November, 1849, aged about thirty years.

William D. Phillips was a native of Maryland, and was admitted to the bar of that state. He came to St. Paul in 1848, and was the first district attorney of the county of Ramsey. He was elected to this office in 1849. He continued in the practice of his profession at St. Paul until the election of President Pierce, under whose administration he received an appointment to a clerkship in one of the departments at Washington. He never returned to St. Paul and is supposed to have died many years ago.

Mr. Phillips was a very eccentric person, and many anecdotes are related of him. On one occasion an opposing attorney, who had very recently arrived in the territory, in the trial of a cause, cited a clause of the statutes against him and endeavored to put a construction upon it, which Phillips controverted. In the discussion which followed, the new attorney made some classical allusion, in which the names of Cicero or Demosthenes occurred. Mr. Phillips, in replying, became very much excited, and, rising in a flight of eloquence, he said:

> The gentleman may be a classical scholar. He may be as eloquent as Demosthenes. He has probably ripped with old Euripides, socked with old Socrates, and canted with old Cantharides, but, gentlemen of the jury, what does he know about the laws of Minnesota?

As illustrative of his possessing in a high degree the quality which every lawyer is popularly supposed to excel in, that of never forgetting to charge for services performed, on one occasion Henry M. Rice presented him with a lot on Third street, on which to erect an office, and when he presented his bill for services there was an item of four dollars for drawing the deed.

Bushrod W. Lott was a native of New Jersey. He removed to Illinois when quite young, and was admitted to the bar of that state. He commenced the practice of law in St. Paul, in 1848. He has been a member of the house of representatives, in the legislature several terms, United States consul at Tehuantepec, and has held other public trusts. Mr. Lott did not practice his profession for many years, and died about a year ago.

Soon after the passage of the act establishing the territorial government of Minnesota, the officers appointed to organize it made their appearance, and on the first day of June, 1849, Governor Ramsey issued his proclamation declaring the territorial government duly organized.

The organic act by section 9 provided "that the judicial power of said territory shall be vested in a supreme court, district courts, probate courts, and in justices of the peace. The supreme court shall consist of a chief-justice and two associate justices, and two of whom shall constitute a quorum, and who shall hold a

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term at the seat of government of said territory annually." . . . . "The said territory shall be divided into three judicial districts, and a district court shall be held in each of said districts by one of the justices of the supreme court at such times and places as may be prescribed by law; and the said judges shall after their appointment respectively reside in the district which shall be assigned to them."

The act then proceeds to define many matters pertaining to the courts, their jurisdiction, and the administration of justice, which are not of sufficient interest to be further quoted here.

In pursuance of this law the governor, on the eleventh day of June, 1849, issued a proclamation dividing the territory into judicial districts, and assigning the judges to them. The county of St. Croix alone was erected into the First district and Chief-Justice Aaron Goodrich was assigned to it; all the rest of the territory was divided into the Second and Third districts, and Judge Meeker was assigned to the Second and Judge Cooper to the Third.

In the same proclamation the governor appointed the first term of the district court for the first district to be held at Stillwater on the second Monday of August, 1849, to continue one week, and the second term in said district to be held at the same place on the second Monday of February, 1850, also to continue one week.

In pursuance of this proclamation the court was held, Chief-Justice Goodrich presiding, assisted by Judge Cooper. The following editorial notice of the same appears in the *Chronicle and Register*, published at St. Paul on August 25, 1849:

> The court for the First judicial district, Honorable Aaron Goodrich presiding, assisted by Honorable David Cooper, closed its first term on Saturday last, after a laborious sitting of six days. Considerable more business was brought before the court than had been anticipated. Thirty-five cases stood upon the trial docket at the opening of the term. The proceedings were for the first two or three days somewhat crude, owing to the assembly of a bar composed of persons from nearly every state in the Union, holding all their natural prejudices in favor of the practice of the courts they had recently left, and against those of all other places in Christendom. . . . . The grand jury found ten bills during their session, as follows: One for assault and battery with intent to maim, one for perjury, four for selling liquor to Indians, and four for keeping gaming houses. Only the first was tried, the others lying over until the next term.

The article speaks in high praise of M. S. Wilkinson, who was the prosecuting attorney, and of the hospitality of the people of Stillwater.

This was the first court ever held in Minnesota. The record of this term discloses that it was opened on Monday, August 13, 1849. That there were present: Honorable Aaron Goodrich, judge of the First judicial district of Minnesota territory, presiding; Alexander M. Mitchell, United States marshal; Henry L. Moss, United States district attorney; Morton S. Wilkinson, district attorney, St. Croix county; John Morgan, sheriff, St. Croix county; Harvey Wilson, clerk United States district court, St. Croix county; William Henry Forbes, interpreter.

On the first day of this term, the following named attorneys were admitted to practice: Morton S. Wilkinson, Henry L. Moss, David Lambert, H. A. Lambert, George Goble, John A. Wakefield, Hiram Knowlton, Charles K. Smith, Alexander M. Mitchell, John S. Goodrich, William

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D. Phillips, Edmund Rice, Ellis G. Whitall, and Samuel H. Dent. Of these gentlemen the following were residents of St. Paul: The two Lamberts, Messrs. Wakefield, Smith, Mitchell, Phillips, Rice, Whitall and Dent.

On the second day the court admitted Putnam B. Bishop and Lorenzo A. Babcock.

On the fourth day Alexander Wilkin and Bushrod W. Lott were admitted, also Messrs. Bishop, Wilkin and Lott of St. Paul, and Mr. Babcock of Sauk Rapids.

On the fourth day an indictment was returned by the grand jury against William D. Phillips, the attorney of whom we have previously spoken, for an assault with intent to maim. The case was tried and a verdict rendered against Mr. Phillips for an assault, and he was fined twenty-five dollars.

This being the first indictment ever found and tried in Minnesota, and being against an attorney of the court, it possesses some historic interest. Mr. Phillips, in an altercation with the prosecuting witness, drew a pistol on him, and the question in the case was whether the pistol was loaded or not. The witness swore that it was, and that he could see the load. The prisoner, as the law then stood, could not testify in his own behalf, and there was no way for him to disprove this fact. He, however, always felt very much aggrieved at the verdict against him, and explained the assertion of the witness, that he *saw* the load, in this way. Mr. Phillips said he had been around electioneering for H. M. Rice, against Mr. Sibley, and from the unsettled state of the country he found it difficult to get his meals regularly. So he carried crackers and cheese in his pockets, and the pistol being in the same pocket, a piece of the cracker got into the muzzle of the pistol, and the fellow was so scared that he thought the pistol was charged to the brim.

On the sixth day of the term Samuel H. Quay and Laysel B. Wait were admitted to practice.

Mr. Quay was one of the publishers of the Minnesota *Register* in St. Paul, and Mr. Wait was at the time of his admission a resident of Stillwater, but for many years after of St. Paul, and engaged in various mercantile pursuits. Neither of these gentlemen ever practiced law that can be discovered.

At this term our much respected citizen, Mr. Nathan Myrick, was indicted for selling liquor to Indians. This affair grew out of a seizure of Mr. Myrick's goods, as an Indian trader, by Captain Monroe of the United States army, for an alleged breach of the trade and intercourse laws. Mr. Myrick was arrested by Captain Monroe, and held a prisoner one night, and then released. The difficulty was amicably adjusted between Mr. Myrick and the captain, and, so far as the former was concerned, would have been allowed to drop, but when the indictment was found, Mr. Myrick at once, by Masterson & Simons, his attorneys, commenced an action against Captain Monroe for false imprisonment, and recovered a judgment of $666.66, which the government subsequently paid, thus fully vindicating Mr. Myrick from any infraction of the laws. The indictment was never tried.

Mr. Harvey Wilson, who figures as the

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clerk of the first court ever held in Minnesota, continued to hold the office, the clerk of the district court of Washington county, continuously from the organization of that county in 1849, to the time of his death about nine years ago.

Alexander Wilkin admitted at this term, was an elder brother of Judge Westcott Wilkin, at present and for many years past the honored judge of the district court of Ramsey county. He had been an officer in the United States army in the Mexican war, and was always called in the olden time "Captain Wilkin." He was a man of small stature, but indomitable will and energy, and uncompromising integrity. The captain was quick to resent an affront, and in the free and fighting days of the territory, had several personal encounters with parties who had given him offense, but happily none of them resulted seriously to either party.

The captain operated largely in real estate and acquired a considerable quantity of valuable lands. He was appointed secretary of the territory to succeed Charles K. Smith, and performed the duties of that office until the election of President Pierce. He was an officer of the celebrated Pioneer guards, the first military organization formed in the territory. He visited Europe during the Crimean war in 1854, and traveled extensively, and when the civil war commenced in this country in 1861, he went to the front as an officer in the First Minnesota regiment. He was soon promoted through various grades to the command of the Ninth Minnesota, and after participating in many of the battles of the war, and exhibiting a high degree of valor and skill as a military leader, he was killed at the battle of Tupelo. Colonel Wilkin is remembered by all who enjoyed his acquaintance, with great respect and affection. He did not engage in the practice of law very extensively.

In September, 1849, Michael E. Ames located in Stillwater and opened a law office. Mr. mes soon after removed to St. Paul, where he practiced his profession until his death. He was a native of Vermont, but came to Minnesota from Baraboo, Wisconsin. Mr. Ames was one of the leading members of the bar of Ramsey county. He was a persuasive orator and a successful advocate.

Edmund Rice, who was admitted at the first term of the court, is a native of Vermont, but immigrated to Minnesota from Michigan. Mr. Rice devoted himself to the practice of the law up to about the year 1856, when the railroad interests of the state began to assume prominence. He took a lively interest in railroad matters from that date, and has since almost exclusively devoted himself to those enterprises, building the first roads ever constructed in this territory. He has been president of several of the leading railroad companies and well deserves to be styled the father of railroads in this state, so far as relates to bringing the system from theory to actual construction and operation, while the conception of the system and the securing of the great land grants largely belongs to his brother, Henry M. Rice, for a long time delegate and United States senator from Minnesota. Mr. Edmund Rice has always enjoyed the confidence and warm friendship of the people of Minnesota to

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a degree hardly equaled by any other man, and may be said to-day to be the most popular as well as one of the handsomest men in the state. He was chosen mayor of St. Paul by an unusually large majority, after filling many offices of trust and honor invariably with satisfaction to his constituency, and is at present a member of congress from this state.

CHARLES E. FLANDRAU.

[*To be continued.*]

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT UTICA, NEW YORK.

THE Oneida Historical society was organized December 1, 1876, at an informal meeting held in the office of Honorable Charles W. Hutchinson, at which a committee consisting of John F. Seymour, Alexander Seward and Robert S. Williams, was appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws, and to nominate a list of officers. At a subsequent meeting, held December 15, 1876, this committee submitted its report, which was adopted. The officers elected were the same as those elected in 1879, with the exception of Dr. M. M. Bagg, recording secretary, who resigned that office in January, 1878. The articles of incorporation were filed in the office of the secretary of state on the sixteenth day of November, 1878. First officers of the society, 1879: President, Horatio Seymour; vice-presidents, Charles W. Hutchinson, Alexander Seward, Edward Huntington; recording secretary, S. N. D. North; corresponding secretary and librarian, Morven M. Jones; treasurer, Robert S. Williams; executive committee, John F. Seymour, S. G. Visscher, John L. Earll, William J. Bacon, Richard U. Sherman; board of councilors, 1876, Roscoe Conkling, Pomroy Jones, Luther Guiteau, Philo White, Daniel B. Goodwin, Charlemagne Tower, John Stryker, Ward Hunt, Ellis H. Roberts, Richard U. Sherman, Dewitt C. Grove, Francis Kernan, John H. Edmonds, Michael Moore, Edward North, Othniel S. Williams, William D. Walcott, Daniel E. Wager, John P. Gray, Daniel Batchelor, John F. Seymour, William J. Bacon; 1878, Simon G. Visscher, John G. Crocker, Theodore S. Faxton; 1879, John L. Earll.

By the courtesy of the board of school commissioners of the city of Utica, the society has been permitted to occupy rooms in the handsome library building from its first organization up to the present time. It is the mission of this society to cover in its collections and researches the entire territory embraced in the original civil division of central New York — the county of Tryon, erected in 1772, rechristened Montgomery, in contempt of a royal governor, in 1774; divided in 1791 into the counties of Montgomery, Otsego, Tioga, Ontario and Herkimer, Oneida county being erected out of the latter

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in 1798. It is a wide field, for the boundaries of Tryon county included all the territory lying west of a line running nearly north and south through the present county of Schoharie. All the state of New York west of that line is our legitimate field. That county included the hunting grounds of the Five Nations of Iroquois, who were the owners of this soil before our fathers possessed themselves of it, and whose civil and military achievements form a glorious chapter in the aboriginal history of America. We are the centre of the famous "long house" within fifty miles of the spot where the council fires were held, and so directly in the home of the Oneida tribe of Iroquois—the only one of the original Five Nations which stood by the colonists in their struggle for independence—that Utica is the custodian of its "Sacred Stone." In many ways the original Tryon county is peculiarly interesting, in a historical point of view. Hither lived, labored and died Sir William Johnson, in many respects the most prominent figure in the colonial annals of America. Here also lived his sons and their ally, Joseph Brandt, who made the Mohawk valley forever memorable as the scene of the fiercest and most relentless Indian and Tory massacre. Hither migrated the chief segment of the exiled Palatinates; and the story of their pioneer battles with the wilderness, their revolutionary patriotism under circumstances the most perilous that tested the nerves of any colonists, with the later record of their remarkable assimilation with the American race—a story never yet fully written out—offers inspiration for song, romance and history. Here, also, were the frontier and defensive forts and castles both of the French, the Indians and the English, as well as of the colonists—Fort Bull, Fort Plain, Fort House, Fort Hill, Fort Hunter, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler, Fort Stanwix, Fort Oswego and Fort Brewerton. Here passed and repassed along the water-courses, over the Indian fords and through the trackless forests, the military expeditions of French and English, until the prowess of the latter at length determined that the English race and civilization should predominate upon the continent. Here were fought the battles of Oriskany and Saratoga, upon whose fields the war for independence ceased to be a rebellion and became a revolution. Here the Western Island Lock Navigation company made the first attempt at artificial water navigation in America, an attempt which soon developed into the Erie canal, upon whose waters the commerce of a continent traverses from the lakes to the Atlantic. Here was the scene of the romantic adventure and the untoward fate of the Castorland company, and here is the grave and monument of the brave Baron Steuben. Here was tested one of the first railroads ever built. Here was organized the first express company. Here the telegraph was put to its first practical utility. Here were erected the first cotton factory and the first woolen factory chartered by the state of New York, and here has been the home of more than a due proportion of

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the statesmen whose life-work is a part of the history of New York and the Nation.

The Oneida Historical society is the proper custodian of the documents, the manuscripts, the relics, the memorials, of every kind and description, which relate to and illustrate this remarkable history. Because our organization was late in the field, many of the most valuable and interesting of these memoirs have gone elsewhere. It now remains for us to faithfully gather and preserve the valuable materials of local history that still remain scattered and are fast disappearing in the homes of central New York.

The Oneida Historical society has in no way done more to preserve and keep alive our local history, than by the monuments which it has helped to erect. The beginnings of our city are defined and perpetuated by the memorial of old Fort Schuyler. The settlement of the country is forever traced back to its pioneer by the monument to Hugh White in the town which bears his name. This towering column at Oriskany teaches for all time the strategic and commercial relations of the valley of the Mohawk to the continent, while it gives immortality to the yeomen who withstood the armed hosts of invasion. For these this society may claim its share of credit. The monument to Baron Steuben, due in large part to the thoughtfulness of our German fellow-citizens, at all its stages had the favor of our distinguished president, whose eloquence crowned its dedication. He also contributed to the memorial to that earlier soldier—the soldier of the cross—Samuel Kirkland, missionary, leader in education in central New York, far-seeing and efficient patriot, by whose grave the hillside above Oriskany creek is made consecrated ground.

The work already done by this society opens the way for other like tasks. The Cemetery association in 1875 transferred, with fitting ceremonies, to a beautiful knoll on Forest Hill, the remains of Colonel Benjamin Walker and Dr. John Cochrane, who held important posts during the War of the Revolution. No fitting monument tells the rising generation who they were, and thus teaches the duties and privileges and the rewards of patriotism. Beside the headwaters of the Mohawk rests another whose name is identified with the foundations of the Republic—William Floyd, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and for eight years a member of the Continental congress. The monument over his grave is a family tribute.

This society, at the present time, is engaged in making arrangements for the centennial celebration of the founding of New Hartford, Oneida county, New York. The anniversary will occur in March next, and a committee has already been appointed, consisting of Honorable John F. Seymour, chairman; Alexander Seward, Joseph R. Swan, George L. Curran, William S. Doolittle, Honorable R. U. Sherman, Honorable Morgan Butler, Lynott B. Root, Rev. I. N. Terry, William M. Storrs.

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MEMBERSHIP.

Life members, 14; honorary members, 3; and resident members, 224; total, 241.

LATER OFFICERS.

1885-6—President, Horatio Seymour; vice-presidents, Ellis H. Roberts, Isaac S. Hartley, Daniel E. Wager; recording secretary, M. M. Bagg; corresponding secretary, C. W. Darling; librarian, M. M. Jones; treasurer, R. S. Williams; 1887—president, Honorable Ellis H. Roberts; vice-presidents, Rev. I. S. Hartley, D. D., Honorable D. E. Wager, Honorable J. F. Seymour; recording secretary, M. M. Bagg, M. D.; corresponding secretary, General C. W. Darling; librarian, F. C. Ingalls; treasurer, W. C. Rowley.

Publications of the society: 'Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany': 1877. 'Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York.' By Douglas Campbell. Annual address: 1879. 'The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome.' By D. E Wager: 1879. 'Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society and Proceedings of Annual Meeting:' 1879. 'Early History of Oneida County.' By William Tracy: Annual address: 1880. 'Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, Paris Reinterment and Papers read before the Society from 1878 to 1881:' 1881. 'Semi-Centennial of the City of Utica and Supper of Half-Century Club:' 1882. 'A Long-Lost Point in History.' By L. W. Ledyard. Annual address: 1883. 'Colonel John Brown.' By Rev. G. L. Roof: 1884. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1884, containing Whitestown Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age, Wagner Re-Interment, Old Fort Schuyler Celebration, and Dedication of the Oriskany Monument: 1885. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1885-6, containing Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois, The Streets of Utica, The Utica Water Works, Forts Stanwix and Bull and other Forts at Rome, Memorial of S. Wells Williams, The Utica High School, List of the Birds of Oneida County.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

1878. October 29.—'The Genealogy of a Utica Newspaper:' Alexander Seward. November 26.—'The History of Journalism in Rome:' D. E. Wager. December 10.—'The Needs and Purposes of the Oneida Historical Society:' S. N. D. North. December 17.—'The History of the Title to the Oriskany Battle Field:' Alexander Seward. December 31.—'The Telegraph and the Associated Press:' Alexander Seward. 1879. January 14.—'Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York:' Douglas Campbell. January 28.—'The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome:' D. E. Wager. February 25.—'The Herkimer Family Papers:' Matthew D. Bagg. May 6.—'The Castorland Colony:' Dr. Franklin B. Hough. July 29.—'The Earliest Factories of Oneida County, and their Projectors:' Dr. M. M. Bagg. September 23.—

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'Johannes Rueff, the Pioneer Settler at Fort Stanwix, New York:' Dr. F. H. Roof. November 11.—(First) 'Description and Analysis of the Massachusetts MSS. in the State Library, relating to the removal of the Seneca Indians in 1838:' (Second) 'The Pompey Stone, with Inscription and Date of 1520:' Henry A. Homes. December 23.—'The Civil, Moral and Social Condition of the People of England at the Commencement of the Reign of George III.:' Daniel Batchelor. 1880. January 13.—'Incidents Connected with the Early History of Oneida County.' Annual Address: Honorable William Tracy. February 17.—'A Glance at the First Volunteers from Central New York, in the Early Days of the Late War:' William H. Christian. May 11.—'The Palatines and their Settlement in the Upper Mohawk Valley:' Honorable Samuel Earl. July 13.—'The Syracuse and Utica Railroad:' Honorable Daniel E. Wager. November 9.—'Andrew A. Bartow and the Discovery of Water-Lime in this County:' Honorable Samuel Earl. December 31.—'The Continental Congress: Some of its Actors and their Doings, with the Results thereof.' Annual Address: Honorable William J. Bacon. 1881. March 2.—'Letter of Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell, relative to the Louisiana Purchase, with Biographical Sketch of Dr. Mitchell:' Morven M. Jones. April 6.—'Biographical Sketch of Dr. Matthew Brown of Rome, and afterwards of Rochester, New York:' Dr. M. M. Bagg. May 31.—'The Early History of the Mohawk Valley:' Rev. George A. Lintner, D. D. Read by C. W. Hutchinson. December 7.—'The Golden Age of Whitesboro:' D. E. Wager. 1882. January 10.—'Historical Sketch of the New York Historical Society.' Annual Address: Dr. M. M. Bagg. February to May.—'Golden Age of Whitesboro:' D. E. Wager. 1883. January 9.—'A Long Lost Point in History.' Annual Address: L. W. Ledyard. April 10.—'Extracts from a Journal of a first Sandwich Island Missionary:' Mrs. Maria S. Loomis. Read by A. Seward. May 8.—'Political Poem:' John H. Lothrop. Read by Dr. M. M. Bagg. June 5.—'Antiquities of Onondaga:' Rev. W. M. Beauchamp. September 11.—'Eulogy on George P. Marsh:' Rev. Dr. S. G. Brown. October 9.—'Familiar Talk about Mexico:' Dr. E. Hutchinson. November 13.—'The Streets of Utica:' L. M. Taylor. December 11.—'Cannibalism:' General C. W. Darling. 1884. January 15.—'Social System of our New York Indians.' Annual Address: Rev. Dr. Charles Hawley. February 12.—'Ancient Utica:' George C. Sawyer. March 31.—'Memorial of S. Wells Williams:' T. W. Seward. 'Extracts from Military Journal of Colonel Frederick Visscher:' S. G. Visscher. April 28.—'Colonel John Brown:' Rev. Dr. G. L. Roof. November 24.—'Fort Stanwix and other Forts at Rome:' D. E. Wager. 1885. January 13.—'The Greek Idea of the State:' Annual Address: Professor Edward North. March 30.—'The Gazetteers of New York:' S. N.

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D. North. September 28.—'The Manuscripts of His Excellency, Daniel D. Tompkins, which have recently come into possession of the State Library:' Henry A. Homes. October 26.—'Lecture on Iceland:' Rev. T. R. G. Peck. 1886. January 12.—'Early Protestant Missions Among the Iroquois.' Annual address: Professor A. C. Hopkins. January 25.—'The Utica Water Works:' Thomas Hopper, esquire. February 22.—'The Principal Works on the Botany of this Vicinity:' Dr. Joseph B. Haberer. March 29.—'Origin and Early Life of the New York Iroquois:' Rev. W. M. Beauchamp. April 26.—'Annotated List of the Birds of Oneida County, New York, and of its Immediate Vicinity:' Egbert Bagg. May 31.—'Pre-historic Remains in Sweden; translated from the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society of Sweden:' Thomas R. Colling. September 21.—'Sangerfield, New York: Its Development and its Industries:' Honorable Amos O. Osborn. November 29.—'Pre-historic Remains in Sweden' (continued): T. R. Colling. 1887. March 28.—'Recollections of Joseph Bonaparte:' S. L. Frey. 'Were Shikellimy and Logan Oneidas?' Rev. W. M. Beauchamp. April 25.—'Reminiscences of Oneida County.' By Colonel J. T. Watson. October 31.—'Gibraltar and Morocco.' By Rev. Dr. Peck.

C. W. DARLING.

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BATTLE OF THE BRIDGE.

[THE following, from the pen of D. W. Cross, esq., needs no apology or explanation. It is worthy of permanent preservation, as illustrating the poetical side of the Great Bridge War. —EDITOR.]

CANTO I.

On hills, like Rome, two cities might be seen,
(Meand'ring Cuyahoga flowed between);
Whose rival spires in rivalry arose,
The pride of friends, the envy of their foes.
Each rival ruler of each rival town
On HIS would smile, but on the other frown.
Each sought for greatness in his rival's fall,
Regardless that the world was made for all.
The mighty theme that filled their hearts with woe
Was fear that that faster than this would grow.
Envy and hatred waxed to frenzied height!
Naught could appease but fierce and bloody fight.

The culmination came! A peanut stand
Erected by a "combination" band
Of desperate men of capital, who swore
No trade should be diverted from their shore.
They claimed that Clark and Willey, reckless, sought
To build a bridge. The right of way was bought
Already! And they then designed to build
Columbus street and bridge! This rumor filled
Their souls with madness and their eyes with tears!
To think that peanut stand, the toil of years,
Should for the want of patronage decay,
And trade and barter turn some other way.
They all agreed this could not be allowed,
And boisterous bellowings agitate the crowd!

Then the great ruler blew his bugle strong!
Instant, responsive came the motley throng.
"To arms!" he cried, "and to the bridge repair,
And save the peanut stand or perish there.
Bring oil, and fire, and guns—the d—d concern
Shall be consumed. We'll laugh to see it burn."

CANTO II.

The other party, cool, but not less firm,
Sadly observant of the growing germ
Of war intestine, on Cuyahoga's shore—
Of people slaughtered, welt'ring in their gore,
Resolved to meet the crisis and their fate,
Like pugilistics of the "heavy weight!"

Then rang the voice of noble Willey, loud,
Respect and firmness sway the listening crowd:
"Let Craw and Sanford be detailed to bring
The rusty 'bull-dog' in the fighting ring.
Tom Colahan and John R. St. John, load!
And B. O'Conner, make the thing explode!"

With wond'rous promptness "Jim" brought out the gun,
His face lit up with mingled fight and fun.
"Tom" charged her full to squelch the dreadful row,
O'Conner fired—and *killed the Mayor's sow!*

With pistols armed and fired with martial rage,
Our gallant Colonel,* eager to engage,
Rushed to the conflict at the Mayor's call,
Resolved to nobly stand or nobly fall.
Skilled in the art of arms, his actions fill
The halting crowd with new desire to kill.

Good-hearted Mills and Sheriff H. renew
The flagging conflict—but they both fell through
The gapping holes the planks removed had made.
A trap, sardonic, to destroy them laid—
But happily they caught a friendly brace,
Their bodies safely dangling in space.

Filled with revenge well mixed with rage and fear,
The East Side shot at a West Sider's ear;
But haste and fear obscured his misty ken—
The erring buck-shot struck his abdomen!
His anxious bride, claimed but a month his own,
Received him groaning. But without a groan
With loving fortitude she probed the wound,
And—joy ecstatic—not a scratch was found!
The shock and impact of the buck-shot spent
Caused him alarm—his bowels but a dent.
A cry of horror came from t'other side.
They filled with sadness, these exulting pride.
"Cease firing!" Sheriff Henderson commands;
"Let no more blood be shed! I wash my hands
Of this whole business! Cruel and fraternal
Murder! No less, and nothing more infernal."

CANTO III.

Now turn we to the other side, to find
Designs, most hostile, rev'ling in their mind.

* Colonel Charles Whittlesey.

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Van Tine and Ludlow, Barstow and the rest,
With streaming coat-tails to the rescue pressed.
Brave Russell, mounted on a limping steed,
Winslow and Whitman, Standart, Griffith, Smead,
Ward and Sid, Burton, Powell, Tisdale brave,
Townsend and Tyler, honest Barber grave,
Sanford and Sheldon and the bold D. Lamb,
Risley and Burnham, Burrows and "Old Sam,"
With fire and fervor to the front they came,
Resolved to perish or to live in fame!

Thus gathered by their chieftain on the plain,
The few survivors of their comrade slain,
In burning eloquence, haranguing said:
"Gallant survivors of the ghastly dead!
Thrice armed is he whose cause for fight is just!
To arms, and conquer! *Conquer them or bust!*
'Tis true my aids report: 'No guns on hand—
No war-like 'quipments fit to make a stand;'
But to give up before a blow is struck
Might argue cowardice or want of pluck.
Let some bold heroes, stripping to the shirt,
Man the fire engine—on them water squirt!
Such cooling missiles will their ardor fix,
And may, forgive us, gods, their whisky mix!"

In desperate cases cooler heads arise.
Laden with wisdom kindred to the skies,
And on the troubled waters oil they pour,
Ending all conflict and the flow of gore.
Timely arose a wise and prudent man
And craved a hearing to disclose his plan;
'Twas this: "In council let the fathers meet,
And by decree resolve to grade the street;
Select a band of rough and ready men
More used to pitchfork than the scholar's pen,
With vig'rous arm to wield the hoe and spade,
Destroy the street and call the work 'a grade!'"

Applauses loud these words of wisdom greet,
And, bowing low, the speaker took his seat.
The men selected to the bridge repair,
They delve, and dig, and sweat, and curse, and swear;
They sweat and swear, especially those,
Too late discovering "something" spoiled their clothes.
Next day the other side the gap fill up
And crown their triumph in the flowing cup.

The "West" proclaimed that strife should rage no more.
The sow was paid for and the war was o'er.
A sober second thought their actions guide,
And broils no more the "West" and "East" divide.
A bridge high-level spans the gulf between,
Crowning, harmonious, both in bays of green.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

MEASURES are already under way in Pittsburgh and Allegheny for an appropriate celebration of the centennial of Allegheny county, and prominent men and associations are engaged in preparations that will make it one of the great events in the history of the two thriving and busy cities at the head of the Ohio. A history of the county is to be prepared, and when it is said that the work is committed to the hands of Isaac Craig, William M. Darlington and Rev. Mr. Lambing, no further guarantee of the high character and reliability of the work is needed. Pittsburgh is wonderfully rich in history and reminiscence, and it is fortunate indeed that so large a share of public attention has been, and is turned toward the placing of it upon permanent record.

THE series of articles upon the early days and the beginnings of things in Northern Ohio, promised some time since, is continued in this issue by an able and carefully prepared paper by George F. Marshall, one of Cleveland's oldest and best-known citizens, upon the early builders of the Forest City—a paper of which it may be said, like Charles Reade's "musty chronicle written in tolerable Latin," "Every sentence holds a fact." Mr. Marshall does not leave anything to guess work, and when he is not sure of his information, he braves the winter winds that he has braved so many years and goes out and makes sure. The things he tells of the old buildings all about us, and of the men who built them—some of whom are yet hale and hearty in our midst—are not only history, but under the deft touch of his pen they take on the interest of story-telling, and enchain the attention to the end.

IN perusing the first article in this issue, that of General M. D. Leggett, on the "Early School History of Ohio," the part taken by its distinguished author in the formation of the educational system of the state must not be overshadowed by his eminent services in the army, nor in civil life of a later date. Himself a teacher of several years' experience, he entered heart and soul into the work of arousing public sentiment to the need of an enlarged and free common school education; and when the system was inaugurated he was one of the executive means by which it was made a grand success, and won even the tardy support of those who had doubted or condemned.

MAJOR ROBERT DAVIS, a distinguished officer of the artillery in the Revolution, and who subsequently attained the rank of brigadier-general, was the maternal greatgrandfather of Honorable Charles W. Dana of San Luis Obispo, and of General Charles W. Darling, formerly engineer-in-chief of the state of New York, on the staff of Governor Fenton. Major Davis was an active member of the Boston Tea Party, and helped to throw the tea overboard in 1773. History states that his resemblance to Washington was so striking that he was often taken for him, and he also enjoyed the confidence and personal acquaintance of the great leader of our armies in revolutionary times. When the Yankee troops followed the retreating British to the outlet of Boston harbor, he sent to his wife, by a special messenger, the earliest news of their final departure, written on part of a barrel head, the only stationery then at hand. He was brother of Honorable Caleb Davis (speaker of the house of representatives, Massachusetts, 1780,) and of General Amasa Davis. All the brothers resided in Boston, and were members of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts." A daughter of Major Robert Davis married William Ely, a promi-

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nent resident of Hartford, Connecticut. The marriage occurred in 1811, and it is said of this daughter, that her personal beauty was only equaled by the loveliness of her character. Another daughter married William Dana of Boston, Massachusetts, whose ancestry dates back to early colonial times. Her miniature on ivory, painted by Malbone, is now in possession of General Darling of Utica, New York, and by it it is easy to perceive that she too must have been remarkable for her beauty. These miniatures have attracted great attention, as they are among the most remarkable specimens of that great artist's work. They are remarkable for their beauty and finish, and are admirably well-preserved.

MALBONE, above referred to, was born in 1777, at Newport, Rhode Island, visited London in 1801, and received much attention from the president of the royal academy, who urged him to remain in England, assuring him that he had nothing to fear from professional competition. He preferred his own country, however, and returned to the United States at the close of the same year, where, by reason of his intense professional labors, his health became so much impaired that in the summer of 1806 he was compelled to visit the south, where he died in Savannah, May 7, 1807.

IT certainly will be interesting to the families of Ely and Darling, and maybe to many others, to note the following facts: Richard Ely came from Plymouth, England, in 1660, the year of the Restoration in England, and settled on the Connecticut river at Lyme. He was a Puritan, and, perhaps, sought New England that he might be undisturbed in the free exercise of his religious faith. He held a high office in England, was a favorite with, and received great honor from royalty. There is now in the family an old silver tankard which was presented to him by the King of France, as a token of friendship and esteem; also a ring, the gift of Charles I. to one of the ancestors of Richard Ely. When King Charles, with his halberdiers, invaded the house of commons in 1642, Richard Ely sided with parliament against the king's infringement of the liberties of the English people, and became a noble-spirited supporter of the institutions of law and just government. His death occurred November 24, 1684. Truly has it been said that the coming of Richard Ely from his home of luxury and wealth in England is not only a glorious picture of noble heroism and daring, but it shows a sturdy adherence to principle in the face of trouble and danger. The eldest son of Richard Ely of Lyme, by his father's second marriage to Phebe Hubbard of Middletown, Connecticut, was Rev. Richard Ely of Saybrook, Connecticut. He was born in Lyme, Connecticut, September 30, 1733. His education was obtained at Yale College. After his graduation he studied theology, and was ordained in the ministry. He died August 23, 1814. His two sons he prepared for Yale College, and gave them a medical education, although the youngest, William Ely of Hartford, Connecticut, did not follow the profession. His daughters married professional men, one of whom, Clarinda, born March 23, 1759, married, December 22, 1799, Dr. Samuel Darling of New Haven, Connecticut. He was the son of Judge Thomas Darling of New Haven, Connecticut, a distinguished jurist, who is described in history as not more remarkable for the strength of his intellectual powers than for modesty, candor and the strictest integrity. President Styles writes: "He was a man of large stature, of a strong reasoning mind, calm and judicious, of integrity and uprightness, and of dignified behaviour." The published records of the New Haven Historical society state that he resided in that part of New Haven which now lies in Woodbridge. He was a graduate of Yale College, a sincere loyalist in the war, a judge of the county court, and a sterling man. He was distinguished as a lawyer, highly esteemed as a judge, and noted for his lofty integrity and strong Christian character. His wife, Abigail Noyes Darling, was the daughter of Rev. Joseph Noyes, a graduate of Yale College in 1709, who married, November 6, 1716, Abigail, daughter of Rev. James Pierpont. Rev.

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James Pierpont was born January 4, 1659, graduated at Harvard 1681, and married Sarah Haynes in 1694, May 30. The father of Sarah Haynes was Rev. Joseph Haynes, born 1641, died 1679. The father of Rev. Joseph Haynes was Governor John Haynes of Connecticut.

FROM 'The Ohio Journal of Education,' Columbus, 1852, Vol. I. page 285, reprinted from the *Ohio State Journal:* "We have received a very neatly printed pamphlet from Harris & Fairbanks' office, giving the sixteenth annual report of the board of managers for the year ending March 14th, 1852, by G. Willey, acting manager. The schools of Cleveland are now, and for years have been, in a flourishing condition. There are 11 primary schools, 11 teachers, and 1,120 scholars; intermediate, 9 schools, 9 teachers, and 734 scholars; senior, 7 schools, 14 teachers, and 696 scholars; the high school, 2 teachers and 96 scholars, making in all 39 teachers and 2,575 scholars. Total expenditure for the year, $10,598.57. There are 1,500 volumes in the public school libraries. The city of Cleveland ought to be grateful, as no doubt it is, to Mr. Willey, for the labor he has bestowed upon the common schools of that city. His praise is on every tongue, and he will long be remembered as a benefactor to the beautiful Forest City."

IN gathering material for the future historian, and storing it safely in these pages, it has seemed to us a part of duty to secure and preserve in a compact, correct and—so far as the space will permit—complete form the record of the various societies that have done so nobly in this great work, and are the means of preserving vast masses of valuable information that would otherwise have been lost. In other words, we begin in this issue a series of articles upon the various historical societies of the country, which will be continued from month to month, until the field has been as fully covered as circumstances will admit. This month's installment gives the record of the Oneida Historical Society of Utica, New York, from the pen of General Charles W. Darling, its secretary; to be followed in turn by that of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society of Cleveland, written by Mr. D. W. Manchester, its secretary; and that to be followed in turn by that of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, by its corresponding secretary, Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites. Other articles of a like character are in course of preparation. The value of such a series can be easily understood, and the coöperation of the various organizations interested is asked in the belief that it will be most willingly granted.

PROFESSOR B. A. HINSDALE'S book on the Northwest territory, now in course of publication, will be an interesting and valuable addition to our historical literature. He has made the matter one of careful study and research, and his statements and conclusions can be relied upon as nearly allied to the facts of the case as it is within the power of man to get.

A FITTING tribute to an organization that has done yeoman service is the collection of material concerning the early days and the pioneers of Kentucky, appeared in the Louisville *Courier Journal* of December 18, in an illustrated sketch of the Filson Club, which has its headquarters in that city. Portraits of John Filson, Reuben T. Durrett, Richard H. Collins, John Mason Brown, Zach. F. Smith, Thomas Speed, W. H. Whitsett and W. H. Perrin added interest to an already interesting article. The *Journal* says of the society: "Three years ago some of the most cultivated gentlemen in this city formed a society for the purpose of investigating and disseminating the history of their state. They appropriately named it the Filson Club, after the man who first put in manuscript the chronicles of Kentucky. These men had as the motive of their labors neither personal vanity nor ambition, but a desire to collect and print for the use of investigations the facts attending the birth and youth of Kentucky. They were animated by patriotism throughout their undertaking, and all have had a sincere desire to see the state rather than themselves

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glorified. They were fully conscious that all great events cease to be such unless they are given a fitting narration and are preserved for those who come after."

ONE of the most prominent members of the club, speaking in behalf of the others, has said that their work has never been a task to any of them, but has rather been a delightful rest and variation from their every-day toil, and all have been informed and refreshed by it. He says that his own researches have shown him that the fields of chronology do not furnish anything more interesting or romantic than the annals of that state. The subject is not a mere dry relation of events, a compilation of names and dates, but it has all the realism and vitality of a novel written by a master mind. The Filson Club was formally organized May 15, 1884. On that day Reuben T. Durrett, Richard H. Collins, William Chenault, John Mason Brown, George M. Davie, Basil W. Duke, James S. Pirtle, Alexander P. Humphrey and Thomas Speed assembled at the residence of Colonel Durrett, No. 202 East Chestnut street. The object of the organization, as has been stated, was to acquire, preserve and make useful original historic matter relating to Kentucky. Without much discussion it was decided to name it the Filson Club, after John Filson. Colonel Durrett was elected president and Captain Speed was chosen secretary. With this simple organization, without excess of officers or elaborate by-laws and constitution, the intended work was begun.

THIS club, it may be remarked in passing, is a model in its way, and it would be well for American history if one or more like it could be constituted in every city in the land, especially in localities where larger societies with museums, libraries and collections cannot well exist. One does not need money to become a member of the Filson club. No initiation fee is required, and there are no membership dues. "The gentleman or lady," adds the *Courier Journal* in continuation of the above account, "who had brains and learning and character enough to become a member could do so without paying money for it, and to this placing of the rich and the poor upon an equal footing in the club, something of the success of the organization is attributed. The club meets the first Monday night of each month in the library of Colonel Durrett, who, by unanimous consent, is still the president, and thus avoids the expense of room rent, servant's hire and the other expenses which are usually incident to such organizations. Colonel Durrett's large and well selected library is at the service of every member. One paper, previously prepared, is read at each meeting, and the balance of the time is consumed in discussing either the subject of the paper or any others in which the members take an interest. The first publication which the club gave to the public was the 'Life and Writings of John Filson, the First Historian of Kentucky.' This was written by Colonel Durrett, and read at the meeting June 26, 1884. It was printed the same year as Filson Club Publications No. 1. It is a quarto of 132 pages, beautifully printed on antique paper and bound in rough fancy paper. It was so attractive in appearance as to get the name of Edition de Luxe all over the country. Before this book appeared very little was known of John Filson, who wrote the first history of the state, but now all is known about him that need be known. The work, moreover, rescued from oblivion, as it were, Filson's map of Kentucky, and placed this important chart within the reach of every reader. Without this map the early history of Kentucky could not be known, and if the Filson club were never to make another publication, this single contribution to the geographical history of the pioneer state would entitle it to a prominent place among such societies."

THE second publication was the 'Wilderness Road,' by Thomas Speed, which appeared in 1886 as Filson Club Publications No. 2. This is a quarto of 75 pages in the same style of printing and binding as the life of Filson. It tells all about the traces and bridle-paths and ways by which the pioneers came to Kentucky,

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and presents a fine picture of the old Wilderness road over the mountains, from Virginia through the Cumberland gap.

OTHER publications are being prepared, and in many ways the club is doing a most admirable work. The public-spirited gentlemen who have it in charge are laying the foundations of an organization that at some time will be a matter of pride not only to Kentucky but to the entire west.

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DOCUMENTS.

AN OLD, OLD POEM.

THE following—in the shape of an old and brown Memorial leaflet—has been sent by a correspondent, with a request for its insertion, so that the facts may have permanent preservation. It will proye itself, in respect to the story it tells and the poem attached, a well-remembered episode to many who read it. An interesting fact will be supplied in the statement that the babe who "looked up and sweetly smiled," is now a venerable lady, residing in this city. The leaflet is as follows:

A true and particular statement of the sufferings of

HARRISON GRAY BLAKE,

and the death of his wife on the Green Mountain; taken from the relation of the above mentioned Mr. B. and from Mr. Richardson, the young man who first found the sufferers.

On the 19th of December, 1821, Mr. Harrison G. Blake set out from Salem, N. Y., with his wife and one child about fourteen months old, with a view of visiting their parents in Marlboro, Vt.; they proceeded with a horse and sleigh to the foot of the Green Mountains on the west side, where they stopped, the snow being about five inches deep, and enquired concerning the road over the Mountain, and was told by the landlord that the road was good, and that a loaded team would travel from that place to Wardsboro in three hours—they left the tavern, as Mr. Blake says, about 1 o'clock—they proceeded to ascend the Mountain and found the traveling to be tolerably good for 2 or 3 miles, where they came to the end of any trodden road, except a man or horse had passed that way, and the snow about 3 feet deep, they continued to make the best of their way forward, but their horse became so fatigued that they were obliged to disengage him from the sleigh; and Mrs. Blake with her child proceeded on horseback, and Mr. Blake on foot, until the horse refused to travel, his strength being exhausted. They then endeavored to travel on foot, and Mr. Blake left his wife in quest of help; agreeing to answer each other by hallooing as long as they could.

It being in the night, the weather cold, the snow deep, and a gloomy forest of nine miles through, darkened the way, so but a small progress could be made.

Mr. Blake found himself to fail, being debilitated in his feet and legs, supposing his feet to be balled with snow, having left his great coat and mittens with his wife—his fingers were so frozen that he could not tell what the matter was; but by going to a tree and striking them against it, found they were frozen. He proceeded forward until he became so exhausted that he could not walk, and then endeavored to get along by the help of a stick which he laid before him, and then drew himself forward until at length he could get no farther.

In this shocking situation his wife called to him and asked if he was likely to obtain help to which he replied that he could get no farther; upon which she said she would come to him, and they would die together. But, alas! the King of terrors armed with wintry blasts chills the night and the cold driven snow stood to guard the solitary path.

Mr. Blake and his wife all this whole time continued to halloo for help, and was heard by a certain man, the first inhabitant from them, and by a woman who went some distance in the night to obtain help; but none went to their relief at present. But a certain Mr. Richardson had gone over the Mountain, and had not returned according to appointment, and a rumor was carried to his son, in the middle of Stratton, by the school-children, that they supposed his father to be on the Mountain in distress, it being 11 o'clock of the 20th of De-

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cember, upon which the young man immediately started, and went on to the Mountain two miles beyond inhabitants, and found Mr. Blake lying upon his face, apparently trying to throw off his clothes, and making a strange noise. He took him up but he was senseless, and his hands and feet badly frozen; after rubbing him, and giving him some spirits the young man had brought, he took him up and carried him towards the first inhabitants until he had help. Mr. Blake, by this time, had so far recovered as to inform Mr. Richardson that his wife and child was on the Mountain.

Mr. Blake was carried into a house about 4 o'clock, P. M., where such things were administered as his situation required.

Mr. Richardson then went in pursuit of Mrs. Blake and the child, and found Mrs. Blake about forty rods beyond the place where Mr. Blake was taken up. She lay upon her face in the snow—they raised her up—she breathed 3 or 4 times and expired.

They then proceeded on for the child, and found it about 150 rods farther back. It smiled —they took it up and returned. It was not frozen, except the large toe on one foot, it having been wrapped in the parents great coats and a blanket. As soon as it was convenient Mr. Blake and his child were carried to his father's house, in Marlboro, where he has been under the care of Dr. Tucker, and has lost all his toes on his left foot, except the great toe, and is recovering as fast as could be expected.

N. B.—The remains of Mrs. Blake were interred at Marlboro, on the Tuesday following her decease, with funeral solemnities.

The following beautiful stanzas were written many years ago, by SEBA SMITH, Esq. of Ohio, for the Medina (Ohio) Whig, on the death of Mrs. Blake. Mrs. B. was the mother of Harrison G. Blake, Esq. of Medina, O.

The cold winds swept the mountain height,
And pathless was the dreary wild,
And 'mid the cheerless hours of night
A mother wandered with her child;
As through the drifted snows she pressed,
The babe was sleeping on her breast.

And colder still the winds did blow,
And darker hours of night came on,
And deeper grew the drifts of snow—
Her limbs were chilled, her strength was gone
O God! she cried in accents wild,
If I must perish save my child!

She stripped her mantle from her breast,
And bared her bosom to the storm,
As round the child she wrapped her vest
She smiled to think her babe was warm.
With one cold kiss one tear she shed,
And sunk upon a snowy bed.

At dawn a traveler passed by,
And saw her 'neath a snowy veil,—
The frost of death was in her eye—
Her cheek was cold, and hard, and pale,
He moved the robe from off the child,—
The child looked up and sweetly smiled.

In connection with the above, the following, concerning a member of this same family, cannot but be of interest:

Honorable Harrison Gray Blake, son of Harrison G. and Lucy (Goodell) Blake, was born in New Fane, Windham county, Vermont, March 17, 1819, and died in Medina, Medina county, Ohio, April 16, 1876. He was elected a member of the lower house of the Ohio legislature in 1846, when only twenty-seven years old, and reëlected the following year. After that he was twice elected to the state senate. He was chosen its speaker on the three hundredth and first ballot by the combined votes of the Whigs and Free-soilers after a bitter contest. In 1858 he was elected to congress to succeed Mr. Spink, who had died before that body met, and reëlected in 1860, serving through the Thirty-seventh congress under Lincoln's administration. As a member of the committee on post-offices he originated, reported and secured the passage of the bill which gave to the country the present post-office money order system. This measure itself is sufficient

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to link his name with the history of the most useful legislation of this great Nation. During Lincoln's administration Mr. Blake was offered the governorship of one of the territories, but declined it. He was in the military service in 1864 as colonel of the One Hundred and Sixty-sixth regiment, defending the National capital; served as deputy United States collector, and for many years was successively chosen mayor of Medina by the almost unanimous vote of its citizens.

IN THE WAR OF 1812.

The following letter was written by Jos. H. Larwill to the late Gen. Henry Knox Craig, from Detroit, during the last war with England: published now for the first time:

Detroit, Augt 14th 1814.

Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to announce the receipt of yours of the 2d inst. by last mail. We have heard of Genl Browns army retreating to Fort Erie. The inhabitants here are very much concerned, they think their own safety in a great measure depends upon the success of the army under comd of Genl Brown. On Thursday afternoon the 11th inst. a party of 150 Indians that came out here with Govr Cass from the treaty of Greenville crossed over to the Canada side they will be gone 10 or 12 days and will proceed up the river Thames to Delaware where report states is a British and Indian force thence go to Lake Erie to the round O and up to Malden. No inteligence has yet arrived from the troops that went up the Lakes on the Expedition against Mackanaw—it is believed that they are beseiging the fort. Should the British have received (as it is believed) reinforcements from Montreal and have a good supply of provisions it will be attended with considerable delay nature has done much for its defence—

The posts in this neighbourhood are very weak being drained of troops for the expedition to Mackanaw—and the term of the militia expires that are here in a few days—some regular force are on their march to retain the posts expected in a few days. Lt. G. Donneghey is stricken from the rolls by the influence of some person to the East—I expect to be in shortly and will then inform you more particularly respecting *E.* and the other place you mention in yours—I have resigned and become a Citizen.

I am respectfully
Your friend & Humble Servt
Jos. H. LARWILL

Capt. H. K. Craig.

P. S. direct to me at Wooster, Wayne County, Ohio—you will not cease to let me hear from you. I send this to Pittsburgh thinking it probable you may be there.

INTRODUCING BLENNERHASSETT.

From John Harris, assistant quartermaster at Fort Washington, (Cincinnati, O.) to Major Isaac Craig:

Philadelphia, 12th October, 1796.

Sir, Permit me to recommend to your attention Mr. Harman Blennerhassett, a Gentleman lately from Europe, and now emigrating with his Family to Kentucky—he will leave this City in about a week for Pittsburgh—where he will supply himself with Boats for his tour down the Ohio.—if you should have two small Boats of about twenty feet each on hand, or could promise two of those dimentions—he engages himself to take them on his arrival.

James Hamilton (waggoner) has fifteen packages of kinds—weighing together Twelve hundred & ninty eight pounds Nett—which he will thank you to have deposited in your stores 'till his arrival—James has also a Negro—wench—whom he wishes you to take into your Kitchen, or put her into that of some of your Friends & keep her at work, untill his arrival—Any favors which are in your power shew him I shall receive as confered on myself—

Be pleased to present my Compliments to Mrs. Craig—

I am Sir, with Esteem
Your most Obedt Servt
JNO. HARRIS.

Major Isaac Craig.

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C. C. Baldwin

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

[CONTRIBUTIONS to this department are solicited—covering meetings of importance; information as to valuable or rare accessions; elections of officers; the preparation or publication of special historical or biographical papers; and all other matters pertaining to the various organizations that are working in many directions toward one common end. Communications can be received as late as the twenty-fifth of each month.]

THE PORTRAIT OF DRED SCOTT.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

THE Missouri Historical society intends to have painted an oil portraif, life size, 25 x 30 canvas, of Dred Scott, a man of small account, who yet is an important personage in that he represents a great cause, and his name stands most prominent among the negro race in the United States. The contest over his freedom, in the event, involved issues far beyond the occasion, and which, brought into the domain of practical politics, contributed not a little to advance the life and death struggle that culminated in the disappearance of slavery from our soil.

The battle in the courts, which ended in what is known as the "Dred Scott Decision," began in the west; in the west Scott lived the greater part of his life, in the west he died; and although his name, and what it represents, will be forever a part of American history, they belong in an especial manner to the Valley of the Mississippi.

Except the material—ample, fortunately—which the society possesses, there are none in existence from which a true likeness of Dred Scott can be produced; but they are perishing rapidly. To preserve what should be perpetuated, the portrait is to be painted; and as a safeguard against the accidental destruction of that which otherwise could never be rehabilitated, it was ordered that two portraits might be simultaneously painted, provided some person or society, preferably elsewhere, desiring one remitted the price, $150, before the work was taken in hand. The portrait will not only be a true likeness, but of great merit as a painting, and, altogether, worth more than double what we are to pay for it.

This information is published solely in the interest of western history, of which portraits are important and interesting monuments.

OSCAR W. COLLET,
Treas. Mo. Hist. Soc.

ST. LOUIS, December 31, 1887.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT UTICA, NEW YORK.

THE regular monthly meeting of the Oneida Historical society was held December 19, 1887, at its rooms in the City Library building, President E. H. Roberts in the chair. A large audience was present to hear Dr. Smith Baker read a paper on "The Life and Influence of Rev. Beriah Green," a noted Abolitionist of Oneida county, at a time when it required nerve to entertain such views. Honorable Frederick Cook, secretary of state, and William Carey Jones, corresponding secretary of the California Historical society, were elected corresponding members, and Professor Charles A. Borst of Hamilton college was proposed as a resident member. On motion of Alexander Seward, General C. W. Darling, General Sylvester Deering, General R. U. Sherman, Colonel I. J. Gray and Colonel J. T. Watson were named to represent the society at the semi-centennial celebration of the Utica Citizens' corps, a military organization of Utica, which served through the War of the Rebellion and furnish many prominent officers for the army. It was then announced that the annual meeting of this society will be held January 10, 1888, when Professor Oren Root of Hamilton college will deliver the annual address. On motion of Rev. Dr. Hartley, seconded by Dr. M. M. Bagg, the meeting adjourned.

THE Mahoning Valley Historical society is one of the live organizations of Ohio. General T. J. McLain of Warren is president, and Dr. J. F. Wilson of Youngstown, secretary.

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AMONG THE BOOKS.

'GUATEMALA: THE LAND OF THE QUETZAL.' By William T. Brigham, A. M. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Received from The Burrows Brothers' book house, Cleveland.

The elegant book that has been given to the public under the above title, is a contribution to historical literature of unusual value, because it traverses a land and tells of a people little known, and brings both before the eye in a manner to chain the interest and yield abundant information. The time has come when attention is turning toward the long-neglected countries of Central America, and, as the author says, "When the ship-railway of Eads crosses the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, when the Northern Railroad extends through Guatemala, when the Transcontinental Railway traverses the plains of Honduras, and the Nicaraguan canal unites the Atlantic and the Pacific, the charm will be broken, the mule-posts and the *mozo de cargo* will be supplanted, and a journey across Central America become almost as dull as a journey from Chicago to Cheyenne." But none of that charm is missing from Mr. Brigham's book. The notes he so intelligently and carefully set down during three journeys in Guatemala and Honduras come into excellent and timely use, now that attention is turned to ward those dark and hidden lands, and the civilization of the North is making itself felt in a region so rich by nature, and so poor in energy and application. He "does not pretend to offer a monograph on Guatemala, nor to add to the general knowledge of Central America; but remembering the lack of guidance from which he suffered, in traveling through the country," would "in some measure save others from the same inconvenience." The work has been well performed, and a land neglected by the traveler and the writer, and less known to the American people than the interior of Africa, is laid bare before the reader, and in such manner that the interest never flags. The book is profuse in illustrations, the most of which are from photographic plates made by the author upon the spot. Maps and statistics are taken from the government reports; and although Mr. Brigham disclaims anything of the kind, he has, in fact, given us a book of travels, of personal experience, and a history of "the land of the Quetzal" as well.

'POCAHONTAS, AND HER DESCENDANTS THROUGH HER MARRIAGE AT JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA, IN APRIL, 1614, WITH JOHN ROLFE, GENTLEMAN;' with biographical sketches by Wyndham Robertson, and Illustrative Historical notes by R. A. Brock. Published by J. W. Randolph & English, Richmond, Va.

The world has no more tired of this romantic and beautiful story of the Indian princess of the new world, than the children have of Jack the Giant Killer, or the Arabian Nights; and each telling, whether as romance or history, finds a ready and eager circle of auditors. The care and pains that have been taken in the preparation of the above work, and the logic of its conclusions, have resulted in a book that ought to be taken as a final authority upon a long and much debated question, as to the identity, character, and connections of this forest flower that found a home and happiness near the court of England, and left a posterity in some of the best families of the new world. Research, study, and a deep honesty of purpose have been shown in the gathering up of all the information extant concerning her, and not the least interesting feature is the sharp and able refutation of the attacks upon her character as a woman that have appeared in these late iconoclastic days. The table of her descendants contained in the volume is one of the most valuable features of the work.

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'ON THE WING THROUGH EUROPE.' By a Business Man. Published by Theo. L. De Vinne & Co., New York.

It is no betrayal of confidence to state that the Business Man who has done a favor to the literature of travel and those who enjoy glimpses of the Old World in the production of the above book, is none other than Francis C. Sessions, of Columbus, Ohio, whose various articles in this magazine from time to time have so deeply interested and instructed its readers. The first edition of the work won so favorable a welcome that a second has now been sent forth, to be received with the same favor. It is fully and admirably illustrated. Mr. Sessions has the gift of a dual vision—he sees both as a business man and an artist, and writes altogether like a man of letters. There is little in European capitals or large cities that he has not seen, and he makes his pages instinct with life. He passes rapidly from one point to another, and yet seems to do justice to all; and while he speaks much of places, he also finds time and occasion to sketch a number of the eminent men whom it was his good fortune to meet.

'FEDERAL TAXES AND STATE EXPENSES; OR THE DECAY OF SEPARATE STATE POWER OF EXCISE UNDER THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, AND THE COMPENSATION THEREIN PROVIDED FOR IT; AND THE RELATION OF THE GENERAL CIVIL ADMINISTRATION UNDER SEPARATE STATE AUTHORITY, TO THE GENERAL WELFARE OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE FEDERAL AUTONOMY.' By William H. Jones. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Received from Cobb, Andrews & Co., Cleveland.

The above constitutes number thirty-nine of the very valuable series the Messrs. Putnam are publishing under the name of 'Questions of the Day.' Mr. Jones has studied the questions stated in the above title and sub-title, from the foundation up, and even those who do not agree with his conclusions as a doctrine in political science must certainly give him credit for research, a power of analysis, and a purpose to be fair and logical to the end. The outline of the book can be found in the title. We are told by the author that when he commenced his investigations he "had no idea of reaching the conclusions" to which he was led—which would show that he had not set out with a theory to which all agreements must be forced, and all citations made to agree. He declares that he was led to his investigations "by the high rate of state taxes on property valuations for state and local expenses of the civil administration," and that his efforts were "long directed to the vain attempt to secure a remedy for the difficulty by harmonizing state and federal coöperation over the subjects of state taxation." The work is filled with historical references, and is a valuable treatise upon the little known and less understood subject of which it treats.

'THE KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS OF 1798: AN HISTORICAL STUDY.' By Ethelbert Dudley Warfield, A. M., LL. B. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Received from Cobb, Andrews & Co., Cleveland.

To state merely the recorded facts of this important measure, and to describe by whom, when and where it came into being, with no reference to the causes that produced it, the effects that followed it, and the philosophy of National structure and constitutional construction involved within it, is to give the least important part of the history connected with it. Mr. Warfield has, therefore, the right to call his new-made book a study, as it is not only a history of the famous resolutions that meant so much upon the occasion of their adoption and so much more afterwards, but an answer to the suggestions that arise even at the most careless discussion of one of the great dividing lines in American history. In a preliminary reference to his work Mr. Warfield well says that the history of the measure "involves so many problems, and these problems are of so nice a character, that any one must needs feel the greatest hesitancy in undertaking to write it." But he found sufficient excuse for the attempt in the fact that before the preparation of his book there was "no connected account of the causes and circumstances of their adoption, and their

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relation to the subsequent history of this country, except such as under many limitations is to be found in the histories of the United States under the constitution; none of those are calculated to make the subject plain to the average reader, and there is scarcely one that is not positively in error as to some important fact." That Mr. Warfield is fully competent by historical study, a fairness of statement, and a readiness of pen to make his history readable, as well as valuable for the information conveyed, is known to the people of the west who have read his able productions in these and other pages. No synopsis of the book is needed beyond a statement of the general points covered by the table of contents—Kentucky's growth toward the resolutions; John Breckenridge, the mover thereof; the resolutions themselves; the same before the states and congress; the authorship thereof; their docrines and effects. Mr. Warfield's book, we are sure, will be recognized as a permanent authority upon the subject of which it treats.

'NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE AND HIS WIFE: A BIOGRAPHY.' By Julian Hawthorne. Vols. I and II. Published by Ticknor & Company, Boston, Massachusetts, (with portraits).

The time has not come, nor do we think it ever will come, when the world will forget the dreamer, the story-teller, the poet who wrote in prose, whose life has been so graphically sketched by the son who has loyally, and yet fairly and truthfully rendered a tribute of love in the above-mentioned volumes. Hawthorne was one of those men who are lost and overlooked in the hurry of the generation in which they live, only to be recalled and remembered by those that come after. Many stories of his life have appeared, but none that can approach the present in material, appreciation, and a detail of statement. The material not accessible to others but at his hand in abundance, has enabled Mr. Julian Hawthorne to produce a memoir that gains a great deal of value not dependent at all upon himself; for, as he says in the preface, "I have allowed the subjects of the biography, and their friends, to speak for themselves whenever possible; and, fortunately, they have done so very largely. My own share of the matter," he adds, "has been chiefly confined to effecting a running connection between the component parts." He has not "cared to comment or to apologize, nor have I been concerned to announce or confirm a theory. This book is a simple record of their lives; and . . . if true love aad married happiness should ever be in need of vindication, ample material for that purpose may be found in these volumes." He has said little of Hawthorne as an author, but much concerning him as a man. The two volumes are replete from first to last with the sparkle, tenderness, and freshness that combine by some wonderful alchemy to give Hawthorne a charm possessed to so great a degree by no other American writer, and a collection of his works will not now seem complete without these books, in which he seems to speak anew to a world in which his voice has been so long still. The letters between husband and wife, to and from their friends, and to their children, shed a light into the inner self and home life of the author of 'The Scarlet Letter' that no other sources of information could furnish. No story, even of Nathaniel Hawthorne's, approaches these works in the absorbing interest of the tale. The two volumes are beautifully illustrated, and have been prepared in the highest style of the printer's and binder's art.

'HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW: HIS LIFE, HIS WORKS, AND HIS FRIENDSHIPS.' By George Lowell Austin. Published by Lee & Shephard, Boston.

Unusual opportunities were afforded Mr. Austin for the preparation of this really valuable and charming work, and he seems to have put them to good use. He formed the acquaintance of the great poet in 1868, a few days after taking up his residence in Cambridge. Several circumstances combined to ripen the acquaintance into friendship, and before long Mr. Longfellow suggested the preparation by Mr. Austin of a work that "should comprise in its subject matter very

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full biographical data relative to our elder American poets." The suggestion was accepted, and in carrying it forward the poet gave his friend a great deal of information relative to his own ancestry and life. From that fountain-source, and others of which he made full and free use, the facts in this volume have been drawn. While the impress of personal acquaintance and contact is felt all through the book, it by no means follows that it is a work of recollections, but rather a complete, critical and extended life of the great poet who has recently passed away. To readers of the poet, it seems like the renewal of old acquaintances; to those who are not his readers in the close meaning of that word, it comes in the form of a revelation—a delightful glimpse of many new things, and a look into the very life and heart of the poet. The many illustrations scattered all through the volume are instructive and unique, giving his birth-place, early haunts, home of later years, study, etc., with portraits at various ages, and also the faces of some of his nearest literary friends. It would be needless to speak here of Longfellow himself, of his work and fame; of the place he holds in American literature; of the higher place he holds in the affections of thousands and tens of thousands to whom he has sung. Mr. Austin has said all these things far better and at greater length than could we, and no reader of Longfellow should fail to glean in the rich fields he has opened to us. It is a book that does all that the most earnest friend of the author of "Evangeline" and "Hyperion" could ask for it, and a higher demand could certainly be made upon no one.

'THE AMERICAN CAUCUS SYSTEM: ITS ORIGIN, PURPOSE AND UTILITY.' By George W. Lawton. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. (Questions of the Day, No. XXV).

A curiously entertaining and instructive little book is this, giving a great deal of information upon a subject that has become so important a part of political machinery that one does not see how it could be abolished without damage to the whole structure—and yet a thing so often abused that its abolishment has been often called for. About all the information that can possibly be gained or needed on the subject has been packed within these pages.

'A SOLUTION OF THE MORMON PROBLEM.' By John Codman, author of 'The Mormon Country,' 'The Round Trip,' 'Free Ships,' etc. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Questions of the Day, No. XXI.)

Mr. Codman has certainly given this vexing and ever-present problem of Mormonism a close study, and when he offers a solution, it is worthy of heed. The sum of his series of citation of fact and argument is this: Send into Utah a host of missionaries taken from the ranks of the reorganized church of Latter Day Saints—those who repudiate Brigham Young and polygamy, and follow the fortunes of Joseph Smith of Plano, even as they and their followers believed in the Joseph Smith of Kirtland, Far West and Nauvoo; inother words, leave them alone in their religion of Mormon, but for the sake of common decency and the American name, let them be won from polygamy. It is an ingenious solution—but would it succeed?

'RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION: ITS HISTORY AND ITS LAWS.' By Arthur T. Hadley, commissioner of labor statistics of Connecticut, and instructor in political science in Yale college. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

This publication aims to do two things: To present clearly the more important facts of American railroad business, and explain the principles involved; and to compare the railroad legislation of different countries, and the results achieved. The tasks set for himself by the author are far-reaching and intricate, but it must be confessed that he has performed them with no small measure of success. The subject is one of general importance—viewed from the standpoint of the law-maker, the capitalist, the laboring man, or the producer; and no light that can be thrown upon it from any source can be unwelcome. The value and

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timeliness of the publication can be learned from a glance at its contents. The modern transportation system; the growth of United States internal commerce; railroad ownership and railroad speculation; competition and combination in theory; the same in practice; railroad charges and discrimination; railroad legislation in the United States; English railroad legislation; railroad policy in France; the railroad systems of central Europe; railroad legislation in Italy; results of state railroad management; with an appendix containing a mass of valuable information. The above will give a better idea of the work than we could in language of our own. The author is disposed to fairness, and has discussed carefully and ably a theme that has as many sides of attack and defense as any now before the American people.

The following pamphlet publications have been received:

'THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY,' and 'THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.' By Herbert B. Adams, associate professor of history in the Johns Hopkins University. Published by the National Bureau of Education.

'SEMINARY LIBRARIES AND UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.' Also by Professor Adams, No. XI, in fifth series of Johns Hopkins University studies in Historical and Political Science.

'LOUGHERY'S DEFEAT, AND PIGEON ROOST MASSACRE.' By Charles Martindale. No. 4 of Indiana Historical society publications.

'THE EGYPTIAN OBELISK, IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK.' (A poem.) Dedicated to General L. P. di Cesnola, by General Charles W. Darling, corresponding secretary of the Oneida Historical society, Utica, New York.

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Magazine of Western History.

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THE CANADIAN REBELLION OF 1837.*

Since the liberty-loving Pilgrims landed on Plymouth rock, there have been three rebellions on the North American continent, in the colonies and governments first established there by the people of Europe.

The first culminated in 1776, when the British colonies in North America declared their independence of the government and crown of Great Britain, after years of humble prayers and unanswerable petitions to the throne for the redress of unendurable grievances in vain. This was called "rebellion" by the government of England; by the Americans, "revolution."

The second, of comparatively little magnitude in the world's history, was fanned into life by ambitious, and in many instances unscrupulous, leaders and political agitators, basing their actions on such real or magnified grievances as might have been satisfactorily adjusted without rebellion or bloodshed.

It is to this unnatural and disastrous conflict, known as the "Patriot War," and the general and local incidents that occurred up to its final suppression, that this sketch from memory and notes will be principally confined.

* The history of this rebellion against the Canadian government was very little known to the generation in which it occurred, and is almost altogether unknown to that of the present. Mr. Cross was deputy United States collector at Cleveland at that time, and was not only on the inside of events, but had the rare good sense to keep a full journal of all that passed under his observation. And in this paper and one to follow he has given the best, clearest and most authentic account of that rebellion ever published.—[Editor.

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The third and greatest rebellion of this or any other age, involving as it did the life and perpetuity of a great and prosperous nation, the lives and the untold treasures of its people, the "irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery, finds no parallel in modern or ancient history. Based upon no tenable grounds or grievances that a Christian and civilized world could acknowledge or approve, the great slave-holding states of the United States of North America plunged a peaceful people into a fearful, bloody and unnatural war.

There could be but one result—a free and united people. It came. All good citizens thank God for the blessings of the peace and unity it restored. But what seems inexplicably strange is that proud and free England, boasting of her freedom, upbraiding the United States government for claiming to be free, when the disgrace and foul blot of slavery was tolerated in nearly half her territory, should, when the hour came to blot out that curse forever, be found friendly, sympathetic and encouraging to the "Alabamas" upon the other side.

For some time prior to the recall by the British government of Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colburn of the Upper province, and the appointment of Sir Francis Bond Head as his successor, the political factions in both the Lower and Upper provinces had alarmed the home government. The loyalists or tories, as they were called, backed by their loyal governors, were comparatively quiet and content, while the "liberal" or "republican" faction, so-called, led on by such men as Papineau in the Lower and William Lyon Mackenzie in the Upper province, had, through their papers, speeches and petitions, stirred up their followers to a frenzy bordering on open rebellion. To conciliate this aggressive and disturbing element, Sir Francis Bond Head was knighted and appointed lieutenant-governor of the province of Upper Canada. He was not a politician or allied to any faction at home or abroad, was actively engaged in his official duties at that time as commissioner of the poor laws for Kent, and was no doubt selected by the ministry for his known high character, for his benevolence, integrity and honor. He reluctantly resigned his office as commissioner and accepted the appointment.

On his arrival in Toronto, Upper Canada, January 25, 1836, the committee of the executive council, house of assembly, and the people welcomed him with open arms and great enthusiasm.

He knew of the factious element, the hotbed of political intrigue and possibly rebellion slumbering in the back-ground. He had Mackenzie's book of political complaints and alleged grievances in his pocket. He, no doubt, honestly resolved to give the people an impartial, liberal and honest government, regardless of the political factions then dividing the people and endangering the peace of the province. In his dispatch to the colonial office of February 5, 1836, he says:

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As far as I have been able to judge, I should say that the Republican party are implacable; that no concessions whatever would satisfy them, their object being to possess themselves of the government of this province for the sake of lucre and emoluments.

Under these circumstances, I considered that the great danger I had to avoid was the slightest attempt to conciliate any party; that the only course for me to adopt was to act fearlessly, undisguisedly and straightforwardly for the interests of the country; to throw myself on the good sense and good feeling of the people, and abide the result.

But no matter what course he might pursue to insure peace and good government, the conspiracy of the leaders, Mackenzie and Papineau, to "possess themselves of the government," went on with unabated activity.

Mackenzie was in England urging and expounding the five hundred and fifty pages of his "Grievance Report" before the colonial office, and shrewdly undermining the influence of the Canadian governors. In this his success, in the light of the official dispatches laid before the home rulers, was triumphant. The foundations of the approaching rebellion were cunningly and surely laid.

Sir Francis' activity at home, and warning dispatches to the colonial office in England, although treated with diplomatic courtesy by Lord Glenelg, had no effect to stay or defeat the coming storm.

Among the many warnings dispatched by Governor Head to the colonial office at an early date, was the following:

TORONTO, June 22, 1836.

MY LORD:

I have the honor to transmit to your lordship a newspaper published here, entitled the *Correspondent and Advocate*, which contains a letter from Mr. Mackenzie, of which the following is an extract:

"The people of Lower Canada, and the Upper Canada Reformers especially, direct their views to four important objects, not one of which will be conceded, as I believe, until it be too late. They are: An elective legislative council; an executive council responsible to public opinion; the control over the whole provincial revenue to be in the legislature; and the British parliament and the colonial office to cease their interference in our internal concerns."

As the Republicans in the Canadas generally mask their designs by professions of attachment to the mother country, I think it is important to record this admission on the part of Mr. Mackenzie of the traitorous object which the reformers of this province have in view. I have, &c.,

F. B. HEAD.

Speaker Papineau of Lower wrote to Speaker Bidwell of Upper Canada:

The people of the Canadas, laboring under the accumulated wrongs proceeding from an act of parliament, unite as one man. Sir John Colburn wrote from Montreal requesting "some companies of militia for five months' service," and observes: "If we do not immediately take active measures to arm and organize our friends, the province will be lost."

While plots and counter-plots were rife and the political caldron was boiling over a dim blaze of professed loyalty, the disloyal leaders were secretly combining and organizing for open and bloody rebellion. This, in substance, was the secret plan devised by the leaders. Secret lodges were to be formed, called "Hunters' Lodges," throughout the Upper and Lower provinces, all members sworn to secrecy, and similar lodges were to be established by Canadian refugees along the American borders of the northern, northeastern and northwestern frontiers for recruiting, proselyting and organizing an army in aid of the Canadian army of rebellion. These refugees and recruits were especially enjoined to guard against infractions of the neutrality laws. Secret cor-

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respondence was kept up through these organizations along the line of both frontiers. On a given signal, about twenty thousand "patriots," as they were called, were to leave the Canadas, one or two at a time, to allay suspicion, to remain near the borders under the supervision of the masters of these secret lodges, holding themselves ready at an hour's warning to assemble at any point named. But they were not to be idle. At various secret places they were to be employed in making cartridges, guns, pistols, balls, swords, and, in fact, all the implements necessary for carrying on the war. The arms, after being prepared, were to be so nicely secured, and everything so ingeniously conducted that the marshals and officers of the customs could not detect and seize them.

Some of the officers appointed to command were: Dr. Robert Nelson, commander-in-chief of the patriot forces in the Lower province, and to act as president of the provincial government; Lucius V. Bierce, commander-in-chief of the province of Upper Canada and president of that province; John R. St. John, Colonel Jonathan Williams, Dr. A. D. Smith, Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, Speaker Papineau, J. D. Morrison, David Gibson, Charles Walters, Speaker Bidwell and many others of more or less note were claimed by the "patriots" as active participants and managers of the proposed insurrection.

Under the management and special naval assistance of the notorious "Bill" Johnson and Captain Gillman Appleby, the leaders matured plans of attack to be carried into effect all along the line at the most vulnerable points at a time to be named some time in November, 1838. Dr. Nelson was to strike in the Lower province near Montreal; Johnson higher up the St. Lawrence, and General Bierce at Malden, all at the same time.

Every effort was resorted to by the leaders to "fire the public heart" along the American frontier. Papers filled with sensational and, in many instances, untruthful screeds against the "tyranny and oppression of Great Britain and the weak and subservient governors appointed from among the lords of England, instead of from the people of the Canadas, to impoverish and to enslave them," etc., supplemented by Papineau and Mackenzie with their tirades on grievances. The Hunters' lodges gathered recruits rapidly from among the patriotic and liberty-loving people of both sides of the border. The *Bald Eagle*, edited by Dr. S. Underhill, the former editor of an infidel paper called the *Liberalist*, published in Cleveland, was one of these alleged "subsidized" papers, and proved so aggressive, unreasonable and rampant a partisan as to disgust sober-minded people and disgrace the patriot cause. The designs of the leaders leaked out or were suspected. The United States government fearing overt acts, issued confidential instructions, through the secretary of the treasury, to the marshals, collectors of the customs and subordinate officers along the frontier, enjoining vigilant watchfulness against any breach of the neutrality laws.

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The seizure of the steamer *Caroline* at Schlosser, an American port, by a detachment of British soldiers, commanded by Colonel Alan McNab; the alleged cruel murder of all but nine of her crew of twenty-two; setting fire to the steamer and sending her with her dead and wounded over the Falls of Niagara, rankled in the hearts of many and helped to pave the way for revenge and the bloody scenes that followed. Prior to the general movement agreed upon, but awaiting some propitious time to turn up, there had been quite a bloody battle fought at Point au Pelee, Upper Canada, between the "patriots" and "Canada tories," in which Ashley Fuller, a well-known character of Cleveland, no doubt a camp-follower, took a part, and was charged, in a letter from Deputy Collector George R. Morton of Portland, with having stolen fourteen horses from Point au Pelee island, Canada, at the time of that engagement and escaped with them to the United States. Fears of trouble were entertained unless he was arrested, punished, and the property restored. He was never found.*

Some time about the last of October, 1837, hostilities broke out in the Lower province (no doubt prematurely), and it was reported that after some inhuman butcheries on the part of the Loyalists and unprovoked destruction of several towns and cities by fire, sword and savage plunder, the "patriot" band was forced to desist.

About the same time some five hundred "patriots," armed with all sorts of weapons, collected within a few miles of Toronto, Upper Canada, very suddenly, with a view of capturing that city, which appeared very likely to fall into their hands; but it was claimed they neglected to act promptly, perhaps for want of arms, giving the Loyalists in the city time to recover from their terror, assemble in arms and disperse them with the loss of some of their leaders and several men. But the truth was, as will appear hereafter, Sir F. B. Head had a spy among the "Hunters' Lodges" and was fully advised of all their movements. William Lyon Mackenzie was chief in command of this foolish raid, and soon

* Sir Francis Bond Head, governor of Upper Canada, in his dispatch to the "Right Honorable, the Lord Glenelg," etc., of March 14, 1838 (No. 33), gives the following description of that battle at Pelee island: "Colonel, the Honorable John Maitland, commanding the forces of the western district, has sent me a dispatch detailing the gallant manner in which he marched against a body of organized Americans who had taken possession of Point Pelee island, which they had invaded. The American retreated as soon as he advanced, and, traversing the island, which is nine miles long, quicker than it was possible for him to follow them, they came in sight of a couple of companies of the Thirty-second regiment, under the command of Captain Brown, which had been purposely stationed on the ice with a view to cut off their retreat to the American shore. The Americans, seeing this small party, determined to attack them with their whole force, and, advancing toward them, they availed themselves of a quantity of broken ice, behind which they were to a certain degree protected, and then opened their fire. In a short time about thirty of our brave men fell, and there can be no doubt that in a few minutes they must have been all mowed down by the destructive fire of so many rifles and muskets, had not Captain Brown, with admirable decision, ordered his men to charge. The Republicans stood their ground until the monarchical troops arrived within about twenty yards of them, when, abandoning their position, as also their principle, that 'all men are born equal,' they decamped in the greatest confusion and reached the shore."

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after, possessed of more bravery than judgment or discretion, assembled about one thousand of his ruined and homeless countrymen on Navy island in Niagara river, near Chippewa, on the Canada side. On the island he erected strong fortifications and well supplied batteries, raised the tri-colored flag with two stars, organized a provincial government with General Van Renssaeler, an American of some note and military talent, as commander-in-chief.

At Schlosser, an American port nearly opposite the island, the steamboat *Caroline* was moored to the wharf. She had been used during the day (December 29, 1837) in transporting passengers from thence to Navy island. It was reported that on the evening of that day, while lying at the wharf, Captain Appleby received several citizens on board to lodge during the night, as the hotels of the little town were full. Himself, boarders and crew, amounted to twenty-two all told. There was not an armed man on board, nor any arms. All turned in at the usual hour, leaving, as was the custom, a watchman on deck. All was quiet and peaceful until about three o'clock A. M., when the watch saw two boats, each filled with about twenty-five men, dropping slowly down toward the *Caroline*. He hailed them; they made no answer. The watchman hailed again—they answered "Friends." A moment later a volley of musketry was poured into the defenseless *Caroline*. They instantly boarded her and commenced one of the most horrid and unprovoked massacres of the defenseless victims on record. With the heartless cry: "Give the d—d rascals no quarters," they inhumanly butchered several unarmed men, but what was most fiendish, one little innocent boy of thirteen years while on his knees praying: "Don't kill me!" Captain Appleby escaped with three severe wounds by jumping overboard and secreting himself under the wharf.

After these "bold Britons" had taken possession of the *Caroline*, they cut her loose from the wharf, set her on fire, towed her out into the current and, amidst shouts and savage exultations, sent her with the dead and dying victims over the Niagara Falls! Only nine escaped death; two were taken prisoners. Their affidavits, afterwards taken before a magistrate in Buffalo, verified the principal acts and circumstances herein related.

As before stated, Colonel Alan McNab, then commanding the whole British forces in Upper Canada, planned and sent out the detachment, which resulted in the capture and destruction of the *Caroline*, for which one of his officers was afterwards arrested and tried for murder in the state courts of New York, and finally acquitted by proving an *alibi*.

In a report of the trial of Alexander McLeod (see Wendell's Reports, Vol. 25, pages 482 to 603), seven boats and sixty-three armed men, it was stated, made the attack on the *Caroline*. Sir Francis Bond Head gives his version of the attack on the *Caroline* in his official dispatch No. 15, of February 9, 1838, to the colonial office, as follows:

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Colonel McNab called upon Captain Drew, R. N., to collect and command a flotilla of gun-boats and other crafts to be immediately fitted out for the purpose of attacking Navy island.

While the gun-boats were being prepared, the American force, under the American commander styling himself General Van Renssaeler, continued, day after day, to fire from Navy island upon the unoffending inhabitants of the Niagara frontier, although not a gun had been fired by the British, although the American force on the island were daily increasing, and although a steamboat chartered by these pirates was actually employed in transporting to the island munitions of war for the purpose of aggravating the insult which, in a moment of profound peace, had perfidiously been made by American citizens upon Her Britannic Majesty's dominions.

Under these circumstances, Colonel McNab determined, as an act of self-defence, to call upon Captain Drew to capture, burn or destroy this steamboat.

Accordingly, about 11 o'clock the same night (Dec. 30) Captain Drew, with five boats containing nine men each, pushed off from the British shore. The boats were commanded by Captain Drew, R. N., Lieutenant McCormack, R. N., Lieutenant John Elmsley, R. N., Lieutenant Christopher Beer, R. N., and Captain Gordon.

Only two boats boarded the *Caroline*, Captain Drew on the starboard gangway and Lieutenant McCormack on the starboard bow. Sir Francis gives in his official dispatch the British side of the capture and destruction of the *Caroline*: "As soon as they were clear from the shore Captain Drew ordered his followers to rest for a few moments on their oars, and while the current was hurrying them towards the Falls of Niagara, which were immediately below them, he briefly explained to the crew the duty he required them to perform, and the post respectively to be assigned to each. Silence was then preserved until Captain Drew's boat came within fifteen yards of the steamer(which was securely moored to the American wharf at Fort Schlosser), when the sentinel on board in a hurried manner called out, 'Boat ahoy! boat ahoy! Who comes there?'

"A man in the bow of the leading boat replied, 'Friend,' on which the sentinel called for the countersign. 'I will give it to you when we get on board,' replied Captain Drew, who, by this time being close to the vessel, boarded her on the starboard gangway, and, from an over anxiety in his crew to follow him, it so happened that for more than a minute he was the only assailant on the pirate's deck. Captain Drew then encountered five men, one of whom fired his musket close to his face, but missing, he (Captain Drew) immediately cut him down.

"Captain Drew then disabled another of the pirates, and, with the flat of his sword, drove the other three before him, occasionally hastening them with the point; he made them step from the vessel to the wharf.

"By this time Lieutenant McCormack had boarded on the starboard bow, and, it being so dark that he could not recognize the men he found there, he asked them 'if they were friends or enemies.' One of them replied, 'An enemy,' and immediately firing, shot him through the left arm. Lieutenant McCormack instantly cut this man down. Several of the pirates then fired upon Lieutenant McCormack and wounded him in five places; yet, in spite of this, he effectually disabled another of them, and then, sinking from the loss of blood, the vessel was

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carried. Captain Drew immediately ordered a party of his men to cut her off. It was, however, found that she was moored to the wharf by chains from the bow and quarter, which it required nearly fifteen minutes to unloose.

"During this delay the American guard stationed at the inn above Fort Schlosser turned out and commenced firing upon the assailants; in consequence of this, Lieutenant Elmsley, R. N., headed a volunteer party of sixteen men, armed with nothing but their cutlasses, advanced about thirty yards towards them, and, forming a line, they gallantly stood there to protect the vessel against the American riflemen until the chain-cables were cast off.

"The crew now returning to their respective boats, towed the vessel from the wharf, but, the current irrevocably drifting her towards the Falls of Niagara, Captain Drew, assisted by one man, set her on fire, and, as soon as she was fairly towed into the stream, the assailants, finding she was more than they could hold, let her go, and, giving her three British cheers, they rapidly pulled away for their own shore, while the pirate steamer slowly glided toward her doom."*

All along the frontiers, extending through the Canadas, the United States and Great Britain, during the years of 1837 and 1838, war and rumors of war filled the air, and intense excitement disturbed the people. On the twenty-seventh of February news came that the "Patriots" had passed over into Canada on the twenty-fourth instant; were driven back into the United States and disarmed by General Brady, American general. On the first of March news came that the "patriots" were preparing to enter Canada and establish themselves there on the whole extent of the frontier; that Brockville had already been taken and about one hundred imprisoned "Patriots" had been liberated.

"News reached Cleveland November 14, 1838, that the Patriots have again risen in the Lower province of Canada; that the tri-colored flag has been permanently hoisted for liberty or death."

When the time came which the vacillating leaders had secretly enjoined upon their misguided followers to "be ready at an hour's warning," the fatal movement was made.

Nelson, at the head of about three thousand "Patriots," executed his part of the plan with skill and energy, taking Naperville with one hundred and fifty British soldiers prisoners, and capturing several thousand stands of arms. Bill Johnson dashed across the border near Prescott, captured several unarmed steamboats, and smashed things generally in his impetuous and go-ahead style. Major Guinne, United States army, in command of a small steamer, with a volunteer crew, among whom was Captain (now Major-General) James A. Potter, then a topographical engineer, gave chase to Bill Johnson, but he escaped their vigilance after burning the steamer *Sir Robert Peel*. But Colonel Bierce was not so successful. There had been traitors in his camp, and the secret plan

* McLeod, on his trial, proved an *alibi* and was discharged. Undoubtedly he was not one of the assailants of the *Caroline*.—[ED.

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of his attack had evidently been divulged, and the Canadian authorities, with the coöperation of the United States troops stationed at Detroit for that purpose, or rather to prevent a breach of the neutrality laws, were prepared to defeat them. The almost tragic history of the "traitor" and his method of gaining information will form another chapter of this narrative.

According to the "plan" the steamboat *Constitution*, of about five hundred tons burthen, owned and commanded by Captain Gillman Appleby, was to stop at Cleveland on the night previous to the proposed attack. While there five hundred men were to go on board quietly, and in squads too small to attract attention, thence to proceed up the lake to the little unfrequented port of Black River, some eight or ten miles distant. Here Captain Harvelle and Colonel Southerland were to have in readiness, on a large and shallow-draft scow, five hundred armed and picked men who were to run out, halt the steamer and take her by pretended force from Captain Appleby, run her into Malden, on the Canadian side of the Detroit river, where they were to be met and sustained by one thousand more and take the fort and city by surprise.

All this seems to have been well and cunningly devised, and the plan might have been a complete success at that time had not the "traitor" been at work disclosing every part of the scheme and Governer Sir Francis Bond Head in thwarting it. Acting on the information divulged by the "traitor," the Canadian authorities strongly fortified Malden and largely increased the strength of the garrison. This was discovered by the "Patriots" (rebels, as they were called by the loyalists of Canada) in time to prevent their utter defeat and cause them to haul off and abandon their attack on Malden in the Upper province until temporary tranquillity should again be restored.

Meanwhile they used every exertion that ingenuity could devise to persuade both Canadian and American authorities that the reported or contemplated attack on Malden was false; that no hostile organization existed, and that nothing further could be done in the Upper province. For several days, while the War of the Rebellion was raging in the Lower, all was peace and repose in the Upper province, and nothing occurred to the public eye to show there was such a thing as a rebel in the land, except the cruel assassination of Captain Usher at his own house near Queenstown, Upper Canada, by two men who had escaped from the murderous destruction of the *Caroline*. It was reported that the man who shot Captain Usher had a brother killed on that ill-fated vessel and that Captain Usher was in command of one of the boats that captured and burned her.

But, although everything seemed shut up in the bosom of oblivion, although a peaceful calm seemed to brood over the hostile camps of the insurgents, it was but the calm before the storm, the silence of the volcano before the heaving torrents of her destructive, burning lava.

It was secretly reported to the offi-

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cers at Cleveland that the "Patriots" were to attack Malden on the night of the twenty-third of November. The authorities at Cleveland had no forces here to prevent it, should the information prove true.

On the morning of the twenty-second of November the steamboat *Constellation*, Captain P. Robertson, of five hundred tons burthen, came into the port of Cleveland with the steamer *Constitution*, Captain G. Appleby. The *Constitution* left port about noon, and though no sign was perceptible of her purpose, yet strong suspicions were entertained of her being deeply concerned in the plot. The steamer *Constellation* remained in port until about half past ten o'clock in the evening. At about nine o'clock about three hundred "patriots" (men and their supposed leaders) filed out from the upper hall of Miller's block, Superior street, in small squads of not more than four or five, generally but two. It was known that here was where the "Hunters' Lodges" assembled to drill, receive instructions and devise secret plans, but with a peaceful and innocent outward appearance. From the hall they went on board the *Constellation* so peacefully and quietly that the people had no suspicion of their designs. At half past ten all were on board, about five hundred in number all told, each provided with a good musket, two pistols and a bowie-knife. The steamer immediately left port.

After about an hour's absence she was brilliantly illuminated, presenting the appearance, to an observer at Cleveland, of a solid mass of fire. In a moment all was darkness; not a beam of light appeared to show the direction she was about to steer.

"The design is reported to be, to go direct to Detroit, there to join about two thousand men now organized in the interior, thence to march in battle array through the country to the Detroit river, cross over by the means already provided and make a desperate attack upon Malden. General Bierce, Colonel Scott, Colonel Williams and John R. St. John are reported to be the principal leaders of the expedition."

News was received about this time that the "Patriots" had made a fierce attack upon Prescott. About two hundred armed men passed over from Ogdensburgh and took possession of a large stone wind-mill and several other buildings, under the command of the brave Polander, General Von Shultz. A British force of about one thousand regulars and militia attacked them on the fourteenth and fifteenth of November, with great spirit, but were repulsed with severe loss. On the morning of the sixteenth four armed steamboats opened a severe fire with heavy artillery, and at the same time a force of one thousand men attacked the insurgents by land. General Von Shultz and his little band

. . . . "Fought long and well,
They strewed the ground with victims slain."

but they did not conquer.

General Von Shultz, it was reported, fought hand to hand with the soldiers with wonderful strength and skill, disabling all who came within reach of his

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flashing sword. But the struggle was hopeless and desperate — re-enforcements did not come to their relief as promised. Their friends at Ogdensburgh saw with terror their desperate condition, their certain destruction. They, at the great hazard of their lives, sent over several boats to bring them off. But General Von Shultz refused to accept the proffered relief, declaring, "We ask no favors of that kind. We are determined to conquer or die."

To hold out much longer was impossible. One more tremendous rush was made upon them, too powerful to be resisted, and they were all killed or taken prisoners. They were treated as pirates and rebels, and several were executed as such.

Great anxiety was felt concerning the expedition up the lake. Knowing the daring spirit of the leaders, unless their men deserted them in the hour of trial (and many, knowing something of the character of their men, believed such would be the case), it was believed generally that they would permanently plant the tri-colored flag on the walls of Malden and "revenge" the disaster at Prescott. In that case a rallying point would be gained and Canada would be free. Vain hope, if hope there was. Official news soon came that the "Patriots" crossed over from Detroit only three hundred strong. Five hundred more were to have joined them, but were prevented and disarmed by the United States authorities, who appeared to be posted and prepared, and ready to prevent a breach of the neutrality laws. But the little squad of two hundred who escaped the vigilance of the authorities took Sandwich, attacked and burned the barracks, killed thirty soldiers and one officer, with a loss of two men killed and three wounded.

After taking Sandwich they burned a steamboat belonging to the loyalists, and then filed off up the river after having been joined by two hundred Canadian insurgents on that side. About three hours afterwards they were pursued by a detachment of five hundred regulars from Malden, who, however, were soon recalled at the top of their speed, the officer in command suspecting that the apparent retreat up the river was only a ruse to draw them away from Malden while a larger force should attack it in its weakened condition. But such was not the case. It had become evident to the leaders that the end of the rebellion was near at hand. It had been publicly announced that General Winfield Scott was ordered to the frontier with full powers to put a stop to all illegal organizations on the American side of the boundary line; to suppress all infractions of the neutrality laws and treaties between the United States and Great Britain, and, if possible, quell all disturbing elements and establish peace. With that purpose in view he had, doubtless, sent to General Brady, in command of the United States forces at Detroit, special orders, on which direct action was already visible. Hence they saw the danger of being caught between two fires. Nothing was left those who had not already

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been arrested but to disperse at once and hurry back to their individual homes, wherever such homes might be, looking as innocent and as free from war-paint as John Rogers, the martyr.

D. W. Cross.

[*To be continued.*]

EARLY SLAVERY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

At the date of the Declaration of Independence, African slavery existed in all the English colonies in North America. The number of slaves was about three hundred and fifty thousand. The greater part of them were in the southern colonies—not because of any superior sensitiveness as to any wrongfulness of slavery on the part of the people of the north, but mainly because the climate of the north was not so favorable to slavery as that of the south. At that time there was but little conscientiousness on the subject anywhere.* Good men in all parts of the world, of all shades of opinion on other subjects, were a unit as to the righteousness and expediency of human chattelism.

The number of negro slaves in Pennsylvania was never very great. In 1756 there were in Virginia about one hundred and twenty thousand slaves; in the rest of North America there were about one hundred and seventy-two thousand.† Of this latter number we may assume that five-sixths were in the southern colonies; of the remainder Pennsylvania had her share. From the beginning of the settlement by William Penn, the Quakers had made frequent attempts to extinguish slavery in the colony. In 1686 a testimony against slavery was presented to the Yearly Meeting, by a company of German Quakers. "Pray what thing in the world," say they, "can be done worse towards us, than if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries, separating husbands from their wives and children? Being now this is not done in the manner we would be done by, therefore we contradict, and are against this traffic of men-body. And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must, likewise, avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible."‡ However, as the minutes of the meeting record, "It was adjudged not to be so proper for this meeting to give a positive judgment in the case, it having so general a relation to many other parts, and therefore at present they forbear it." From time to time similar remonstrances were presented in the Qua-

*It is interesting to know that the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson was one of the earliest and most earnest of English abolitionists. No abler argument has ever been made against slavery than that dictated by him in 'Boswell's Life,' Chapter XLII.

†John Esten Cooke's 'Virginia,' p. 367.

‡'Notices of Negro Slavery,' by Edward Bettle, in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. I., p. 413. To this sketch, with notes etc., by Edward Armstrong, I am much indebted.

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ker meetings; and finally "to the influence of their precept and example, to their moral weight in the community, and the untiring zeal and activity with which they prosecuted this work of benevolence, is mainly to be attributed the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania."

In the year 1712 an act was passed by the assembly "to prevent the importation of negroes or Indians into the province," but it was immediately repealed by the council in England. The English government at no time favored the attempts or the wishes of the colonists to rid themselves of the incubus of slavery. This was the principal reason that the assembly of Pennsylvania made so little effort to meet the views of the early abolitionists. As Bettle remarks: "The hostility of the English government to any supposed encroachment on the trade of the country, even in human flesh, appears to have been sufficient to prevent any further attempts to abolish this cruel traffic."

Many of the slaves in Pennsylvania were employed at the iron forges. Israel Acrelius, in his 'History of New Sweden,' written about the middle of the last century, says: "A good negro is bought for from thirty to forty pounds sterling, which is equal to fifteen hundred or two thousand of our dollars, koppar mynt. Their clothing may amount to seventy-five dollars, koppar mynt, their food, 325 ditto—very little, indeed, for the year. The negroes," he adds, "are better treated in Pennsylvania than anywhere else in America." But negro slavery was not the only form of servitude in Pennsylvania and other colonies, particularly at the north, in those times. White people were sold into bondage just as absolute and as degrading, with only this difference—that in their case their slavery was for a term of years instead of for life. This made it none the less dreadful while it lasted; indeed, in their case it was even more dreadful, because of their finer and more sensitive organization. These unfortunates were immigrants, called "Redemptioners," mostly from Germany and Ireland, who were not able to pay the price of their passage from the old country, and were sold into a species of slavery for the amount of their passage money. In this way families were often separated for years, and even forever, and compelled to endure the hardships and humiliation of enforced labor.* Acrelius remarks that a white servant "costs three hundred and fifty dollars, koppar mynt"—evidently for the year—"and his food is estimated at three hundred and twenty-five dollars more of the same coinage"—so that his food was no better than that of the negro slave, while nothing is said as to his clothing—perhaps he was required to clothe himself.

There was still another species of white slavery in the north—a species that has continued on down even to our own times, namely, the system of "binding out" boys and girls to service, and indenturing apprentices. The bound boy or girl and the indentured apprentice were as much slaves for the time being as were the blacks; and the Fugitive Slave law was not more rigorous than the law that enabled the master to pursue his absconding servant or apprentice and reclaim him, wherever he might be found. The apprenticeship system in the north was made a powerful

*'Historical Journal,' June, 1887, p. 48.

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argument in favor of black slavery by the politicians of the south.

"You rob a human being of his liberty," says Mr. Sharpe, in a novel of thirty-five years ago. "You appropriate his time. That you've no right to do."

"You do it at the north," replies Mr. Walworth. "I have mentioned one case already, that where orphans are bound out for no crime but poverty, by the overseers of the poor. Your apprenticeship law also recognizes the principle"—with more to the same effect.*

It is but justice to the memory of some of the early Quaker abolitionists of Pennsylvania, that they should receive some personal notice at our hands. One of the earliest and most prominent was Benjamin Lay. He was of English birth, and had been a seaman. He had lived some time at Barbadoes, where his soul had been so much distressed by the unhappy condition of the blacks, that he left that country and came to Pennsylvania. Here he found the same system in vogue. In 1737 he published his work "on slave keeping." Lay seems to have been a man of fiery energy, over-zealous, and to have rather hurt his cause by the severity and intemperateness of his attacks. He died in 1760, in his eightieth year. To the close of his long life he continued to present the cause of the oppressed. "He was a man of a strong and active mind," says Bettle, "of great integrity and uprightness of heart, and one who, no doubt, acted from what he conceived to be the dictates of his conscience."

A more distinguished champion than Lay was John Woolman. He was born in New Jersey in 1720. He was a man of noble mind and heart. At an early age his compassion and sense of justice towards the slave were aroused, and he spent his life in endeavoring to obliterate the blot of slavery from the land. In 1746, and again in 1757, he traveled extensively through the colonies, everywhere testifying against slavery. In 1753 he published the first part of his 'Considerations on Keeping Negroes;' in 1761 this was followed by a second part. In 1772 he went to England, where he continued his efforts in behalf of the oppressed Africans; but his labors came to an end shortly after his arrival in that country. He died at York in 1772, aged fifty-two years. He left a character of singular sweetness and virtue. Bettle thus sums it up:

> We think it may be safely asserted that, for self-denial, purity of manners and conversation, firm, consistent and persevering prosecution of duty, and zealous and enlightened benevolence, he has rarely been equaled, and perhaps never excelled.

Anthony Benezet also distinguished himself among the early Pennsylvania abolitionists. He was born in France in 1713. At an early age he was taken by his parents to England, where he remained until early manhood. In 1731 he emigrated to Philadelphia. In his person he combined, says Bettle, "in an eminent degree, shining virtues, excellent talents and indefatigable industry." At first, upon his arrival at Philadelphia, he engaged in business, but after a few years he conceived the idea that his proper vocation was instruction.

*See 'The Cabin and Parlor,' by J. Thornton Randolph. Chap. XVI. The laws relating to apprentices and children bound out to service, I believe, are still on our statute-books, though in practice they have about fallen into "innocuous desuetude."

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He accordingly established a school in his adopted city, which was long eminent among the educational institutions of the country.

Benezet was approaching middle life when his mind first became powerfully interested in the African race. He began his philanthropic career by opening an evening school for the free instruction of the Negroes of the city. At the same time he employed his pen in the newspapers in their behalf. In 1762 he published 'An Account of that Part of Africa Inhabited by the Negroes.' This was succeeded five years later by a more pertinent work, entitled 'A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies on the Calamitous State of the Enslaved Negroes.' The labors of no man of that age were more earnest or effective in the cause of the slave than were Benezet's. He presented the subject on all its sides, discussed it in all its bearings, and succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and coöperation of many who became the earnest friends of the oppressed Africans. Benezet died in 1784, in his seventy-first year.

All this time the abolition sentiment in Pennsylvania was growing. In November, 1778, the vice president of the assembly brought the subject again before that body. "In divesting the state of slaves," he says, "you will equally serve the cause of humanity and policy, and offer to God one of the most proper and best returns of gratitude for his great deliverance of us and our posterity from thraldom; you will also set your character for justice and benevolence in the true point of view to all Europe, who are astonished to see a people eager for liberty holding Negroes in bondage."* Nearly a year later President Reed again presented the matter to the assembly. "Honored will that state be in the annals of history," he says, "which shall first abolish this violation of the rights of mankind, and the memories of those will be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance, who shall pass the law to restore and establish the rights of human nature in Pennsylvania."

The act of assembly providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the state, was finally passed on the first of March, 1780. The act was drawn up by George Bryan, vice-president of the assembly. In the course of the preamble, he says:

> We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are enabled this day to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing, as much as possible, the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the kings of Great Britain, no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations; and we conceive ourselves at this particular period extraordinarily called upon, by the blessings which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our profession, and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude.

The gist of the enactment is found in the following paragraphs:

(1) That all persons, as well Negroes and Mulattoes as others, who shall be born within this State from and after the passing of this act, shall not be

* Bettle's 'Notices,' continuation by Armstrong, p. 405. Dr. Johnson's rather insolent question was not altogether unwarranted: "How is it that we hear the loudest *yelps* for liberty among the drivers of Negroes?"

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deemed and considered as servants for life, or slaves; and that all servitude for life, or slavery of children, in consequence of the slavery of their mothers, in the case of all children born within this State from and after the passing of this act as aforesaid, shall be, and hereby is, utterly taken away, extinguished, and forever abolished.

(2) That every Negro and Mulatto child, born within this State after the passing of this act as aforesaid (who would, in case this act had not been made, been born a servant for years or life, or a slave), shall be deemed to be, and shall be, by virtue of this act, the servant of such person, or his or her assigns, who would in such case have been entitled to the service of such child, until such child shall attain unto the age of twenty-eight years, in the manner and on the conditions, whereon servants bound by indenture for four years are or may be retained and holden.

Other sections provide for the registering of slaves, and so forth; and further it was enacted:

That no man or woman of any nation or color, except the Negroes or Mulattoes who shall be registered as aforesaid, shall, at any time hereafter, be deemed, adjudged, or holden within the territories of this commonwealth, as slaves or servants for life, but as free men and free women; except the domestic slaves of delegates in Congress from other states, foreign ministers, etc.*

Under this law African slavery soon died out. The white bondage of various species referred to above, had died or was dying a natural death.

In 1790	there	were	3,737	slaves.
In 1800	"	"	1,706	"
In 1810	"	"	795	"
In 1820	"	"	211	"
In 1830	"	"	67	"

Between 1830 and 1840 the last vestige of African slavery in Pennsylvania seems to have disappeared. More lately it has been abolished in all parts of our country. The pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme. The danger to society at present lies in the claim to too much liberty, and the scouting of all authority.

T. J. CHAPMAN.

* 'Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.' By Alexander James Dallas. Vol. I. pp. 839-841. For the use of this volume I am indebted to the gentlemanly attention of Mr. Percy G. Digby, the librarian of the Pittsburgh Law library.

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WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

For some years prior to the organization of this society, the value and importance of such an institution had been fully foreseen and measured by a few—and I think it may safely be said by only a few—of our citizens. Some of them were men whose birth began almost with the first settlement at the mouth of the Cuyahoga; others antedated its birth as a village; the most of them were older than the city, and all were men of intelligence, progressive in their natures, broad of view, comprehensive in idea, farseeing and reaching in grasp, while a few were especially given to historical study and investigation and scientific and antiquarian research. Outside of these, this small circle, it seemed to have but few friends, but they were steadfast, persevering and undismayed through all the struggles and adverse fortunes incident to its beginning. Cromwell said to the painter of his portrait: "Put in every wrinkle and wart; paint me as I am." To the men who took the initial step in the formation of this association, the background and coloring all were full of "gorgeous hues and glowing tints." To the customary salutation, "Good day," of an acquaintance, Ben Jonson replied: "Sir, it may be propitious, but the atmosphere is humid and the sky nebulous." And so, though the atmosphere surrounding these faithful, earnest men may have been damp and the horizon dark, yet they knew that it was only in a storm that the rainbow appeared. They had a correct appreciation and full comprehension of both the magnitude and importance of the undertaking. There were then living in their midst men and women who, on their first arrival, found here only Indians and a wilderness. Referring to this period, a worthy member of this society has said:

> The early emigration to Ohio represented in its composition fully and adequately the spirit of the Union. On her fruitful soil the culled grain from New England, the middle states and the south was sown, and the product was a race of giants. If these emigrants were not versed in the learning of universities and colleges, they had been educated at a higher academy. The prominent elder men had been soldiers of the Revolution, and the young men had graduated in that school of self-sacrifice, nobleness and exalted patriotism, which eminently fitted them to become the founders and builders of a state. In looking back to that time, they seem to resemble in appearance the great trees of the virgin forest

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which covered the land, and not the smaller timber of a second growth.

From these early settlers, these sturdy, hardy pioneers, much of historical interest and value could be obtained and secured, and the aim of the founders of this society was to provide the means and facilities for its preservation and to render it of usefulness and interest to present and future generations. And so we have here the simple articles of their simple, honest lives, the plain implements of plain industry, now cherished "relics"—the spinning wheel, the swift, the reel, the hetchel, the flax wheel, the swingling knife, the neck-yoke, the warming pan, the tin oven, the tin lantern, with its "grater" appearance, the charcoal foot-stove, the keg canteen, the tongs and long-handled iron shovel, the andirons, the crane and hooks, the iron and brass candlesticks, the snuffers and tray, the pewter platter and spoons, the wooden trencher, the sand-box—instead of "blotters," the wafers instead of self-sealing envelopes, the quill, the hour-glass, etc.

The plan of organization of the present Western Reserve Historical society was first suggested by C. C. Baldwin, its present president, while he was vice-president of the Cleveland Library association, now Case library, early in the year 1866. Of this, Colonel Whittlesey, who furnished material for an article published in the *Illustrated Detroit News* of December, 1881, says:

A slight reference to the Historical society of Cleveland will give an insufficient idea of its importance, not only as an enduring monument to the zeal of its founders, but as showing how much may be accomplished in so short a period of time. The society originally comprised about twenty persons, organizing in May, 1867, upon the suggestion of Mr. C. C. Baldwin, the present secretary. The real work fell upon Colonel Whittlesey, Mr. Goodman, and Mr. Baldwin—Mr. Goodman devoting nearly all his time until 1872. His death in the same year was a serious loss to his colleagues and the interests of western history.

There had been previously a pioneer society which held large and enthusiastic annual meetings at Newburgh. But the interest died away, and the society languished and became practically at an end. It seemed to Mr. Baldwin that there should be a society formed with somewhat different ends, and so organized and planned that its work done should be preserved.

During the next year of the association, 1886–7, the plans were perfected, and at the annual meeting of May 7, 1867, amendments were made to the constitution of the Library association authorizing the formation of departments, historical and scientific, and so planned that while each department would be quite distinct and separate, yet, if such untimely fate should befall it as befell the Pioneer society, its collections would be preserved by the library.

The Kirtland Society of Natural History, though separately organized, finally fell into the same plan, and its rooms are now in connection with the Case library.

The records read:

On Thursday evening, April 11, 1867, a meeting was held in the directors' room of the Cleveland Library association, on Superior street, near Seneca, at which were present the following persons: Colonel Charles Whittlesey, Joseph Perkins, Judge John Barr, H. A. Smith, Charles C. Baldwin, attorney-at-law, and Alfred T. Goodman. The object of the meet-

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ing thus assembled was to take steps towards the formation of a historical society in the city of Cleveland. The meeting was not organized in a formal way, but Colonel Whittlesey acted as chairman. A discussion was held as to the name the association should take, the following being finally adopted, viz.: "The Reserve Historical Department of the Cleveland Library Association." Judge Barr, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Perkins expressed themselves favorable to this name.

Further discussion was had upon the objects of the association, manner of organizing it permanently, etc., which was of great interest.

Of those present at this first meeting Judge C. C. Baldwin alone survives. The amendment above referred to was offered at the annual meeting, in the following May, of the Cleveland Library association. Article V, under which this society was organized, was adopted at the annual meeting, May 7, 1867, and reads as follows:

Section 1. Historical and scientific departments of this association may be organized upon the written application of ten members, who, with their associate members in such department, shall, for the management of the same, elect a board of nine curators.

Section 2. After the first election three members of said board shall be elected annually, all of whom shall hold office until others are elected to succeed them. Said board shall elect a president of said department and three vice-presidents and such other officers as may be required by the by-laws of this association, and shall make report of their proceedings to the board of directors ten days previous to the annual election of this association.

Pursuant to the constitutional amendment, adopted May 7, 1867, authorizing special departments, an historical section was drawn up by C. C. Baldwin, inaugurated on the twenty-eighth of May by the following paper, signed by the requisite number of members:

To the Board of Library Directors:

The undersigned members of the Cleveland Library association hereby associate ourselves as a department of history and its kindred subjects in accordance with the provisions of the amended constitution, and agree to proceed immediately to organize said department by adopting the proper rules and regulations and the appointment of officers.

[Signed] M. B. Scott, Samuel Starkweather,
A. T. Goodman, J. C. Buell,
Peter Thatcher, Henry A. Smith,
W. N. Hudson, C. W. Sackrider,
J. D. Cleveland, J. H. A. Bone,
George Willey, Joseph Perkins,
E. R. Perkins, A. K. Spencer,
John H. Sargeant, H. B. Tuttle,
W. P. Fogg, C. C. Baldwin,
George R. Tuttle, T. R. Chase,
Charles Whittlesey.

The Cleveland Library association, from which this society derived its legal existence, was incorporated in 1848, the purpose being, as stated, for a library and an annual course of lectures. This was, for many years, the only public library in Cleveland, and was of great benefit to the community in an educational sense in both its functions as a library and in its lectures. It is the outgrowth of a society organized in 1811 by sixteen persons, citizens of the village, none of whom are now living, but who left their mark and impress on the community.* The War of 1812, and the financial depression incident thereto, effected its dissolution. In 1833 a number of those who were

*They were as follows: William Gaylord, Abijah Hewit, James Kingsbury, Alfred Kelley, John Lanterman, David Long, Daniel Mosher, Elias Murray, Harvey Murray, Nathan Perry, James Root, George Wallace, John Walworth, Samuel Williamson, Matthew Williamson, Stephen King. This was three years prior to the incorporation of Cleveland as a village. The year previous, 1810, it numbered eighteen families, the total population being fifty-seven persons. So, in 1811, about one-fourth of the entire population were members of the first Cleveland library.

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instrumental in its formation in 1811 were yet living and organized a lyceum, and in 1835 a reading-room association was formed in connection with and in addition to it, and in 1836 the Young Men's Literary association was formed for library purposes. In 1843 this was dissolved and the books, some eight hundred volumes, in part found their way into the present library. In 1845 the work was again taken up under the same name, which continued until 1848, when it became a corporation under its present name.

The historical society in its young days found some substantial pecuniary friends. Mr. John F. Warner died about the time it was organized and by his will gave it five hundred dollars, as lately the sister of Mr. Warner has done. These are the only pecuniary legacies ever made to it. That of Mr. Warner was very useful indeed in the infancy of the society.

Other gentlemen who have made liberal gifts are Mr. William J. Gordon, haply still living, who gave one thousand dollars towards the endowment of ten thousand dollars. The late Joseph Perkins contributed another one thousand dollars. Mr. Perkins time and again made smaller contributions, and was always ready with his purse. He reprinted at the time of the funeral of General Garfield Tract No. 20 (General Garfield's Address on the History of the Northwest), and always subscribed liberally to any especial purpose or object of the society.

His advice was always valuable and his friendship strong. He was desirous that the society should have an entire building of its own.

By far the most liberal friend of the society was the late Leonard Case. He preferred at first that the society should have its rooms in his block—since donated by him to the Case library. It was thought best to locate in the new block of the Society for Savings, that society in building its fire-proof edifice having built and arranged the whole of the third story for the society, and on the most liberal terms, alike honorable to itself and the gentlemen directing it, and beneficial to the public. Mr. Case's interest continued, and it would be impossible to give an accurate account of his kindnesses. It was characteristic of Mr. Case that he never intended his charities to be counted. He authorized the purchase of a library, and with Mr. Case as capitalist and Dr. Elisha Sterling to select it, the library rapidly grew and was selected with exceeding skill. Mr. Case never stopped because a book would cost money. If it was of value to the society, price was no hindrance. Mr. Case gave towards the endowment the sum of three thousand dollars. His subsequent gifts were large and valuable, and were generally given in a very characteristic manner.

Once when there were many volumes of unbound newspapers, he asked, "Why don't you get those bound?" and on reply, said, "Send them to the bindery and the bill to me."

The bill was several hundred dollars. Once he asked; "Would not you like some Indian photographs?"

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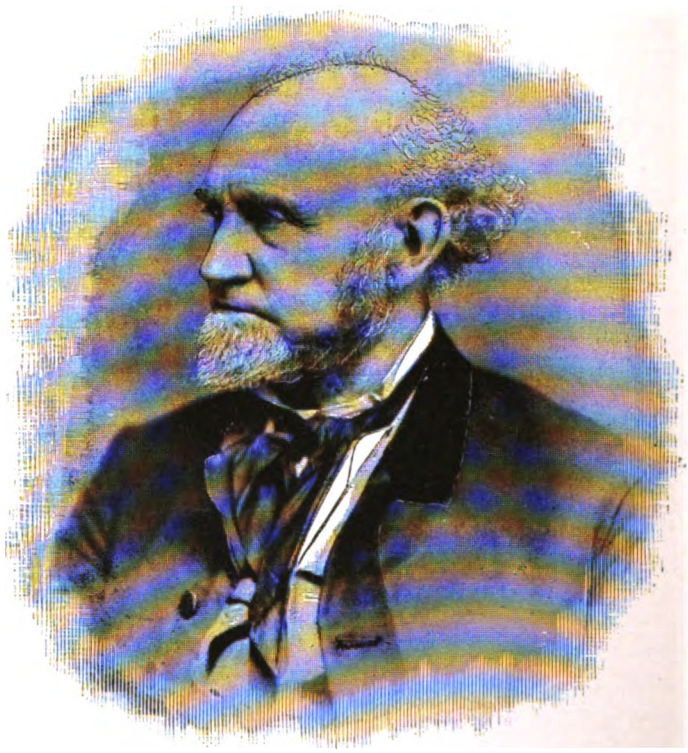

CHARLES WHITTLESEY.

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The result was the donation of a couple of thousand of photographs of persons and other matters pertaining to aboriginal life, a collection of which it was said there were only ten in the world.

In similar manner he caused to be made and presented the fine models of cliff dwellings and other monuments of antiquity which ornament the rooms.

At one time he presented the fine copy of Lord Kingsborough's 'Antiquities of Mexico,' with the voluminous copies in colors of the picture-writing of the Aztecs. It is in nine immense, finely bound folios and was published, it is said, at over one thousand dollars. Mr. Case did many more other liberal things.

Other large donors to the library have been its late president, Colonel Charles Whittlesey,* who gave it his library, selected through many years and containing many books relating to Ohio and other states, which could not well be duplicated, and the present president, Mr. Baldwin, who has given it hundreds of volumes, worth more than a thousand dollars. Among the books donated by Mr. Baldwin is the fine hand-painted folio edition, in three immense folio volumes, of Hall & McKenny's 'Indians.' This copy was the property of William L. Marcy, secretary of state. A similar copy was priced a few months ago in New York at two hundred and fifty dollars.

A gentleman who should also be mentioned in this connection is the Honorable R. M. Stimson of Marietta, to whose learning, generosity and kindness the society is greatly indebted for its quite full collection of rare and old state documents and other rare books. The rare union of ability, learning and kindness in the donor made the service unique.

The historical department adopted the by-laws, which were unanimously accepted and ratified on the fifth of June, 1867, by the directors of the Library association, after which the officers provided for were elected. By resolution of the library directors, the splendid fire-proof room, twenty-nine feet by one hundred and twenty-five, in the savings bank, is especially devoted to the purposes of history, mechanical arts, specimens in natural history and natural science, maps, manuscripts, likenesses of the pioneers, relics, engraved views, etc., constituting a valuable museum.

The following officers were chosen:

President, Charles Whittlesey; vice-president, M. B. Scott; secretary, J. C. Buell; treasurer, A. K. Spencer.

Ex-officio curators for one year: Peter Thatcher, A. K. Spencer, Amos Townsend.

Curators for one year: J. C. Buell, H. A. Smith; curators for two years: C. C. Baldwin, M. B. Scott; curators for three years: Joseph Perkins, Charles Whittlesey.

After the selection of the above named officers for the government of the society, there were adopted the following by-laws:

1. This department shall be known as "The Western Reserve Historical Society," the principal object of which shall be to discover, procure and preserve whatever relates to the history, biography, genealogy, antiquities and statistics connected with the city of Cleveland and the Western Reserve, and generally what relates to the history of Ohio and the Great West.

* See portrait on opposite page.

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2. The officers of this department shall be a president, three vice-presidents, secretary and treasurer, to be appointed by the curators, who shall hold their offices for two years, and until their successors are appointed, and whose duties shall be such as usually pertain to such offices.

The following persons desiring to become members of the society then signed their names to the constitution and by-laws:

Charles C. Baldwin, M. B. Scott, Henry A. Smith, Joseph Perkins, Samuel Williamson, Charles Whittlesey, A. T. Goodman, Harvey Rice, John D. Crehore, George Mygatt, L. E. Holden, H. M. Chapin, C. F. Sherman, Samuel Starkweather, F. M. Backus, D. H. Beardsley, S.V. Willson, Joseph Ireland, G. C. F. Hayne, Jacob H. Smies, J. S. Kingsland, P. H. Babcock.

Twenty-one were they in number, and all in their various professions and occupations men of prominence and merit. Of this number fifteen, at least, have closed their earthly career and the activites of life.

During the first year of the existence of the society several meetings were held at the residences of curators for social and literary intercourse. On Wednesday evening, March 11, 1868, on the call of the president, a meeting was held, when several matters of a business nature received attention. J. C. Buell, secretary, tendered his resignation of such office, to fill which C. C. Baldwin was elected. At this meeting a committee, consisting of the president, Colonel Whittlesey, H. A. Smith and J. D. Cleveland, was appointed to devise the best means of raising funds to furnish the hall of the society, and to expend the means so raised in such manner as they might think best. At the end of the first year, or in May, 1868, the curators, as required by the constitution, made their first annual report to the Cleveland Library association. It gives an intelligent idea of the progress that had been made and of the interest felt and manifested.

The report was written by Curator C. C. Baldwin, and is as follows:

"Possession of the room assigned to this and the reference department, which occupies the entire third floor of the savings bank, was given by the bank on the first of November last. The room seems, in all respects, all that can be desired. The war relics belonging to the Library association are stored there with a few rare and valuable works on history, designated for reference, together with donations of books, maps, pamphlets, manuscripts, newspapers and curiosities, of which a partial list has been published, with the names of the donors. As yet, means have not been secured to fit up this room with cases, seats, etc., in order to display the articles already accumulated there. The curators are well satisfied that when this is done and the room opened at regular hours, there is abundant material in the city and vicinity which can be gathered in, and it will be an attractive and useful part of the association. There is ample space for all the books of reference, and for a department of mechanical arts and natural science, if the association wishes it, whenever the proper furniture can be provided. The Historical department has, as yet, no endowment, nor has it collected or disbursed any funds. A plan of endowment was devised and two thousand dollars pledged

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to it by two gentlemen of this city on condition that twenty thousand dollars should be raised, of which the savings bank was to be made trustee. The bank declined to assume the trust, and there the matter rests. A committee has also been appointed to solicit a smaller subscription for present use by this department. One of our citizens has expended fifty dollars in copying old and imperfect manuscript, of which about six hundred pages are now transcribed. Contributions of valuable articles, books, relics, portraits, old newspapers and pamphlets are offered almost every day, all of which are carefully stored in the historical rooms. We have reason to hope that, before another year expires, the collection will be properly arranged and an annual income secured for its regular increase. Such collections, when put in order and opened to the public, accumulate with great rapidity. At the close of this first year the records show that there were fifty-nine annual members; corresponding, fifty-one."

The officers for 1868 were: President, Charles Whittlesey; vice-president, M. B. Scott; secretary, C. C. Baldwin; treasurer, A. K. Spencer; *ex-officio* curators for one year, E. B. Chamberlin, A. K. Spencer; two years, Samuel Williamson, J. H. A. Bone; three years, C. T. Sherman, C. C. Baldwin.

During the year meetings were held at various times at the residences of members, when interesting and valuable papers were read and discussions of great benefit took place. Among the subjects considered were "The Location of Pine Point, the Seat of Major Wilkins' Shipwreck, November, 1763." Mr. Baldwin exhibited a map, Charlevoix's works, 1744, locating this point at the east point of Rondout, on the Canada shore. "The Evidences of Man's Antiquity in the United States," by Colonel Whittlesey; "The Location of the Iroquois," by C. C. Baldwin. By October, 1868, one hundred and fifty dollars had been appropriated by the "military committee of Cuyahoga county" at the suggestion of Mr. William Bingham, a member of that committee, to secure cases in which to display military relics; and of donations of articles to the museum and library there were from William Bingham one book-case and sofa, also similar articles by William J. Boardman, esq., and a case for minerals from Dr. Theodatus Garlick. A committee had been appointed to solicit memberships and steps taken to procure and issue certificates of same, and the society seemed to be making good, substantial, if not rapid, progress. For a year or more weekly meetings were held for "social intercourse" and the transaction of such business as was necessary. At the close of the second year, May, 1869, the president, Colonel Whittlesey, made an interesting annual report, showing the condition of the society at that time and its future prospects. The following is taken from that report:

Possession of the rooms of our society commenced November 14, 1867. It is ample, fire-proof and without its equal in the city. About the time of our moving into the room, the county commissioners, under authority from the legislature, authorized

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the Honorable Samuel Williamson to expend five hundred dollars in recovering the papers of the Connecticut Land company. Judge John Barr had procured some of them many years since which he had placed in my keeping, to which I had added others from time to time. We were able to secure more of the field notes, maps and papers of the company. We hope to secure more from the descendants of the first proprietors, among whom the original field books of the interior surveys of the townships are dispersed.

We have from various sources procured seven of the earliest manuscript maps of the city of Cleveland, commencing in 1796 and extending to 1806. Their value as historical papers is very great. Of maps of townships and counties extending to the year 1797, we have about one hundred. Of the early field books we have twenty-four, and quite a number of other papers, books, records and accounts. It is also a part of our purpose to make a complete collection of city, county and state maps, city directories and all gazetteers for the state of Ohio. Of books that relate strictly to our local and state history, we have one hundred and fifty volumes, most of which are extremely rare. We have in manuscript several hundred pages of historical matter. I believe we have all the engraved views of Cleveland hitherto published; also a painting by Joseph Parker taken in 1839 for the late C. M. Giddings, esq., representing the northwest quarter of the public square at that time, presented by General A. S. Sanford. The relics of the mound builders, the red men, and of their successors, the white pioneers, accumulate faster than we have conveniences to exhibit them. A large number of minerals, ores, specimens of metals and of fossils are ready for use when we can provide room for them. In the department of natural science we expect the co-operation of the Cleveland Academy, which is one of our early institutions, and has already a valuable collection.

The work of the society in the diffusing of historical matter by print, does not appear alone in its own publications. We do not refer to the great use made of the library from time to time by writers for newspapers, magazines and histories.

The enthusiasm of Colonel Whittlesey, excited by the plans for the formation of the society, led to the publication of his 'History of Cleveland,' which appeared almost as soon as the society was born. The remainder of the edition of this valuable chronicle of northeastern Ohio is now owned by the society.

That bright and much lamented secretary of the society, Mr. Alfred T. Goodman, wrote a valuable series of 'Lives of Ohio Governors,' which appeared in newspapers and never in book form, as they should. Mr. Goodman also edited with much and learned introductory and editorial history one of the society's manuscripts, procured for it in London by the late John Lathrop Motley. This valuable volume of one hundred and twenty handsome pages was printed for William Dodge by Messrs. Robert Clarke & Company of Cincinnati, and the remainder is now owned by them. It is entitled: 'Journal of Captain William Trent, from Logstown to Pickawillany, A. D. 1752, now published for the first time, from a copy in the archives of the Western Reserve Historical society, Cleveland, Ohio, together with letters of Governor Robert Dinwiddie. An historical notice of the Miami confederacy of Indians; a sketch of the English post at Pickawillany, with a short biography of Captain Trent, and other papers, never before printed. Edited by Alfred T. Goodman, secretary Western Reserve Historical society, 1871.'

HEART'S JOURNAL.

In 1885 Joel Munsell's Sons of Albany, New York, published the journal

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of Captain Jonathan Heart, on the march with his company from Connecticut to Fort Pitt, in Pittsburgh, 1785, to which was added the Dickinson-Harmar correspondence of 1784-5, the whole illustrated with notes, and preceded by a biographical sketch of Captain Heart. This was edited by the well-known historical writer, Consul Willshire Butterfield of Madison, Wisconsin, the matter having been furnished by this society, which possesses a copy of the original famous journal.

At this meeting the election of officers for the ensuing year was as follows: President, Charles Whittlesey; vice-president, M. B. Scott; secretary, A. T. Goodman; treasurer, George A. Stanley.

ST. CLAIR PAPERS.

Some time in 1868 Mr. Goodman, secretary, became aware that there were in existence valuable papers and documents of Major-General Arthur St. Clair, the first governor of the territory northwest of the Ohio. They were found to be in possession of Mr. Robert Graham of Atchison, Kansas, who married a granddaughter of General St. Clair. The society realized the importance of securing to the state and country these papers, and it took immediate action in the matter. A meeting was called at which the sum of about one hundred dollars was pledged for the expense of making an examination, and, in the event of not being able to make the purchase, to make copies and extracts. At this point in the proceedings Mr. Graham died and his son, Robert St. Clair Graham, was appointed executor of the estate, and informed Mr. Goodman that the papers had been inventoried and appraised at five thousand dollars. This seemed a large sum for this society to raise, and the aid of the state was sought. Governor Hayes was personally interviewed and his coöperation secured by recommending an appropriation for the purchase. Meanwhile Mr. Graham had become impatient, and announced his determination to make an immediate disposal of them. He advertised them for sale in Cincinnati and eastern papers, which resulted in a general interest being awakened and of action being taken by eastern historical societies. Officers of this society went to Columbus, urging the necessity and importance of their being secured to the state. One bill after another, making what was considered liberal appropriation, was introduced, but failed to pass both houses of the legislature. But finally both bodies agreed upon a bill, and the object was at last attained. Mr. Goodman at this time records in our records:

> It is, perhaps, unpardonable in me to have referred at such length to this subject, but I thought it would be right and proper that a full history of the negotiations for securing to the state the St. Clair papers, should be preserved among the archives of this society, more especially so for the reason that to this society belongs the honor of having taken an active and prominent part in advocating and obtaining the first appropriation ever made by the legislature of Ohio for exclusively historical purposes.

Creditable in the extreme was it to this society. True it is that because of its intelligent and persevering efforts, the general historian and especially the student of Ohio and northwestern history, can find in nearly every con-

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siderable library throughout the land those two large octavo volumes, aggregating nearly thirteen hundred pages —'The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War, President of the Continental Congress, and Governor of the Northwestern Territory,' so admirably arranged and so excellently edited by William Henry Smith, esq., and published by Robert Clarke & Company of Cincinnati in 1882.

MARGRY PAPERS.

The most important publication of original matter relating to the history of the west for many years is the Margry papers, a collection of original documents in the French language, published at Paris with the help of congress, in seven large volumes. This most valuable collection of papers had been known for years. It belonged to Mr. Pierre Margry, who, by the offices he had held and his taste and learning for many years, had been facilitated in its acquirement. Three of the large volumes relate to the early discoveries in the west, being largely dovoted to La Salle.

Mr. Francis Parkman had more knowledge of this collection than any other American, and had matured plans for its publication which were frustrated by the Boston fire.

With Colonel Whittlesey, the president of the Western Reserve Historical society, originated the plan pursued by which congress subscribed for five hundred copies of the work, which insured the publication—an enterprise warmly aided by O. H. Marshall of Buffalo, and especially by the powerful influence of Mr. Parkman.

The society interested General Garfield and Mr. James Monroe, then in congress. General Garfield was especially active, and some account of the matter in his own words is the preface to Tract No. 20, an address by General Garfield.

Since the death of Colonel Whittlesey was received a warm letter of acknowledgment from Mr. Margry, written without knowledge of his decease, to announce to him first of any in America, the completion of Mr. Margry's task.

The importance and the history of the undertaking may be gathered from the fourth volume of the Narrative and and Critical History of America on page 242, and also from the address of General Garfield referred to.

A review of the first volume of the book by C. C. Baldwin, then secretary of the society, was published as Tract No. 34 of the publications of this society, in which quite extended translations were made on important topics. It was a laborious work and one of great literary merit as well, on account of which it received much commendation from scholars throughout the country.

These volumes must give a new stimulus and opportunity for that most delightful form of historical study—original investigation.

THE MUSEUM OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On entering the large rooms of the society, occupying the whole of the

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third floor of the building for the Society for Savings, the first impression conveyed is usually one of surprise at the display. The room is thoroughly filled; near the entrance are the last memorials of our late lamented President, General Garfield, in his lifetime an earnest life member of the society. There rests the dais upon which he rested at the immense funeral ceremony at Cleveland, at its head the portrait then displayed,* and below the famous lines:

Life's race well run,
Life's work well done,
Life's crown well won,
Now comes rest.

The story of the lines will be found in the Society's Tract No. 57. They were translated from the Latin lines:

"Cursus vitæ bene actus,
Opus vitæ omne factum,
Laurus vitæ acquisita,
Mene venit quies,"

paneled in a window upon a lithograph of General Garfield.

The whole of the Latin lines were afterward found and translated into English by a member of the society, before it was found that the Latin was itself a translation from the English and the original lines written by Dr. E. H. Parker of Poughkeepsie, New York.

The re-translation is so wonderfully like the original that we place them side by side, but the similarity became necessary in using the same metre and necessary short Saxon words:

ORIGINAL.	MR. BAUDER'S RETRANSLATION.
Life's race well run,	Life's race well run,
Life's work all done,	Life's work well done,
Life's victory won,	Life's crown well won,
Now cometh rest.	Now comes rest.
Sorrows are o'er,	All troubles o'er,
Trials no more—	We strive no more—
Ship reacheth shore,	Ship touching shore,
Now cometh rest.	Now comes rest.
Faith yields to sight,	Faith yields to sight,
Day follows night—	Day conquers night—
Jesus gives light,	From Christ comes light,
Now cometh rest.	Now comes rest.
We a while wait,	Brief time we wait,
But soon or late	For soon or late
Death ope's the gate,	Death swings the gate,
Then cometh rest.	Then comes rest.

Other memorials of General Garfield are wreaths presented by foreign nations for his funeral, and skillfully preserved. That presented in the name of Queen Victoria has an elegant frame carved of British oak, taken from an old bridge built and opened to commemorate the battle of Waterloo, and presented by the Sons of St. George of Cleveland.

Around the walls are portraits, views, old maps, and other articles too numerous to mention. There is a fine oil portrait, by Miss Ransom, of Colonel Whittlesey, to whom the society is so much indebted. Also an original oil portrait of J. R. Giddings, by the late Alonzo Pease. One can see how the Cleveland Grays and the public square appeared in 1839. The residents of Toledo can see how that city appeared in 1812, in a graphic painting owned by Judge Baldwin. The descendants of pioneers will find many photographs. The student will find a fac-simile of the famous Rosetta stone, which solved the enigmas of Egypt's hieroglyphics. There

* Refusing generous offers for this fine portrait, Mr. Ryder, its owner, also a life member, presented it to the society.

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are a valuable and very fine series of models of the cliff cities of the southwest, with Montezuma's well and the National park.

Other fine models are there, by Mr. Herkimer and Dr. Sterling of Cleveland. Inscription rock at Kelley's Island, and other curious matters.

The collections of flints, stone knives, hammers, badge-wands, pipes and pottery of ancient man is very large.

Here are the relics of the early copper miners, including what is, perhaps, the only tool of wood left of these old worthies, an original wooden shovel, a cut of which appears in the Smithsonian publication of Colonel Whittlesey's work on ancient mining in Lake Superior. The ancient pottery covers—vases from Lake Superior, many from the more central parts of the Mississippi valley, and fac-similes presented by Ex-President Hayes, as well as a fine collection of fac-similes of the Pueblo pottery collected by the governmental expedition, and presented by the late Leonard Case.

A large and fine collection, showing what one may do, is the "D. C. Baldwin collection," presented, case and contents, by Mr. D. C. Baldwin of Elyria, who was largely assisted in its collection by Mr. John E. Cole, now of Santa Fé, New Mexico.

It contains many things found in Lorain county, including a fine vase from the vicinity of a shelter cave, and many rare finds in bone. A beautiful quartz knife is so transparent that print is readily read through it. Other bone implements are from imperial Rome and beautifully cut, while vastly rude are remains from the lake dwellings of Switzerland.

Masonic gentlemen may look with interest upon a pipe tomahawk of iron, inlaid with silver Masonic emblems. Other silver emblems are let into the restored handle. On the end is inserted "Captain Charlo." The whole was found in a mound in Lucas county.

Who was Captain Charlo, who undoubtedly owned this pipe more than a century ago, and who finally rested his bones and his pipe in a mound?

One interest attaching to the Elyria case is the many relics from a few localities, so that the student can get good knowledge of the finds of the localities.

This interest attaches still more to the large, though not showy, collection of things made by Henry N. Johnson, esq., at Kelley's island, and presented by him to the society, and which, when the society has more room, deserves separate and clear display in the manner of the National Museum of Washington.

The names of a large number of donors will be found on the various articles exhibited.

Interesting are the old gunstocks and barrels, bayonets, the surgeon's knife and the silver spoon marked I. C., relics of the unfortunate march of Colonel Bradstreet in 1764. The rusted surgeon's knife is not so sharp as those of flint from Ohio, and of obsidian from Mexico not far off.

At the left of the entrance, in a high wall case, is the collection of antiques and eastern curiosities donated by the well-known author of 'Arabistan,' Col-

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onel W. P. Fogg—and named from him the "Fogg Collection." It is described by him in Tract No. 24, entitled, "Donations by W. P. Fogg."

There may be seen eastern and ancient idols; images of Venus, once more handsome than now; an ancient wine jar, taken from the bottom of the Ægean sea with sponges adhering to it. The jar may have been there for the whole of the Christian era, and is certainly in form like those in use in *Anno Domini*. There are silks and vases, fans and shades—curious things, the names of which are only known to the learned. There is a seal and amulet from the mummies, translated by the late George Smith; and what will interest all, a brick from Babylon, made in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, as proved by his name and titles thereon.

But we cannot enumerate. Even the skies have contributed, and in one case will be found a massive meteor which fell in Muskingum county of this state.*

There are many war relics. A torpedo from Charleston harbor, and wonders of all kinds of interest to old soldiers.

The coin collection is large and was partly described in Tract No. 45. written by Mr. Johnson, for many years chairman of the coin committee. There will be found coins ancient and modern—Amyric, Roman, mediæval and early state American—from the Pine Tree shilling down to the coins of 1887.

A valuable accession to this department came under the will of the late Henry Goodman and was handed over to the society not long since by his executor, Mr. John G. White.

A fine set of casts of the Napoleon medals was presented by the late Dr. Garlick. These are carefully put up in boxes.†

LIBRARY.

To give any adequate description of the library is too large a task. For over twenty years it has been selected to satisfy the student of history and tell him such things as other libraries could not. If he wants prehistoric man, Colonel Whittlesey was a high original authority, and the collection of early and late books on that subject is full and well selected.

The discoveries are represented by many original and reprinted books, in English, French, Dutch and Spanish.

The collection of early foreign books on America is unusually full.

The early travelers, Indian adventures, wars, are all there, early and late; the general history of the United States, its settlement, wars, union and

* It fell near the village of Concord, about noon, on the last of May, 1860. It was secured by Mr. J. Grummen immediately after its fall. It is the fourth fragment of that meteor in the order of weight. The other large ones were purchased by Marietta college, another by Yale, and a third by the medical college of Louisville, Kentucky. As it approached the earth its brilliancy was almost equal to that of the sun.

†Among other things of historic interest belonging to the society is the large gun, a thirty-two pounder, in the northeast quarter of the public square, captured by Commodore Perry in the naval action on Lake Erie, September 10, 1813. It was donated by Foot, Moore & Company of Detroit, in June, 1872, and, through the efforts of Dr. E. Sterling, transported free of expense to us by the commissioners of public grounds of Cleveland.

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disunion, statesmanship and biographies. The department of biography is especially full of Ohio.

Then there are the county histories and atlases; hundreds and hundreds of volumes of newspapers, early and late.

The society has something of a collection of books on the late war, but not as full as it should be. The heroes of the late "unpleasantness" have been careless of their history.

It is impossible to describe a library like this, so great is the individuality in the contents of a special library carefully selected from two continents for many years. There are many rare and valuable books. Mr. Case paid sixteen dollars for a single pamphlet for its shelves, and the society sold for thirty dollars a single twelve mo. duplicate.

The publications of the state of Ohio are very full and have had the careful attention of Honorable R. M. Stimson of Marietta, formerly the state librarian.

Often are there people in the library from the various counties of the state, who are almost always substantially helped. Does one wish to know of his own personal ancestors? No where in the state is there so good a chance.

The department of genealogy has cost very little money, but is quite a library. Mr. C. O. Scott donated the 'Genealogical Register,' complete until the decease of his father; the present president, volume nine, so that there is to be found the only complete copy of the 'Register' in a public library in Cleveland. The late Joseph Perkins donated Mr. Savage's 'Genealogical Dictionary,' worth, when he presented it, forty dollars. Many genealogies have been obtained by donations from the present president, Judge Baldwin, who acquired them by exchange for his own books or by purchase.

There have been many other donors to this department, for the genealogist has a kindly disposition, so that whether one wishes to know what the solemn old worthies of New England, or of the Revolution did, what did congress or the Nation, what did the people of his own state, or what or how did his own great-great-greatgrandfather, he is pretty sure to get his information.

It is, however, to Ohio, its peoples, its territory and its history, that the society has specially given its attention. And indeed it has commenced at thebeginning of that history.

The ancient enormous sheet of ice that extended over the vast north crossed Ohio, and so marked its agriculture, its lands and its life, that an adept can easily find the line.

The friends of the society paid the member of that eminent scientist, a life member of the society, Dr. G. F. Wright of Oberlin, in locating the line of the divide on every man's farm which it crossed.

Man then lived in Ohio as lived glacial man in Europe.

One of the publications of the society was Professor Wright's book, with maps not only of states, but of each county which it crossed. The book was of so much interest that a synopsis of it was published by the state and a reprint by he neighboring state of Pennsylvania.

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The work was appreciated at Washington, and Professor Wright has spent his leisure time for some years since in the service of the United States geological survey, fixing the shores of the ancient lake which covered the whole valley of the Ohio to Cincinnati, where was the ice dam over five hundred feet in height, and in other investigations.

The library contains about seven thousand volumes of bound books, one thousand pamphlets and four hundred magazines unbound.

NEWSPAPER FILES.

The bound volumes of newspapers number one thousand and fifty-six. We have on deposit the *Herald* and *Plain Dealer* of this city from the origin of those papers, the former in 1819, the latter in our files since 1842. A very valuable collection in this line is a complete set, to 1870, of the *Western Reserve Chronicle*, embracing thirty-seven volumes, a gift from the late Joseph Perkins. The *Chronicle* was a continuation of the *Trump of Fame*, a paper started in Trumbull county during the War of 1812 by Thomas D. Webb. A file of the latter was also presented by Mr. Perkins, which, with the *Chronicle*, gives a complete local history of Trumbull county from 1812 to the date above mentioned. Probably another similar collection cannot be found on the Reserve. We also have, through Dr. E. Sterling, complete volumes of the New York *Herald* during that interesting period in the Nation's history, the War of the Rebellion. The historian, Macaulay, said: "The only true and correct history of a country can be learned from its newspapers."

The publications of this society are called tracts, of which the seventy-third is now being printed—an illustrated book upon the archæology of Ohio by Professor M. C. Read of Hudson, Ohio.

The early tracts though valuable in matter are plain in form. The series was the result of natural growth and the help of the newspapers. Many of them were struck off in double column from the type used in printing the same matter in the daily journals, and it is to the generosity of the newspapers of Cleveland that many of them owe their existence.

In that manner much valuable matter has been preserved at very small expense.

In this manner were tracts furnished by the *Herald*, *Plain Dealer* and especially by the Cleveland *Leader*, which in its earlier and most needy days dealt especially kindly with the Historical society.

All these papers also have united in getting as complete sets as can be of their files for the society.

Although the printing on poor paper with type from the journal has ceased, the title tracts still remains, and the student of Ohio history could not well afford to lose the unpretentious "tracts." These earlier tracts contained much of the most valuable writings of Colonel Whittlesey, the first president, who cared little for fine paper or handsome type, but who was an encyclopedia of rare information.

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Of these publications, nine relate to the War of 1812, and were edited by Colonel Whittlesey.

EXCHANGES.

We have on our exchange list nearly all the principal societies in America, as well as some foreign societies; likewise individuals, from whom we receive in exchange for our publications and duplicates that we may have, much valuable matter. In September, 1872, we received through the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, a request to lend our aid in filling up the large and ancient library at Strasbourg, in Alsace, which was nearly destroyed during the siege. A large box was sent which was cordially received and gratefully acknowledged. Thus were we able, without impairing our own usefulness, from our surplus, to render assistance to a deserving institution in the old world.

MAPS.

The society is fortunate in having made a splendid collection of maps, numbering over eight hundred, a collection probably not excelled in the west. Many of them were selected by Judge Baldwin, as were also many of our rare and valuable books, in Paris and Amsterdam in 1872, which year he spent in travel on the "Continent." We have maps of a very large number of the townships on the Reserve, which have been carefully pasted upon muslin and bound in an immense folio volume. Most of these could not be duplicated at any price, being the originals made by the surveyors for the Connecticut Land company. The early maps of Cleveland and vicinity are very frequently consulted by attorneys to determine and settle the early title to the land.

AUTOGRAPHS.

The collection of autographic memorials of distinguished men is large and numbers many interesting specimens of chirography, among which are those of Governor Samuel Huntington, John Adams, John Heckewelder, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Albert Gallatin, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln, Salmon P. Chase and James A. Garfield.

The society needs more room. To satisfactorily exhibit and place for utility and convenience what we now have, requires at least four times the amount of space now used. From this statement the reader will conclude that the society has "grown"—accumulated rapidly. And yet its founders did not "build better than they knew." They laid foundations deep and broad. The structure has risen with strong and steady pace; it is not inharmonious or unsymmetrical of proportion. It is hoped that some body, with large heart and purse, recognizing our merit and remembering that we are one of Cleveland's most worthy and deserving institutions, will come forward and "lay the topmost stone."

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of the society at the present time is: Patrons, five; annual members, one hundred and

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seven; life members, seventy-four; and corresponding members, seventy-seven.

The present officers are: President, C. C. Baldwin; vice-presidents, D. W. Cross, W. P. Fógg, J. H. Sargent, Sam Briggs; elective curators, C. C. Baldwin, Rutherford B. Hayes, Stiles H. Curtiss; to May, 1888, Douglas Perkins, Charles Whittlesey; to May, 1889, Levi F. Bauder, Peter Hitchcock, Henry N. Johnson; trustees of invested funds, Honorable William Bingham, Honorable R. P. Ranney, Honorable C. C. Baldwin; permanent curators, William J. Boardman, William Bingham, Benjamin Stannard, James Barnett, George A. Tisdale; secretary, D. W. Manchester; treasurer, John B. French; librarian, D. W. Manchester.

Mention should be made of the following persons who have been librarians of the society: Mrs. Miranda Milford, Miss C. M. Seymour, Miss E. S. Dockstader, Mrs. J. C. Schermerhorn, Mr. H. N. Johnson, Mr. C. E. Wheeler, Mr. D. Holmes, all faithful and useful; especially have the services of Mr. Johnson been of incalculable benefit to the society in a great variety of ways.

Colonel Charles Whittlesey, the first president, had most excellent qualifications for the position, and gave to its duties great zeal and efficiency. He was able to devote nearly his entire time to its interests, and its success and usefulness are largely due to him. He died October, 1886.* Said Judge Baldwin in his memoir of Colonel Whittlesey: "By his learning, constant devotion without compensation from that time (1867) to his death, his value as inspiring confidence in the public, his wide acquaintance through the state, he has accomplished a wonderful result." In November following, Judge Baldwin, whose portrait accompanies this article, was elected to the presidency.

D. W. MANCHESTER.

* This society, in the resolutions passed by it in October, 1886, on the death of Colonel Whittlesey, requested Judge Baldwin to prepare a memorial. It has been published as Tract No. 68, and also appeared in the February, 1887, number of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY. It is an elaborate and truthful sketch of an active life and worthy man.

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THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

"THE President of the United States directed a city to be laid out." These words are found in the act of the Maryland legislature bounding that part of the original District of Columbia which lay on the American side of the Potomac river. They are historical words in a general as well as a special sense. They are also prophetic words, as we shall see.

The Albany congress of 1754, which was an event of considerable importance in our constitutional history, sat in the town from which it takes its name. The congress of 1765, called to protest against the Stamp act and other British aggressions, met in New York. But Philadelphia was the continental city of the revolutionary period. Situated on the Delaware river, it was easily approached from the sea, a circumstance of more significance one hundred years ago than now. It was accessible by land from both the north and the south, and was about equidistant from New Hampshire and from Georgia. It was also one of the populous and wealthy cities of the time. Boston, New York and Philadelphia had about the same population, each one having from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Dr. Franklin, in commenting on that provision of the plan of union of 1754 which required the grand council of the colonies to meet for the first time in Philadelphia, thus set forth the advantages which that city offered :

> Philadelphia was named as being nearer the centre of the colonies, where the commissioners would be well and cheaply accommodated. The highroads, through the whole extent, are for the most part very good, in which forty or fifty miles a day may very well be, and frequently are, traveled. Great part of the way may likewise be gone by water. In summer time the passages are frequently performed in a week from Charleston to Philadelphia and New York, and from Rhode Island to New York through the sound, in two or three days, and from New York to Philadelphia, by water and land, in two days, by stage, boats, and street carriages that set out every other day. The journey from Charleston to Philadelphia may likewise be facilitated by boats running up Chesapeake bay three hundred miles. But if the whole journey be performed on horseback, the most distant members, viz., the two from New Hampshire and from South Carolina, may probably render themselves at Philadelphia in fifteen or twenty days; the majority may be there in much less time.*

These advantages made the Pennsylvania metropolis the natural meeting-place of the states in our heroic age. Naturally, therefore, the Continental congress was called to meet in the continental city by common consent. The first session lasted from September 5 to October 26, 1774. The congress reconvened in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, and continued to hold its sessions there until December 12, 1776. At that time the British, having driven Washington out of New York and penetrated the Jerseys, were making a bold push for Philadelphia. Generals Putnam and Mifflin, called into conference by the congress, strongly advised that it retire

* 'Documents Illustrative of American History,' 1886, pp. 175, 176.

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from the scene of so much danger. Convinced that warlike movements would prevent that quiet and uninterrupted attention to the public business which should ever prevail in the great continental council, congress adjourned to Baltimore. The danger having passed when the British drew back to New York after Trenton and Princeton, it returned in March of the next year. The near approach of the British in September, 1777, this time from the head of Chesapeake bay, again threatened danger, and an adjournment was made on the advice of Colonel Hamilton of Washington's staff. This was to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Here congress sat one day, when, apparently thinking Lancaster insecure, it retired beyond the Susquehanna to York—("Yorktown" it is called in the journal). Sir Henry Clinton having abandoned Philadelphia early in June, 1778, congress returned to that city the second of July. Here it held its successive sessions until June, 1783, when an unfortunate occurrence sent the Continental congress from Philadelphia, never to return. The war was over, but owing to the emptiness of the treasury the army was unpaid. A body of Pennsylvania troops, rendered desperate by their grievances, grossly insulted congress, first by sending it insolent letters, and then by surrounding, in a threatening manner, the state house in which it was sitting. Congress, unable to protect itself, appealed to the Pennsylvania authorities for protection, and not receiving a reassuring reply, promptly adjourned to Princeton, New Jersey, in order (so the resolution runs) that "further and more effectual measures may be taken for suppressing the present revolt and maintaining the dignity and authority of the United States." From June 30 to November 4, 1783, Princeton was the seat of government. Then came a removal to Annapolis, Maryland, where Washington, who had disbanded the army, surrendered his commission and took leave of congress. November 1, 1784, a removal was made to Trenton, New Jersey. The two last removals were both made in consequence of steps that were being taken to settle the question of a National capital, of which more hereafter. On January 11, 1785, the congress met in New York, and there it continued to meet until it expired in the autumn of 1788.

Here we may interrupt the narrative to state some facts concerning the close of the Continental congress. And, first, it never formally adjourned. October 10, 1788, was the last day on which any business was done. The last motion related to western lands, and was lost. On October 14 two states attended; on the fifteenth, four states; on the sixteenth, two states; on the twenty-first, two states; with scattering delegates from other states. A state was not held "present" unless a majority of its delegation were in attendance. The last entry in the journal begins: "From the day above mentioned [that is, October 21,] there attended occasionally," and closes with the names of thirteen different delegates from ten different states. Despairing of ever again securing a quorum these waiting delegates dispersed, and the old congress died. But secondly, the end of the Continental congress is as pathetic as its beginning is inspiring. Mr. Hildreth thus sums up what it had done, and describes the manner of its death.

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The dying embers of the Continental congress, barely kept alive for some months by the occasional attendance of one or two delegates, as the day approached for the new system to be organized, quietly went out without note or observation. History knows few bodies so remarkable. The long parliament of Charles I., the French National assembly, are alone to be compared with it. Coming together, in the first instance, a mere collection of consulting delegates, the Continental congress had boldly seized the reins of power, assumed the leadership of the insurgent states, issued bills of credit, raised armies, declared independence, negotiated foreign treaties, carried the Nation through an eight years' war; finally, had extorted from the proud and powerful mother country an acknowledgment of the sovereign authority so daringly assumed and so indomitably maintained. But this brilliant career had been as short as it was glorious. The decline had commenced even in the midst of the war. Exhausted by such extraordinary efforts—smitten with the curse of poverty, their paper money first depreciating and then repudiated, overwhelmed with debts which they could not pay, pensioners on the bounty of France, insulted by mutineers, scouted at by the public creditors, unable to fulfill the treaties they had made, bearded and encroached upon by the state authorities, issuing fruitless requisitions which they had no power to enforce, vainly begging for additional authority which the states refused to grant, thrown more and more into the shade by the very contrast of former power—the Continental congress sunk fast into decrepitude and contempt. Feeble is the sentiment of political gratitude! Debts of that sort are commonly left for posterity to pay. While all eyes were turned—some with doubt and some with apprehension, but the greater part with hope and confidence—toward the ample authority vested in the new government now about to be organized, not one respectful word seems to have been uttered, not a single reverential regret to have been dropped over the fallen greatness of the exhausted and expiring Continental congress.*

Someone has called the congress of the Revolution and the Confederacy "peripatetic." Counting Lancaster, it sat in eight different places, and in some of them more than once. Here they are in their order: Philadelphia, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, Philadelphia, Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton, New York. And this was all in fourteen years. Over and over again, after it went to New York in 1785, were attempts made to bring the congress back to Philadelphia, even the state authorities extending urgent invitations; but the insult of June, 1783, and the supineness of the authorities in dealing with it, sufficed to defeat the movement every time it was brought forward. Still, with the exception of the two intervals of 1776–77 and 1777–78, Philadelphia was the seat of the continental government to the close of the war. Moreover, by the direction of congress the Federal convention sat there in 1787. There the first minister ever accredited to the young Republic was received, M. Gerard, in 1778. The great state papers of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Federal Constitution, all emanated from that city. These facts justify our calling Philadelphia the continental city of the revolutionary era. Further, had it not been for the double affront of 1783, it would certainly have been the meeting place of congress to the end of the confederation period, and most probably the permanent capital of the Nation.

That the Republic must have a fixed seat of government, if it was to live, was a foregone conclusion. A permanently peripatetic government could never live. Further, the experience of June, 1783, as well as general reasoning, proved that this seat or capital should not be dependent upon local authority, but be fully under the jurisdiction of congress. The war over, congress took the matter up in

* History III. 547, 548.

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earnest. On October 7, 1783, Mr. Gerry of Connecticut moved: "That buildings for the use of congress be erected on the banks of the Delaware, near Trenton, or of Potomac, near Georgetown, provided a suitable district can be procured on one of the rivers, as aforesaid, for a Federal town, and that the right of soil and an exclusive or such other jurisdiction as congress may direct, shall be vested in the United States." A motion to strike out "near Trenton" and "near Georgetown" carried, and a motion to add "the Hudson" was lost. Finally, in some way that does not very clearly appear in the Journal, the Potomac was dropped. The resolution as adopted read: "That buildings for the use of congress be erected on or near the banks of the Delaware," etc. A motion to fix the site near Wilmington was negatived, but resolutions declaring that it should be "near the falls," and that "a committee of five be appointed to repair to the Falls of Delaware" and "report a proper district," were carried. The next day a motion "to reconsider the resolution of yesterday, by which the residence of congress is to be fixed near the Falls of Delaware, in order to fix on some other place that should be more central, more favorable to the Union, and shall approach nearer to that justice which is due to the southern states," was lost—the states lying east and north of the Delaware voting against, and those lying south of that river voting for the motion. But such was the dissatisfaction produced by the action of October that a few weeks later it was resolved "that buildings be likewise erected for the use of congress at or near the lower Falls of Potomac or Georgetown." This resolution was introduced by the preamble: "Whereas, there is reason to expect that the providing buildings for the alternate residence of congress in two places will be productive of the most salutary effects, by receiving the mutual confidence and affection of the states, therefore, etc." This dual scheme included this further feature: "That until the buildings to be erected on the banks of the Delaware and Potomac shall be prepared for the reception of congress, their residence shall be alternately at equal periods, of not more than one year and not less than six months, in Trenton and Annapolis." And it was in consequence of this action that the sessions were held at Annapolis and Trenton, as already related. But in that day, no more than in this, did resolutions build capitals. Another year wore away, when, December 20, 1784, the subject was again brought up and discussed. It was declared expedient for congress to "proceed to take measures for procuring suitable buildings to be erected for their accommodation," but inexpedient, "at this time, to erect public buildings at more than one place." Three days later, after much dispute and a great deal of parliamentary maneuvering, the deliberations of the body were summed up in the following ordinance:

Be it ordained by the United States in congress assembled, that the resolutions of the twentieth instant respecting the erecting of buildings for the use of congress, be carried into effect without delay; that for this purpose three commissioners be appointed, with full power to lay out a district of not less than two nor exceeding three miles square, on the banks of either side of the Delaware, not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls thereof, for a Federal town; that they be authorized to purchase the soil, or such part of it as they may judge neces-

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sary, to be paid at proper installments; to enter into contracts for erecting and completing, in an elegant manner, a Federal house for the accommodation of congress, and for the executive officers thereof; a house for the use of the president of congress, and suitable buildings for the residence of the secretary of foreign affairs, secretary at war, secretary of congress, secretary of the marine and officers of the treasury; that the said commissioners be empowered to draw on the treasury of the United States for a sum not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, for the purpose aforesaid; that in choosing a situation for the buildings, due regard be had to the accommodation of the states, with lots for houses for the use of their delegates respectively; that on the twenty-fourth day of December instant, congress stand adjourned to meet at the city of New York, on the eleventh day of January following, for the despatch of the public business, and that the sessions of congress be held at the place last mentioned, until the buildings aforesaid shall be ready for their reception.

This ordinance is worth a careful reading for the light that it throws on the wants and the ideas of 1784 as compared with the wants and ideas of 1887. It put an end to the dual scheme, and also to the alternating sessions between Trenton and Annapolis. Beyond this, and carrying the congress to New York, nothing came of the ordinance. The three commissioners were duly appointed, and they duly reported, but I cannot learn that their report was ever acted upon. Even after the removal to New York, a futile attempt was made to substitute the Potomac for the Delaware in the scheme. Congress had no money to meet demands far more pressing than this one; and sectional feeling would no doubt have soon brought things to a stand-still, even if the work had been once begun. "Particularistic" and "dual" tendencies were irresistible in the period 1776-1787, save in the presence of danger that compelled unanimity; and a Federal town was not a case of this kind.

The Articles of Confederation steered clear of the subject, and the Constitution flanked it in the well-known provision:

The congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular states and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of government of the United States.

This clause was the result of a good deal of discussion, at one or two features of which it will be well to glance. Serious objection was made to choosing the capital of any state government as the seat of the National government. Colonel George Mason of Virginia argued that this would tend to produce disputes concerning jurisdiction, and that the intermixture of the two legislatures would tend to give a provincial tone to the National deliberations; and he desired a prohibition of such a choice. Mr. Governeur Morris said this might alienate Philadelphia and New York, both of which had seat of government expectations. The country was also said to be adverse to any large city. Only one delegate, so far as I have noticed, favored naming the capital in the Constitution. On the whole, the fathers of 1787 dealt wisely with the question; any proposition more definite than the one adopted would probably have defeated the Constitution.

To this point the history that we have followed illustrates in a striking way the local and state jealousies, as well as some tendencies of political thought of the time. Nor do these forces disappear even now. Where the old congress drew its last breath the new congress drew its first one. The journal of the one ends and the journal of the other begins in New

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York. Choice was made of this city as a place to inaugurate the new government, only after a long and acrimonious struggle in congress, in which Trenton, Lancaster, Princeton, Baltimore and Philadelphia all were competitors. The city hall of New York, refitted at an expense of more than thirty thousand dollars, which was advanced by some wealthy citizens, and renamed "Federal Hall," became the first home of the National senate and house of representatives. Towards the end of the session, the question of a Federal town came up in the house of representatives, on a motion offered by Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania:

> That a permanent residence ought to be fixed for the general government of the United States at some convenient place, as near the centre of wealth, population and extent of territory as may be consistent with convenience to the navigation of the Atlantic ocean, and having due regard to the particular situation of the western country.

Out of this motion sprang one of the longest, the most animated and bitter, discussions of the session. The debates occupied eight days, and the report fills twenty-two pages of Benton's 'Abridgment of the Debates of Congress,' every one of which is well worth reading as a study of the times. Probably no other debate brought out so much knowledge of geography and population, knowledge that is now as interesting as it is obsolete.

Much was said about the "principles" that should control the decision. Mr. Lee hoped the house would be guided "by the great principles on which the government is founded." "Centres" of territory, wealth and population were fully discussed, both as to where they were and as to how far they should be regarded. Mr. Madison held that population and territory should be considered, but not wealth. Mr. Ames contended for "the centre of common convenience." This was the centre of the seaboard and fell, he said, on the Susquehanna. Mr. Sedgwick was influenced in his opinion "by the sentiment of the celebrated Montesquieu," "who had laid it down, that in a country partaking of northern and southern interests, of a poor and productive soil, the centre and influence of government ought to incline to that part where the former circumstances prevailed; because necessity stimulated to industry, produced good habits and a surplus of labor; because such parts are the nurseries of soldiers and sailors, and the sources of that energy which is the best security of the government." Grave arguments were based on the supposed navigability of such streams as the Tioga, the Juniata, the Kisskiminitas and Wood creek. It was generally admitted that the capital should go to the banks of a river, and the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna and the Potomac were each named as the proper place. Accessibility from the sea and communication with the western country were accounted by some capital features. Mr. Madison denied that the road to the west was more convenient by the Susquehanna than by the Potomac, and declared it a fact of peculiar interest "that the sources of the Ohio were not more than two or three miles distant from the sources of the Potomac." One of the most interesting features of the discussion is the views of one hundred years ago as to prospective lines of

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communication between the seaboard and the west. Small ideas, special arguments, sectional jealousies, little ambitions and petty facts, along with much sound information and weighty argument, were hurled back and forth day after day. As a matter of course, the Union question was thrown into the arena, and perhaps the best gauge of the heat to which the debate arose is the declaration of the cool and cautious Madison, that if a prophet had arisen in the Virginia convention and "brought the declarations and proceedings of this day into view," that state would not have ratified the Constitution—a remark that he afterwards explained as referring to the "manner in which the business was conducted," and not to any particular choice of locality.

From the first the Susquehanna and the Potomac led all other rivers as competitors for the seat of government honors. When the conflict culminated, the first had twenty-eight votes and the second twenty-one. The bill authorized the President to appoint a commission to report on a site, purchase land on the banks of the Susquehanna within the state of Pennsylvania, and, in connection with the secretary of the treasury, to borrow one hundred thousand dollars with which to pay for land and buildings. Three or four days later the bill came back from the senate with all the provisions touching the Susquehanna struck out, and with the following inserted: "A district of ten miles square, bounded on the south by a line running parallel at one mile's distance from the city of Philadelphia, and extending northerly and westerly so as to include Germantown." The house was indignant and weary of the subject, and so the matter was dropped for the session.

For nothing is the debate now sketched more interesting than the measure it gives of the ideas and expectations of the time. As we read, we wonder that men so able and so well-informed could have been so short-sighted. But we must remember that the possibilities of the United States of 1790, particularly that part which lay west of the mountains, under a free and stable government, defied the forecast of the wisest statesman. So able a man as Fisher Ames uttered the opinion that it would probably be nearly a century before the population of the west would be considerable. The "centre of population," of which much was said in the debate, was twenty-five miles east of Baltimore, and here Mr. Goalhue declared it would remain fixed for ages, and that when it did move the movement would be to the eastward. Little did the men of the First congress dream that the centre of population would move steadily westward along the thirty-ninth parallel of north latitude at the uniform rate of five miles a year, until, a century from the time they were speaking, it would be much nearer the Mississippi river than the Alleghany mountains.

B. A. HINSDALE.

[*To be continued.*]

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INDEX

REMINISCENCES OF THOMAS EWING.

THOMAS EWING was admittedly the Nestor of the Ohio bar, and stood in the front rank of the legal profession of the country. A portrayal of the mind and methods and moral character of such a lawyer can not but be of use to the profession. His intellectual and moral portrait ought to be placed in the hands of every Ohio lawyer for his guidance, inspiration and encouragement. This is what is here attempted. His mind and methods were peculiar, and I had unusual opportunities—sometimes "face to face"—for studying them, and always with profit. His great mind, his large acquirements, his peculiar mode of practice and his spotless moral character cannot but be profitable study for any lawyer.

Nothing like a biography of Mr. Ewing is here attempted. Such a work would require a large book, and then leave much unsaid. I know not whether there be such a work extant. There should be. Much of his private and public life, his ancestry and family connections, his religious and political views, and his death and burial may be found in Walker's 'History of Athens County,' and in a book entitled 'Memorial of Thomas Ewing,' published for Mrs. General Sherman in 1873, by the Catholic Publication society, No. 9 Warren street, New York.

Mr. Ewing was born in West Liberty, Virginia, on the twenty-eighth of December, 1789. His father, George Ewing, who was a poor man, in 1798 removed with his nine-year old son to Athens county, Ohio, and settled in the then unsettled part of the county, now known as Ames township. Here young Ewing remained, assisting his father until nineteen years of age, in carrying on a small farming business. Meantime he eagerly availed himself of every possible means of acquiring knowledge. These means were quite scanty, consisting mainly of borrowed books and books of a small neighborhood library, read in the evenings by "hickory bark firelight." The library was afterwards known as "The Koon Skin Library," and is said to have been the first library established in Ohio. All its books, only sixty in number, bear the thumb marks of Ewing, who committed much of their contents to memory and retained it to the day of his death. But Mr. Ewing's mind chafed under these narrow means of knowledge. He yearned for a higher and classical education, and in spite of unfavorable surroundings, by his own unaided efforts triumphantly attained it.

Charmed by an eloquent speech which he happened to hear in the court-house, he determined to qualify himself for the study of law. Accordingly, at the age of nineteen, with his father's consent, he "struck out" for the Kanawha Salt

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works, where, by laboring night and day, most of the time doing two men's work, he acquired scanty means for a college education. For years he alternated between labor at the salt works and attendance at the Ohio university, meantime furnishing his father with means to pay for his little farm; and in 1815 he received the degree of bachelor of arts in that institution, being one of the two first graduates. He studied law with General Philemon Beecher, a distinguished lawyer of Lancaster, Ohio, and was there admitted to the bar in August, 1816. His first case was in Circleville, and his second in Lancaster. In both cases he displayed unexpected talent, but being a mere "trial volunteer," he received no fees. Shortly afterward, in November, 1816, he attended court at Athens, where he received no business, but was there employed by a Mr. Alderman to go to Marietta and defend his son who was indicted for larceny. His first fee was ten dollars, paid by Mr. Alderman as a retainer in the case. He was then moneyless, and in afterwards speaking of this ten dollars fee he says, "I have received several fees since of ten thousand dollars and upwards, but never one of which I felt the value or in truth was as valuable to me as this." He tried his boy, procured his acquittal, and received an additional fee of fifteen dollars. This skill and ability displayed by him in the trial of the case won for him such a standing with the clients and bar of the court that before he left Marietta he was employed in eighteen new cases. His success was thus assured and became only a question of time. It proved to be but a short time. He opened an office at Lancaster, where he ever afterward resided, and was soon in an extensive and lucrative practice in the surrounding and other counties of the state, in federal courts and the state supreme court.

I first saw Mr. Ewing in Athens in November, 1833, where I was admitted to the bar. His appearance, so different from the picture I had formed, struck me with surprise. His Herculean size, his large head, his compressed lips, overhanging eyebrows, plain dress and plain, unaffected manners utterly demolished my ideal. He was then in the full tide of his practice, and was a member of the United States senate. The court business in Athens was done mostly by foreign lawyers—Ewing, Henry Stanberry, Hocking H. Hunter and John T. Brasee of Lancaster, Samuel F. Vinton of Gallipolis, and Arius Nye of Marietta. "These were giants in those days," and it was one of the good fortunes of my life that I was early brought in contact with them. After several lessons by dear experience, I began to *study* Mr. Ewing. I studied him for a time more than I did Blackstone, and with about as much profit. I found in him much that is not to be found in books. I always dreaded to see his name docketed for the defense when I was prosecuting attorney. A tilt with him, like the tilt of the moth with the candle-blaze, was to be

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dreaded, and yet courted — dreaded for fear of almost certain defeat, and courted for the lesson it gave.

The most remarkable thing in Mr. Ewing's method of trying a case was the Napoleonic genius by which he concentrated all his forces at a single point. In this he differed from most other lawyers, not excepting the distinguished attorneys above named. Most lawyers make and argue every debatable point in the case, and by their defeat in most of them lose the confidence of the court and jury when they come to grapple with the vital question. This Mr. Ewing called "pettifogging." This he never did. He expended all his labor of preparation on a single point, while you divided your labor between half a dozen, When you came to trial, and raised your first point, to your surprise he would concede it, and you would throw aside your notes in its support. And so of all your other points but one; and when you came to that you would be met by a prompt and vigorous "No, sir." By that time he has, by his frank admission or doubting denials of your five other points, gained with court or jury such a character for fairness and candor, that the battle is half won before the argument begins. The court or jury say to themselves: "A man who is so candid and fair on even doubtful propositions, when he is so positive, can not be wrong." And when you came to the argument, you found that, deep as you may have gone down into the law and reason of the case, there is a lower depth where he has been. His great powers have been concentrated on a single proposition, while yours have been divided between several. You find, moreover, that his position is defended by a bulwark of solid logic, unthought of by you, bristling with winning metaphors and well-chosen, sharp-pointed Anglo-Saxon words, that only wound the hand of the assailant. His very form of stating the proposition is itself an argument. He seizes it with an iron grasp, which nothing but victory can relax, and you retire from the fight with a lower opinion of yourself, or a higher opinion of Mr. Ewing. In one of these tilts of Mr. Ewing with an adversary, he offered an item of evidence of doubtful competency, on a rather immaterial point, in an early stage of the trial. His adversary objected, and sustained his objection by quite an argument. Mr. Ewing did not reply further than to say that there were "authorities both ways" on the question. The court rejected the evidence. When they came to the vital part of the case, it was found that the evidence of the same nature was a *sine qua non* to the adversary's case. Mr. Ewing claimed that his adversary was *estopped* by the former decision. The court so ruled, and Ewing gained the case. In his concluding remarks, Mr. Ewing made the following quotation from some antiquated version of David's psalms:

> The wicked man he dag a pit,
> He dag it for his brother;
> And for his son *he* did fall in
> The pit he dag for t'other.

He seemed to have at hand a fund

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of such rare and racy quotations, but seldom indulged in them at the expense of an adversary, and never maliciously or in ill humor. He was capable of the severest sarcasm when occasion justified it, but rarely resorted to it, and when he did, it was in an unimpassioned and quiet way. His witticisms were frequent, but never vulgar or impure, and always in the line of the argument. His manner towards an adversary was always kindly and conciliatory, and if his wit or sarcasm wounded him, he always won him back by heaping coals of kindness on his head; he put salve on the sore place. He was kind, lenient and generous towards younger members of the bar, treating them as equals, and rendering them assistance and instruction whenever necessary and proper.

Mr. Ewing's arguments were perfect illustrations of the science of logic. Proposition followed proposition in regular, consecutive order, compelling the hearer to anticipate the final conclusion almost before it was reached by the speaker; and when reached by him, it was driven home to stay. His weapon was not a bow but a battle-axe, whose keen edge hit the point every blow, and was wielded with a giant's strength. In both thought and expression he was daring and confident. In marshaling and untangling "complicated facts," it is said that he fully equaled Webster. He seemed to have an intuitive perception of the vital points of a case. He struck with all his power at the key of the situation. His mind was "massive and robust," and his analytical powers were seldom equaled. He went directly to the foundation of the subject, making no circuits, and refusing to be trammeled by ornaments, or led out of his way into by-paths. "For impetus, breadth and logical force" he had few, if any, superiors. His disregard of the minor points of the case was not a mere device to win the good opinion of the court; it sprang from an inherent love of truth and justice.

Mr. Ewing was not a graceful speaker; his gestures were clumsy, but natural. He was not an orator in the popular sense; and yet, in a proper case, a case involving pathos, he could reach the heart, flush the cheek, quicken the pulse of the hearer and start the tear in his eye, equal to any speaker I ever heard. He did it without parade, calmly, and without any attempt at euphony. In such cases he spoke to the heart, and not to the eye or ear. On the right side of a question he was invincible, and in doubtful cases seldom failed to triumph. He dealt largely in plain Anglo-Saxon words. He never repeated himself, or indulged in tautology. He made his path as he went sufficiently bright to enable the audience to follow him and find it "growing brighter and brighter until the perfect day." His style was smooth, plain and Addisonian; never florid, or abounding in *ore rotundo*. It could be transcribed from the tongue to the paper without material alteration. Almost every word was the right word in the right place, and no other word of equal force and significancy could properly take its place. But

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thoughts and things, and not words, were his forte. He seemed fully aware that "words are the sons of earth, while thoughts and things are the children of heaven." With him language was a mere instrument with which to draw from his great storehouse of learning. And it was a great storehouse. Perhaps the most valuable part of its contents was good, strong common sense. It was a happy union of common sense and science, two elements not often found united in the same person. In him they both abounded in a remarkable degree. His long life was a life of study. He never forgot, but constantly reviewed, continued and enlarged his classics. Notwithstanding his extensive practice, he found time and strength to go over nearly the whole field of human knowledge. Hardly any subject escaped his research, and he had a memory that retained everything he acquired. He was an adept in the exact sciences and a born mathematician. He was familiar with Shakespeare, Milton, Byron and other English poets. He was at home in astronomy, history, zoology, anthropology, chemistry and physiology. He even found time (one week was sufficient) to learn the Spanish language, and to enable him to try a single important case. He was a botanist, a chemist and a psychologist. Besides all this, he was, of course, deeply read in the law—the common law, the civil law and the American law. He was a walking encyclopedia, and his memory was its index. He never, however, lumbered his mind with triviality, such as the page, the number of the volume, the name of the case, or the like. He had no room in his capacious mind for such little things, filled as it was to overflowing with the recollection of foundation principles, ready to be drawn upon at any moment. The minor details he left to subalterns.

One secret of Mr. Ewing's extensive practice is doubtless to be found in the fact that he refused to take bad cases. This he could well afford to do, as he could get as many good cases as he had time to try. He could, therefore, lose nothing by advising a party who had a bad case, as it is said he often did, "to pay the costs and go home." Such refusal and advice, however, it is believed, was prompted by no selfish considerations, but by his love of truth and justice, for he often tried the cases of poor and worthy parties without charge.

But the great secret of Mr. Ewing's success—its cause of causes—is the fact that he was a giant in intellect. He was a born lawyer, equally as Homer was born a poet. Nature gave him a brain and a heart which no adverse surroundings could stifle or control. Those "twin jailers of a daring heart," low birth and poverty, had no prison that could hold him. With his own manly arm he broke the bars and escaped into a wide world of knowledge and usefulness. Sampson-like, he rent the withes that bound him down to ignorance or mediocrity.

Mr. Ewing was a statesman, but no politician. He never sought office, and yet his high achievements at the bar and his wide reputation as a jurist, twice

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procured him a seat in the senate of the United States, and placed him in the cabinet under several administrations. And when he found or conceived that he could no longer retain the latter position consistently with his views of the true policy of the government, he resigned his place and returned to the bar. In those high political places he ranked favorably with such spirits as Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton and Hayne, and gave Ohio just cause to be proud of her senator and cabinet minister.

But Mr. Ewing's crowning characteristic, both as a man and a lawyer, was his high moral character. His long life was a life of purity and uprightness. He was a good man as well as a good lawyer. Indeed, a good lawyer is always a good man. A bad man can never be a good lawyer. Virtue is the lawyer's *sine qua non;* it is his diploma on admission to the bar, and should be his crown ever afterwards. "A bad man, but a good lawyer," is a solecism, a contradiction of terms. Mr. Ewing was as good as he was great. He was greatest in the sense of goodness. Virtue, honesty, honor and truthfulness are written in large letters all over his life. His great aim seemed to be to make that life noble and useful. His rule of life was duty. He labored for the love of labor, and sought his main reward in the consciousness of duty well done. He trampled under foot his animal and lower propensities, and made them stepping-stones to a higher life. It is said of him that he never spoke a profane word in his life; and although much of his early life was among low and vulgar people, that he never indulged in vulgar or smutty anecdotes or remarks. He was full of wit, but it was that kind of wit which might be indulged in the presence of the most refined ladies. He was an exemplary pattern in private, social and public relations; a dutiful son, a kind brother, a loving husband, an affectionate father, a good neighbor, and a law-abiding and patriotic citizen. A strong evidence of the excellence of his character is found in the fact that his children and connections revered and loved him, and almost worship his memory. He lived to the extreme age of eighty-two, and died at his home in Lancaster on the twenty-sixth of October, 1871. He lived without enmity and died without enemies. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace." The likeness of Mr. Ewing should find a place in every law-office as an inspiration to good works. There let it hang, frowning upon ignorance and vice, and smiling upon whatever is noble, virtuous and manly in the occupant.

JOHN WELCH.

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PIONEERS OF HOMŒOPATHY IN NORTHERN OHIO.*

THE honor of introducing homœopathy in Cleveland belongs to R. E. W. Adams, M. D., who opened an office on Superior street in the year 1842. The first patient that came to his office was Benjamin F. Rouse, who died about two years since. Dr. Adams remained here a few years and removed to Springfield, Illinois, where he had a large practice until the year of his death, in 1872. The following year Daniel O. Hoyt, M. D., became a partner of Dr. Adams, the firm being Drs. Adams & Hoyt. Dr. Hoyt was a graduate of Dartmouth college, and for several years prior to his removal to Cleveland was a practitioner of the old school of medicine. He was an attentive practitioner, courteous to his patrons, and a friend to the poor. He died at his old homestead, on Columbus street, August 10, 1874, having practiced medicine upwards of thirty years in this city. Dr. Casperi, an Italian by birth, located in Ravenna in 1844. He remained there for nearly five years, and then removed to Louisville, Kentucky. In the same year Dr. Schlagel came from Germany and selected Amherst for the introduction of his practice. Oberlin, Elyria and other adjacent towns were visited by him. Alexander H. Burritt, M. D., a son of Dr. Ely Burritt of Troy, New York, a graduate of the class of 1827 in New York, and for eleven years an allopathic practitioner in Washington county, became a student of the celebrated John T. Gray of New York city, in the spring of 1838. After two years' study of the principles and practice of homœopathy, he located in Burton, Ohio, being the pioneer in northern Ohio. In 1849 he received the appointment from the trustees of Cleveland Homœopathic college to the chair of obstetrics. His health soon failing he removed to New Orleans, where he became one of the leading physicians of the south. During the war he was active in the interests of the Confederacy. One year after peace had been declared I found him a bitter secessionist, denouncing the north in the strongest terms. He was a man of ability as a practitioner and writer. He died in New Orleans of paralysis a few years since, aged seventy-seven.

Edwin W. Cowles, M. D., was born in Bristol, Connecticut, in 1794. In 1811 his father, the Rev. Dr. G. H. Cowles, emigrated to Austinburg, Ashtabula county, Ohio, where he erected the first church edifice with a steeple on the Western Reserve, if not in the state. Dr. Cowles studied medicine with Dr. O. K. Hawley, who had settled in Austinburg in the year 1800, and was

* A companion article, also from the pen of Dr. Beckwith, entitled "Pioneers of Homœopathy in Southern Ohio," may be found in the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. V. page 523.—[EDITOR.

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probably the first settled physician on the Western Reserve. Dr. Cowles graduated at Jefferson Medical college in 1820, and practiced in Portage county till 1832, when he moved to Cleveland, then a village of one thousand five hundred inhabitants. It was in this year that the Asiatic scourge, the cholera, made its first appearance in this country. Owing to the character of the disease being so utterly unknown, and to the terribly exaggerated stories of its deadly attacks, and that it exceeded the plagues of the middle ages in the number of its victims, its approach universally created fearful panics. In the summer of that year the steamer *Henry Clay* came into the harbor, and as it neared the landing the captain announced that the cholera had broken out among his men and several were stricken down, and begged that a physician should be sent for. This announcement acted like a bombshell bursting in the midst of the crowd which had assembled on the wharf, and they fled in every direction, many fleeing from the town in carriages and on horseback to the country. A scared messenger rushed into Dr. Cowles' office and informed him that he was wanted on the steamer, that "the crew were all down with the cholera and some were dead!" The doctor hastened to the boat and did all in his power for the stricken unfortunates. The boat was compelled to proceed on her trip to Detroit and Dr. Cowles volunteered to accompany the patients to that city, and his services were gladly accepted. His frightened friends never expected to see him return alive. Like the true physician he was, he felt it was his professional duty to go, regardless of the terrible risk, as it then appeared. The cholera of the present day has been robbed of its fearful character, owing to a better knowledge of its peculiarities and to modern medical skill in its treatment, and to go on a similar errand of mercy as Dr. Cowles did, would be regarded as worthy of no special merit. This little incident, however, of the doctor apparently exposing his life to the attack of a dreadful plague, merely because his sense of professional duty required him to do so, simply brought out the heroism of his character.

In 1834 Dr. Cowles moved to Detroit and went into partnership with Dr. Hurd, who was then the leading surgeon in that city, and practiced there for a number of years, and then returned to Cleveland and resumed his practice there. In 1845 he was induced by Dr. Adams, a homœopathic physician who had just moved to Cleveland, to investigate Hahnemann's mode of treating diseases, which resulted in his becoming one of his disciples. He practiced homœopathy till 1854, when he had an attack of paralysis, which disabled him from continuing his practice. In later years he was attacked by diabetes, and in May, 1861, died at the residence of his son, Edwin Cowles.

During his life Dr. Cowles was noted for his opposition to that sum of all villainies—human slavery. It was his hope that he would live to see the day when slavery would be abolished. He passed away just before the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation, and

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it can be said of him that, like Moses of old, "he died in sight of the promised land." His wife had preceded him in 1846. He left four children: Judge Samuel Cowles of San Francisco, now deceased; Edwin Cowles, editor of the Cleveland *Leader;* Alfred Cowles, one of the publishers of the Chicago *Tribune,* and Mrs. Helen C. Wheeler of Chicago.

In 1845 B. W. Richmond, M. D., located at Chardon; A. H. Plympton, M. D., in Painesville, and D. Stevens, M. D., in Windsor. The history of the above men I have been unable to find. In the same year David Sheppard, M. D., purchased a large stock farm at Bainbridge, and while not engaged in the practice of medicine he was devoting his time to the improvement and culture of fruits and flowers, of which he was passionately fond.

W. H. Manter, M. D., may well be considered the father of homœopathy in Lorain county. He was educated in the academy at Fairfield, Herkimer county, New York. He afterward studied medicine with Dr. Nathan Harward, an eminent physician and surgeon of that state. His birth-place was Ashfield, Massachusetts. He was reared and guided in his youth by his mother, his father, Dr. Francis Manter, having died when Nathan was a small boy. A New England atmosphere developed a good physical constitution; poverty the inheritance he received. By energy and industry the mother and son prospered. Her wish was his highest law, her happiness his greatest pleasure. He was beloved and esteemed by all who knew him as a physician. Well educated, faithful and attentive to his patients and kind to all, he was for many years regarded as among the first physicians of Lorain county. For close observation, for ability to delineate minutely and accurately the progress of disease, for courtesy and gentlemanly bearing to his fellow practitioners, no physician, in Elyria ranked higher. Few physicians understood better the scope and dignity of the mission of a physician and none enjoyed in greater degree the friendship of those who had shared the benefit of medical opinions. For many years Dr. Manter was the only surgeon of any note in the county. After thirty years' practice of what is denominated the old school practice in medicine, he became convinced that homœopathy was a more scientific method of administering remedies, and fully adopted the Hahnemannian practice. In those days this was a great change for so popular a physician as Dr. Manter, for it deprived him of the professional friendship of his former associates and some of his patrons. Today it requires no sacrifice for a physician to enter upon the practice of homœopathy, but for a respectable, successful physician to adopt this method a quarter of a century ago required a character that was courageous, and independent. Dr. Manter was a fine specimen of a courteous and Christian gentleman, whose life combined more of the excellencies that honor humanity and was obscured by fewer of its follies than that of most physicians.

George Wheeler Storm, M. D., was

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born in Greene, Chenango county, New York, August 2, 1822, the sixth of the seven children of John Isaac Storm and Maria Hollembeck. Both his parents were of the old Dutch stock that settled New York. His father, a millwright by trade, removed to Ohio in 1825 and settled two miles west of the village of Willoughby, which was at that time a group of log-cabins with a slight sprinkling of frame dwellings. His early life, accordingly, was that of the ordinary boy in the family of the pioneer settler, his helps to the getting of an education such only as the district school in that day of crude beginnings could afford. That he turned his meagre opportunity to good account appears from the fact that at the age of eighteen he was accepted as a pupil in dentistry by Dr. Strickland of Cleveland. On the completion of his studies in dentistry he went south and formed a partnership for the practice of that profession with Dr. Ware in Wilmington, North Carolina. Ill health, however, compelled him to abandon the enterprise and return to Willoughby—a disappointment whose ultimate result proved it to have been a gain in the disguise of a misfortune.

Its immediate effect was to turn his thoughts toward the study of medicine, in which his true vocation lay. He received encouragement in this later and happier choice of a profession from his cousin, Dr. Storm Rosa, whose biography is given below. From Dr. Rosa's office he went into that of Dr. Ackley in Cleveland, and for three years was under the instruction alternately of these two eminent practitioners, spending his summers with Dr. Rosa and his winters with Dr. Ackley, attending lectures meanwhile in the Ohio Medical college, which at that time had been removed to Cleveland. He then attended one course of lectures in the Eclectic Medical institute at Cincinnati, and there was graduated in 1850. He returned at once to Willoughby and began what proved to be a continuous and continuously growing practice, extending over a period of thirty-four years, until his death, which occurred on the second of June, 1884.

The qualities which vicissitude and penury of opportunity in early life had developed in him were confirmed by the opposition and obloquy, which, in common with all pioneers in the practice of homœopathy, he encountered. He was tenacious of purpose, independent in judgment, fearless of opposition, defiant of mere tradition and routine.

In the face of frowning bigotry and the tyranny of caste intrenched in custom, it was in him not to scare but for one and all to fight. It fell to him, as to all leaders in the advance of a new truth, to hew his way by hand to hand combat, inch by inch, to recognition and assured success. The effect of the process on the personality of the man was to produce a character that bristled with sharp traits. Soft disguises and smooth accommodations were not for him. His was the dauntless and uncompromising spirit of an iconoclast. A first or an only occasional acquaintance would have been likely to pro-

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nounce him harsh. Those whose times of emergency in the sick room were shared by him, came to appreciate thoroughly the sympathetic kindness that underlay an abrupt manner and those quick, incisive tones. Never was victory more decisive on any field than that which good, honest fighting brought to him.

To the last his influence as a practitioner was deepening and extending. His "ride" included large parts of three counties, its extent defined by the limit of his own physical endurance. The hold that he had gained on the community came clearly into relief when his death occurred. Never was there such a concourse of people in Willoughby on a burial occasion as on the day that his funeral occurred. The public schools were given a recess for the day. Every place of business was closed. Citizens of all classes and occupations, of both sexes and of every age, putting by the common pursuits of life, to speak with one voice their recognition of the fact that a man of mark and power was gone.

Storm Rosa, M. D., was born at Corrsarker, Greene county, New York, in the year 1791, and died in Painesville, Lake county, Ohio, May 3, 1864. He was of Dutch parentage and received a good education in his native place. Having an inclination for the medical profession in his boyhood, his parents did not interfere with his plans. His medical studies were in the offices of two eminent physicians in New York. On the ninth of March, 1816, he was licensed to practice his chosen profession. After receiving his diploma he made his residence in Centreville, Geauga county, Ohio. As soon as he opened his office he gave notice that a "young doctor had come to town and the people must enlarge their graveyards." This sally of wit and humor introduced him to the people and established him in their favor. After two years' practice he changed his location to Painesville, Ohio, where he soon established himself in a large practice. Educated in the old school of medicine, he prescribed according to their principles until the year 1841. At that time he became acquainted with D. Barlow of New York and Dr. Pulte of Cincinnati. These gentlemen insisted that he should investigate the new system of medicine. The result of his study for two years was his adoption of the law of "*Similia Similibus Curantur.*" His old patrons did not leave their family physician, and many new ones were added to the list.

In the year 1849 the homœopathic physicians of the west received the following circular:

To the homœopathic physicians of the United States:

Resolved: That we invite the homœopathic physicians of the United States, and of the west especially, to unite in recommending and nominating a professor to fill the chair of homœopathy in the Eclectic Medical institute.

[Signed.] T. V. MORROW, M. D., Dean.
Cincinnati, June 9, 1849.

A convention of homœopathic physicians was called in Cleveland, June 26, 1849. It was there

Resolved: That the friends of homœopathy present in this convention return their cordial thanks to

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the friends of medical reform in Cincinnati for their large-hearted liberality in extending to them the offer of a professorship in the Eclectic Medical institute.

Resolved: That this convention accept the offer of a professorship in the Eclectic Medical institute.

Storm Rosa received the unanimous vote of the convention and was recommended to the trustees for confirmation.

This nomination was confirmed by the trustees of the Eclectic Medical institute July, 1849, and in their circular which appeared in a few weeks was the name of Storm Rosa, M. D., professor of the principles and practice of homœopathy. In November Professor Rosa gave the first lecture west of the Alleghany mountains to a class of medical students relative to the principles of homœopathy and its merits as a law of cure. The subject of his lecture was "The History of Medical Science." The press of Cincinnati highly complimented the lecture. The course of lectures given by Dr. Rosa continued over four months. They were systematic and practical. So thorough were his teachings and so plain were the principles of homœopathy presented to the class, that many of the students in attendance became converts to the Hahnemannian school. Not only were the students convinced of the superiority of homœopathic practice above other modes of curing disease, but two of the professors in the spring of 1850 tendered to the trustees of the institute their resignation, giving their reasons for withdrawing from the faculty that they in the future should teach and practice homœopathy.

So popular were the lectures with the class of 1849-50 that a number of the students who graduated commenced the practice of homœopathy in the spring of 1850. At a meeting of the trustees of the Eclectic Medical institute, held August 22, 1850, the chair of homœopathy was abolished. The following resolution was signed by the whole faculty and presented to the trustees for their action:

A special homœopathic professorship is of no utility whatever at the present time, as the faculty of the institute understand thoroughly both the philosophy and the practical details of homœopathy and need no foreign assistance to do the subject justice.

Professor Rosa, in assuming the critical position of teaching over two hundred medical students (who disbelieved the law of cure, as laid down by Samuel Hahnemann), had no easy task. During his long course of lectures not a disrespectful word was ever given him by one of the students—a compliment that only a few professors of any school can claim. Outside of the lecture room the "little pill practice" was often the subject of ridicule and sarcasm. Professor Rosa was so honest and sincere in his teaching that the whole class respected and loved him. I believe no other physician could have filled the chair of homœopathy in the institute with as much honor to himself and to the school of medicine that he represented.

In the sixth annual announcement of the Eclectic Medical institute appeared the following complimentary notice: "Professor Rosa's relations with the faculty and the class have been those of mutual kindness and courtesy, and

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the lectures of the institute were prosecuted in a harmonious spirit."

In 1850 the Western College of Homœopathic Medicine was established in Cleveland. In September, 1850, Dr. Rosa was chosen by the trustees as professor of obstetrics and diseases of women. The position he accepted and lectured in the college for several years, attracting many students by his profound knowledge and clear elucidations of the principles taught. After his resignation in the Cleveland college he was tendered the chair of "theory and practice of medicine" in the St. Louis school, an honor that he declined, preferring to remain in Painesville among his old patrons and friends the remainder of his life.

Dr. Rosa was president of the first public meeting of homœopathic physicians in northern Ohio, which was held at Burton in the year 1847, which consisted of all the representative men in the profession, nine in number. His interest in the new school of medicine did not decline with his advancing years. He wrote but little for publication, yet his sympathies were always for the advancement of the cause he espoused in middle life. In his personal conduct he was kind, gentle and modest to a fault; as a physician, industrious and of sound judgment; in social life he was highly esteemed; his genial temperament, steady flow of good spirits and keen sense of humor made him a companion for all classes of people. He was never daunted by danger or difficulty in the practice of his profession, and was ready to lighten the gloomiest experience by wit, humor and jest, and at the same time from his kindness of heart and good judgment, he never allowed his witticisms to wound the feelings of anyone. For a time he was an associate judge of the court of common pleas in Lake county, a position that he filled with ability and satisfaction. He was a keen lover of nature, and was frequently found in reverential attitude gazing upon a beautiful sunset or on a lovely landscape, worshiping the Author of nature, who had made such a beautiful world.

D. H. Beckwith.

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GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON, THE FIRST EXPLORERS OF LAKE SUPERIOR AND THE STATE OF MINNESOTA.

THERE is no evidence that any European, before Anno Domini, 1659, explored the shores of Lake Superior. It is true that Indians visiting Quebec had alluded to the big waters in the far west, and Grenolle, one of Champlain's daring men, after an absence of three years, returned from his roaming with a nugget of copper and the description of a lake which required the Indians to paddle their canoes nine days to pass from the eastern to western extremity. More than ten years later, A. D. 1634, the Sieur Nicolet, an interpreter of a trading company, was the first European to spend the winter near the Green Bay of Lake Michigan, but he did not pass beyond the Sault du Gaston, now called the Sault Sainte Marie. In the 'Jesuit Relations' of 1648 it is mentioned that if one wished to go beyond it would be necessary to obtain the consent of the "Nation of the Sault," the Pawitagouek, or People of the Falls.

The two Frenchmen who explored the shores of Lake Superior were also the first to visit the Dakotah, or Nadouessioux, within the limits of what is now the state of Minnesota. None were more successful in extending geographical knowledge and enlarging the domain of commerce than Medard Chouart, known in history as Sieur des Groseilliers,* and his brother-in-law, Pierre d'Esprit, the Sieur Radisson.

Chouart was born about eleven miles east of Meaux in France, and when a lad of sixteen years of age arrived in Canada, and five years later was trading with the Indians around the northeastern extremity of Lake Huron. Having returned to Quebec, on the second of September, 1647, he was married to Helen, the widow of Claude Etienne and daughter of the pilot, Abraham Martin, who resided on what is still known as the "Plains of Abraham." A son, called Medard, after his father, in A. D. 1651, was born and soon the mother died. Fond of widows, at Quebec, on August 23, 1653, he married Marguerite, the relict of John Veron Grandménil and sister of Radisson, who subsequently became his companion in discovery. The next year, with the title of sergeant-major, he was living at the trading hamlet of Three Rivers, which contained a small population, few of whom tilled the soil, and most of the young men were known as "*voyageurs*," or "*coureurs des bois*."

Pierre d'Esprit, the Sieur Radisson, was born on the sea coast of France, but in boyhood moved to Paris, and when about sixteen years of age arrived, in 1651, in Canada, and lived at "Three Rivers," where dwelt, he wrote, his "natural parents and country people, and my brother, his wife and children."

* This name is variously spelled. In 'Journal des Jesuites,' first published in 1871, at Quebec, it is written Grosilleres.

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While hunting for ducks, with two companions, he was for a time separated from them, and returning, found his friends killed. A party of Iroquois had scalped and stripped them. In a short period he was "compassed round by a multitude of dogs, or rather devils, that rose from the grass," who seized him and brought him to the forest, where they showed him the "bloody scalps" of his two friends. They then began their journey to their village, in what is now the state of New York.

To preserve the scalps, they placed them in "a little pan with some grease," and dried them "with hot stones," and then had a dance with violent gesticulalations and horrible noise. The route of the captors was by the Richelieu river, now known as the Sorel.

Meeting a number of their tribe, they had in their presence another dance, the scalps of the two Frenchmen being placed at the end of a long pole. Arriving at one of their camping grounds they prepared to adopt Radisson as one of the tribe. In broken English he humorously wrote: "In this place they cutt off my hair in the front and upon the crowne of the head, and turning up the locks of ye haire they dab'd mee wth some thicke grease. So done they brought me a looking-glasse. I viewing myself all in a pickle, smir'd with redde and black, covered with such a cappe and locks tyed up with a peece of leather and stunked horribly, I would not but fall in love wth myselfe if not yt I had better instruction to shun the sin of pride." He was deeply impressed with the steam-bath of the savages. They first "heated stones till they weare as redd as fire, then they made a lantherne wth small sticks, then stoaring the place with deale trees, sawing a place in the middle wherein to they put the stoanes, and covered the place with several covers, then stripped themselves naked, went into it. They made a noise as if the devil was there; after being there for an hour they came out of the watter, and then throwing one another into the watter, I thought veryly they were" crazy![*]

After reaching the village of the Indians he was adopted by an old woman and her husband and lived with them for several weeks. "She took her girdle," he relates, "and about me she tyed it, so brought me to her cottage and made me sit down. Then she began to dance and sing; after, brings down from her box a comb, gives it to a maid, that was near me, who presently comes to grease and comb my hair, and took away the paint the fellows stuck to my face. Now the old woman gets me some Indian corn toasted in the fire. I took pains to gather it out of the fire. She looked in my clothes, and if she found any lice would squeeze them between her teeth as if they had been substantial meat. . . . . The old woman wished that I would make myself more familiar with her two daughters. They were accustomed to grease and combing hair in the morning."

After passing the winter with his protectors he visited, with a hunting party, the Nojottga [Oneida?] village, also the Nontageya [Onondaga?] band of Iroquois. From thence, after a three days' march, he

[*] The Journals of Radisson, published by the Prince Society of Boston, in 1885, cannot be trusted for dates, but are correct in the description of the customs of the tribes he visited.

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came to the Sononteeonon [Seneca] settlement, and then followed the trail to the Oiongoconon [Cayuga] village.

Returning from the hunt, the village, with great joy, received the party with their scalps, captives and beaver skins, and had a feast. The following graphic description of an Indian morceau is given by Radisson:

When the corn is green they gather so much as need requireth, of which leaves they preserve the biggest. A dozen, more or less, old women meet together, of whom the greatest part want teeth, and seeeth not a jot, and their cheeks hang down like an old hunting-dog, their eyes full of water, and blood-shot. Each takes an ear of corn and puts into their mouth, and when their mouths are full spits it out in their hands, which possibly they wash not once a year, so that their hands are white inside by reason of the grease that they put to their hair, but on the outside of their wrinkled hands there is a quarter of an inch of filth and stinking grease. And so their hands being full of that mince meat, minced with their gums, enough to fill a dish; they chew chestnuts, then they mingle this with bear's grease, or oil of flower, in French we call it tournesol, with their hands. So made a mixture, they tie the leaves at one end and make a hodge-pot and cover it with the same leaves, and tie the upper end, so that what is within these leaves becomes a round ball, which they boil in a kettle full of water, or broth made of meat and fish. So there is the description of the most delicious bit of the world. I leave you to taste of this Salmigondy.

The salmigondis of the French is Anglicized salmagundi, and is synonymous with hotch-potch, a mixed dish of food.

After the spring hunt Radisson went with a party to sell their beaver to the Dutch at Fort Orange, now Albany, four days distant. Here he found the Jesuit missionary, Noncet, who had also been captured. A French soldier on duty at the post recognized him as a white man although rouged and dressed as a savage, The Dutch women were hospitable, and the governor of the fort wished to purchase him of the Indians, but at that time he did not think it expedient to leave the Iroquois. When he came back to his Indian home, he soon longed to return to civilized life, and on the twenty-ninth of October, 1653, he slipped away and followed the trail to the Dutch settlements. Stopping at a frontiersman's cabin, two miles from the Dutch fort, he sent a letter by the Dutchman, and soon an escort came out and conducted him to the post commander,* by whom he was well received.

From Fort Orange he was sent down the Hudson river to Manhattan, where he remained three weeks, and then sailed for Holland, and after six weeks' voyage arrived, during the first week of January, 1654, at Amsterdam. After a few days he went to Rochelle, France, and remained until spring, when he sailed for Canada, and in May was gladly received by his relatives and old friends at Three Rivers, and here, in 1656, he married the daughter of Madeleine Hainault. In July, 1657, with the Jesuit fathers, Ragueneau and Duperon, he went to an Onondaga village supposed to have been in the vicinity of Salina. Before the next spring the Indians manifested hostility, and the French, fifty-three in number, slipped away and by way of Lake Ontario, about the month of April, 1658, reached Montreal. Radisson in two weeks returned to his wife and friends at Three Rivers, and found his brother-in-law, Groseilliers, who had come back the year before from Lake Huron, who proposed that they should make a voyage to discover

* John Dykman, who had been book-keeper at Fort Amsterdam, now New York city.

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the upper lakes which had been described by the Indians.

About the middle of June, 1659, they bade adieu to companions, and with about thirty Frenchmen began the journey. Owing to an attack by the Iroquois their comrades went back, and they were left to advance with the Indian guides, and after many days arrived at a Huron village on a large island in the lake of that name, where some of the guides lived. Beyond, a strait was entered, ten leagues in length, abounding in fish, that led to the rapids at the entrance of Lake Superior. Passing beyond the rapids they came to an isle about five o'clock one afternoon, to which was given the name Four Beggars. At ten o'clock that night they again entered their canoes and paddled to the south shore, to the mouth of a small river, which contained copper and called by the Indians Pauabick-Komesibs.

From this point they moved along the shore until they came to "rocks that the wild men made a sacrifice to called Nanitouck-Sinagoit." Radisson in his journal makes little mention of his brother-in-law, the projector of the expedition, and thus writes of the arch of the Pictured Rocks:

> It is like a great portal by reason of the beating of the waves. I gave it the name of the Portal of St. Peter because of my name, and that I was the first Christian that ever saw it.

Some days after leaving the Portal they came to three islands at the entrance of a bay now known as Keweenaw bay, and in this vicinity remained several days. Here preparations were made for the portage across the peninsula. Ascending a small stream they came to firm land on which they found a well beaten trail of two leagues, which led to the lake beyond the point.* Launching their canoes again into the lake they came to Montreal river, and noticed the roaring of its falls. Some Hurons who had accompanied them left the party, to go by a trail from this point to their village in the region about the sources of the Wisconsin and Chippewa rivers. With the remaining members of that tribe they pursued their journey along the lake until they reached a narrow point two leagues long, but in width but sixty paces. Crossing this they reached Chagouamikon bay toward the end of which they landed. It was agreed that the Hurons should visit their wives and children, who were five days distant from La Pointe, and that they would remain until their return. After they left, the Frenchmen built a cabin of logs with the door toward the lake, and surrounded it with a barricade of limbs of trees.

After many vicissitudes the Hurons had found a retreat in the wilderness of the northern part of the present state of Wisconsin. About the year 1653 they had been driven by the Iroquois from Lake Huron, and dwelt for a time near the entrance of Green bay of Lake Michigan. Here they did not tarry long, but with some Ottawas retreated to the Mississippi, and ascended it until they came to a river called from the Ioway tribe. They ascended the Upper Iowa river to its sources, and were well treated by the tribes on its banks, but did not like the country because of the absence of forests. Coming back to the Mississippi they ascended to the Sioux country where they

* A French map drawn in 1688 shows a trail from the Montreal river to the waters of the Wisconsin.

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were treated with honor because they had fire-arms and used iron hatchets in the place of stone hammers. They were allowed to settle upon a prairie island in the Mississippi a few miles above Lake Pepin, but in time quarreled with the Sioux. They then left the Mississippi, and entering a river below Lake Pepin which Perrot calls the Black, but which may have been the Chippèwa, they followed it to its sources. The Hurons here established themselves, while the Ottawas advanced to Chagouamikon, the La Pointe of Lake Superior.

Twelve days after the Frenchmen had been at Chagouamikon bay, their Huron companions came back with a large party of young men. It was arranged that the white men should visit the Huron village. For four days a trail through the forest was followed to a lake about eight leagues in circumference, and the next day it was crossed to the village, which contained about one hundred wigwams. Here and in the vicinity the winter was passed. While with the Hurons, they were visited by the Bœuf band of the Nadouessioux, with arrows pointed with bone, who wished to be on terms of friendship and to be protected from their enemy, the Cristinos. After this the Bœuf Sioux* were visited, and they remained with them six weeks and then returned to Chagouamikon.

There was more than usual stir in Montreal on the nineteenth of August, 1660, caused by the unexpected arrival of Groseilliers with a flotilla of sixty canoes and three hundred Indians from Lake Superior, after a voyage of twenty-six days, bringing furs valued at two hundred thousand livres. Disposing of a fourth of the peltry there, the rest was taken to Three Rivers.

The intelligent listened with deep interest to the narrative of Groseilliers relative to the hitherto unknown Sioux or Dakotah people. He mentioned that their language differed from the Huron Algonquin bands, and that women were seen with their noses cut off as a penalty for adultery, and that much had been heard of a deep, wide and beautiful river, comparable in grandeur to the Saint Lawrence.

Groseilliers, as soon as the furs were disposed of, was ready to go back with a new outfit. In less than ten days after his appearance at Montreal, on the twenty-seventh of the month, he left Three Rivers. The party consisted of six Frenchmen and the Jesuit missionary, René Menard.

Not far from the Huron isles and Huron bay of Lake Superior, is Keweenaw bay, and here, on St. Theresa's day in the calendar of the Church of Rome, the fifteenth of October, 1660, the party landed. Some traders and Menard were left to pass the winter. Groseilliers and Radisson continued their explorations to Lake Nepigon, connected by a tributary and north of Lake Superior, and a *voyageur* named Peré, also written Perray,* found by a

* Radisson mentions that Tatanga was the Sioux word for buffalo, called by French, Bœuf.

* On Franquelin's map of 1688, Groseilliers is the name of what is now the Pigeon river, a portion of the boundary between Minnesota and the Dominion of Canada, and the Moose river is called Peré, after the *voyageur* who discovered it. He is probably the person of whom Governor Frontenac of Canada, in November, 1679, wrote to the king that Governor Andros of New York has retained there,

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slight portage a route to a stream flowing into Hudson's bay, which for years bore his name.

Leaving some of his men in the country, Groseilliers seems to have passed the winter of 1661-62 in Canada. In the Journal of the Jesuits—under date of May, 1662—it is noted that he was at Three Rivers on his way to the "Sea of the North."

On the fifth of August, 1663, all of the Frenchmen who had left with Groseilliers three years before, except Father Menard and his lay assistant, Jean Guerin, returned to Canada. The missionary, in the summer of 1661, had been lost in the wilds of Wisconsin, and his man, in September, 1662, had died. From the information derived from these explorations geographers enlarged and corrected their maps.

A few months after they came back, Pierre Boucher, one of the best citizens of Three Rivers, was in Paris, and published a little book, in which he wrote that some Frenchmen had returned after three years from Lake Superior, who had discovered a large island rich in copper, and found large masses on the shore which the Indians, after building fires around, would cut with their axes.

If Radisson is to be credited, when he and Groseilliers came back in 1663, the governor arrested the latter and fined him for trading without a license. Smarting under the exactions, Groseilliers went to France for redress, where he passed several months, deluded by fair promises, and the next spring returned. In company with Radisson, who had remained in Canada, he went to the isle of Cape Breton, and from thence went to New England.

The next spring, in a Boston ship, they went as far as Hudson's straits, but the master of the vessel became disheartened and returned. At this time the English commissioners who had attended to the reduction of the Dutch at Manhattan, now New York, arrived in Boston, and one of them, Colonel George Carteret, invited them to go with him to New York, and from thence to England, and offer their services to the king.

During the summer of 1665 they sailed with Carteret in a ship commanded by Benjamin Gillam of Boston, but were captured by the Hollanders. After some time they were released, and arrived in London while the great plague was raging. Going to Oxford, Sir George Carteret became interested in their projects and spoke to the king, who sent them to London with an allowance of forty shillings a week. Here they were introduced to the nephew of Charles the First, the Prince Rupert, who led the cavalry charge against Fairfax and Cromwell at Naseby, and then devoted to the study and exhibition of his philosophical toy known to chemists as "Rupert's Drops." The prince listened with pleasure to, and endorsed the plans for carrying on the beaver trade and seeking a northwest passage to Asia. The scientific men

and even well-treated a man named Peré, and others who have been alienated from La Salle, with the design to employ and send them among the Outawas to trade. Duchesneau, intendant of Canada, writes to Paris, "that the man named Peré having resolved to range the woods, went to Orange to confer with the English." After this he seems to have been a close prisoner in London for eighteen months, and in 1687 Governor Dougan sends a Mons. La Parre [Peré?] "with an answer to the French governor's angry letter."

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of England also felt much interest in explorations which would tend to increase knowledge. The secretary of the Royal society wrote to Robert Boyle, the philosopher, a too sanguine letter:

> Surely I need not tell you what is said here, with great joy, of the discovery of a northwest passage, and by two Englishmen and one Frenchman, lately represented by them to his majesty at Oxford, and answered by the grant of a vessel to sail into Hudson's bay and channel, into the South sea.

The ship *Non-Such* was fitted out in charge of Captain Zachary Gillam* a son of one of the early merchants and shipwrights of Boston, New England. The vessel, with Groseilliers and Radisson, in June, 1668, left the Thames, and in September reached a tributary of Hudson's bay, called in honor of one of their patrons, Rupert's river.

The next year, by way of Boston, they returned to England, and in 1670 the oldest of existing trading companies in England was chartered as "The Hudson's Bay Company," and the land was known as Prince Rupert's Land. The voyage to Hudson bay was continued in 1669, and Groseilliers and Radisson proceeded to Nelson river, named for the pilot of Buttons' expedition, and planted there the arms of the king of England.

The Reverend Mother of the Incarnation, superior of the Ursulines at Quebec, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1670, wrote that "a Frenchman of our Touraine named des Groseilliers married in this country, and as he had not been successful in making a fortune, was seized with a fancy to go to New England to better his condition. He excited a hope among the English that he had found a passage to the sea of the north. With this expectation he was sent as an envoy to England, where there was given to him a vessel with crew and everything necessary for the voyage. With these advantages he put to sea . . . . . filled his ships with peltries of great value. A publication for the benefit of this French adventurer has been made in England. He was a youth when he arrived here, and his wife and children are yet here." Radisson married in London while in the employ of the Hudson's Bay company, his second wife, a daughter of Sir John Kertk, who was of Huguenot extraction and a member of the company.

Zachary Gillam of Boston continued to trade in Hudson's bay. Waite Winthrop, son of the governor of Connecticut, on December 11, 1671, wrote from Boston to his father: "All the news is that Zachary Gillam is returned from the northwest passage with abundance of beaver."

Three ships, in 1671, were sent out by the Hudson's Bay company, and Radisson was a passenger in one of them and went to Port Nelson, and then came back to Rupert's river and wintered.

During the summer of 1673 Paul Denis, a young Canadian recently made Sieur de Simon, left Canada overland for Hudson bay with a letter from the governor of Canada requesting civil treatment for his party by the English. With this expedition came letters to Groseilliers and Radisson from their relatives, which excited some suspicion. In September,

*The father of Gillam came to Boston in 1634, and his son Zachary was born in 1636. He was buried in Boston, June 13, 1685, and his widow was married by a Huguenot minister to one Sylvestre. Zachary's brother Benjamin was also a sea-captain.

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1674, while some of the French were at the English post, the ship *Prince Rupert*, Captain Gillam, arrived, bringing a new governor for the establishment. Dissatisfaction with Groseilliers and Radisson had now become so great that they left the employ of the Hudson Bay company and returned to French allegiance.

Owing to a disagreement Groseilliers and Radisson left the service of the Hudson Bay company and returned to France, in October, 1674, having accepted the offer of Minister Colbert to pay all their debts, receive a certain sum of money and satisfactory employment. They were sent back to Canada to consult with Governor Frontenac, who coldly received them. Groseilliers remained at home, but Radisson sailed again for France and served for a time upon board of a war-vessel, suffered shipwreck and returned with the forces in July, 1679, to Brest. A few days after, he went to London to visit his wife, who had remained in England, and did not until the next October return to France.

The son of Colbert, the Marquis de Seignelay, and his agent, Bellizany, directed him to confer with Du Chesneau, a merchant of Canada, then in Paris, as to the best means of increasing the beaver trade. The Society of Jesuits at Paris were interested with Du Chesneau in the fur trade and furnished money to Radisson, who sailed in a ship from Rochelle, and on the twenty-fifth of September, 1682, arrived at Quebec. It was there arranged with Du Chesneau that he and Groseilliers were to go to Hudson bay in the spring. The winter was passed at Acadia, and in the spring he left in a vessel of fifty tons, and his brother-in-law in one of about thirty tons, and on the second of September entered Nelson river which flowed into the Hudson bay, and about fifteen miles from its mouth built a trading post.

About the middle of September a ship from Boston arrived, without any commission, in charge of a son of Captain Gillam. Radisson went aboard and was civilly treated, but had just left the ship when another vessel arrived, commanded by the father of the captain of the Boston vessel, and having on board John Bridger, the new commander of the post, who was informed that Groseilliers and Radisson had taken possession in the name of the king of France. In time the English were obliged to yield to the French, and the New England vessel was brought to Quebec in 1683, about the last of October. Governor De la Barre restored the ship to the New Englanders, and Bridger and Gillam sailed for Boston. On the eleventh of November, 1683, Groseilliers and Radisson sailed for France to report their proceedings to the authorities. Upon their arrival in Paris they found that the English ambassador, Lord Preston, had complained of their course toward Bridger, the representative of the Hudson Bay company, and requested the arrest of Radisson, the leader of the assault on the English post. In a dispatch to his government, under date of January 19, 1683–84, Lord Preston wrote:

> Sent my secretary to know if the king had ordered an answer concerning the attack upon Nelson's post. I find the great support of Mons. De la Barre, the present governor of Canada, is from the Jesuits of this court, which order always hath a great number of missionaries in that region, who, besides the conversion

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of infidels, have had the address to engross the whole castor trade, from which they draw considerable advantage. The late governor, the Marquis de Frontenac, did ever oppose himself to their designs, and executed the king's, his master's, right to that traffique; but they found the means, by the interests of Father de la Chaise, to have him recalled, and the present governor sent, who complied wholly with them, and giveth them no kind of trouble in their commerce. Raditon [Radisson] arrived about the time you mention, and hath been in Paris these five days. There came on shore at the same time Des Groselieres, a person whose story is well known in those countries, and who accompanied the other in his action. I am told that they both took possession, for the English, this very Nelson's river and post, by a commission which they had from England. A friend of mine who hath seen the former since his arrival, tells me that he finds him much alarmed with the charge against him.

In the same communication Lord Preston wrote:

I am told privately that a relation of the taking possession of Port Nelson in the name of the English, by these very men, Des Groselieres and Radisson, may be found among the papers of Prince Rupert.

Negotiations soon began for the return of the two Frenchmen to the service of the Hudson Bay company. The following April, under the pretext of visiting his wife, whom he had not seen for several years, Radisson visited London, where she resided with relatives. Hayes, whose name is still attached to a tributary of the Hudson bay, and other directors of the company, received him with cordiality, past differences were settled, and on the seventeenth of May he left Gravesend in the ship *Happy Return* with two other representatives of the Hudson Bay company. In safety the vessel arrived near Hayes river, where Chouart, the son of Groseilliers, was in charge. Explanations were made to Radisson's nephew, and he gave up his post to the English and also entered the service of the Hudson Bay company. Upon the fourth day of September, 1684, Radisson left Port Nelson with the ships, and on the twenty-third of October the vessels cast anchor in the Downs, and by midnight, on horseback, he arrived in London, where he had left his brother-in-law, Groseilliers, who had received a pension from the English government. The next year Radisson again visited Hudson bay, but after this period there is no trace of him or Groseilliers. The trading posts they had established continued to be contended for by rival trading associations. The Northern Fur Company of Canada felt that they had been robbed by the desertion of Radisson and Groseilliers. Although France and England were at peace, Denonville, governor of Canada, winked at an overland expedition to Hayes river under Chevalier De Troyes. Toiling up the Ottawa river and wading through marshes, on the twentieth of June, 1686, he came in sight of Fort Hayes. D'Iberville, afterwards the first governor of Louisiana, and his brother, with a few men climbed over the palisades on one side, while the main party battered down the gate of the stockade and the inmates of the post were captured. On the twenty-seventh of August, 1687, Denonville wrote to France:

I have just received news from our forts at the head of Hudson bay, where D'Iberville is in command. He had learned that an English ship was in the Nip, near Charleston island, and sent four men on a reconnoissance. One fell back on account of sickness, while the other three were captured and taken on board an English ship. One of these contrived to escape and the remaining two were confined all winter. The captain of the ship, next spring, while hunting on the island, was drowned,

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and when the time came to sail, the pilot and crew made the weaker of the Canadian's help. One day while all but two of the men were aloft, the Canadian with an axe split the skulls of those on deck, and, releasing his comrade, they became masters. Steering the ship toward the French post they met Iberville coming to their rescue.

As the ship was loaded with provisions it proved a valuable prize. The English prisoners were sent home, and D'Iberville went to Quebec, leaving one of his brothers in charge. When the news of this Canadian raid reached London there was great indignation, and a conference held with the French ambassador.

After the revolution of 1688 in England, William the Third declared war against France, and in his proclamation alluded to the attack of De Troyes and his associates upon the posts of the Hudson Bay company. In 1690 three English ships attempted to expel D'Iberville, but they were captured. During the autumn of this year D'Iberville went to Quebec, leaving Fort St. Anne with a garrison of five men, besides a surgeon, tailor and Delmas, a Jesuit missionary. On the thirteenth of July, 1693, a canoe, by way of Ottawa river, arrived at Montreal with a *voyageur*, who did "a tale unfold" which made the "two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres." He narrated that the five men of the post went to hunt, and after a few days returned and found only the tailor, crazed by cold and want of food; finding the doctor beyond the stockade he killed him, and then cutting a hole in the ice threw his body into the river. Returning within the gates, he sought the priest and confessed his crime, but afterwards pursued him, struck him with an axe and tossed him into the icy waters. His companions, saddened by the story which he told, kept him in chains and sent the messenger for advice and assistance. Some months afterwards the English appeared before the post, and when they entered found the miserable tailor confined, the other Frenchmen having slipped away. The contests, with varying success, continued between the English and French near the mouth of Nelson's river. In 1697 D'Iberville, in command of the *Pelican*, met in this vicinity the English ships *Hampshire*, *Darling* and *Hudson Bay*. After a fight of four hours the *Pelican* sank the *Hampshire*, then encountered the *Hudson Bay*, which soon surrendered, while the *Darling* sailed away. It was a scene for a painter—

"For ice, mast-high, came floating by
As green as emerald.
The ice was here, the ice was there,
The ice was all around.
It cracked and groaned, and moaned and howled."

The *Pelican* was badly damaged, and stranded about two leagues from Fort Nelson. The English commandant soon lowered his flag, and the white banner with the *fleur-de-lis* once more floated with the breeze.

The "peace of Ryswick" led to a truce, and subsequently the "treaty of Utrecht" gave the Hudson Bay company quiet possession of the region north of Lake Superior and Minnesota.

EDWARD D. NEILL.

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THE BEGINNING OF EDUCATION IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

THE declaration of peace, in 1783, left the colonies in possession of an unlimited, unexplored country, of which they knew but little. It was filled with hostile tribes of Indians, under the evil influences of the British, whose avarice impelled them to the inhuman acts of inciting the red men to wanton deeds of cruelty against the settler who should dare to enter the domain to found a home.

The Continental congress found itself not only unable to pay its promises of money to its soldiers, but also unable to pay in lands as it had promised by the resolutions of 1776 and of 1780. The colonies were free, but each claimed to be sovereign, and in these conflicting interests the wise men of the day saw, as England's statesmen had predicted, the downfall of a Republic her armies could not subdue. The various claims of the states must first be harmonized. Time and patience overcame all obstacles, and gradually one by one the colonies were brought to harmonize their interests. The first act was to secure from each colony a cession of all western lands, for the common good of all. This was accomplished by 1786, when Connecticut deeded all her western lands, as New York and Virginia had done before her, reserving only enough to redeem her promises to her own soldiers. The year before her deed of cession was made, congress had so much confidence in the ultimate outcome of the negotiations, that a law was passed defining the mode of survey and sale of public lands in the western country. The plan of survey was probably suggested by Thomas Hutchins, geographer to the United States. He was an ardent patriot, a member of the New Jersey troops, and while in London on private business, about the time of the outbreak of hostilities, suffered imprisonment and confiscation of some forty thousand dollars worth of property. He escaped to Charleston in 1778, where he received the appointment of geographer, which office he held until his death in April, 1789, while engaged in the survey of the first seven ranges. The office expired with him, its duties devolving on the board of the treasury, who controlled and directed the public surveys until 1799, when General Rufus Putnam was appointed surveyor-general, an office still existing.

The plan of survey adopted by the act of 1785, was in a measure outlined by him, when on the expedition of Colonel Henry Bouquet against the Ohio Indians in 1763-64. He acted as engineer of this expedition and made a careful topographical survey of the route followed by the army.

The act provided that a base line known as the "Geographer's Line" should be run through the territory on a true east and west parallel line, starting from a given point on its eastern boundary. Every

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six miles north and south of the "Geographer's Line," parallel lines were to be run through the territory. Crossing them at right angles every six miles, beginning the starting point, meridian lines were to be run north and south, thus dividing the entire northwestern country into townships six miles square. These townships were to be again divided into thirty six sections of one square mile each. This rectangular plan of survey, the simplest and most practical ever devised, has since been closely followed in the survey of all public lands. In many reservations it is also adhered to, save that the townships are smaller and the divisions different.

While the act for the survey was under discussion in congress, someone, whose suggestions were far more important than he or anyone imagined, advised that one section in every township be reserved for the use and benefit of the public schools of the township. Section No. 16 was selected, perhaps because it is near the centre of the township. The proceeds of its land sales were decreed to be used for the benefit of the education of the children. There is no direct evidence that New England suggested this measure, but it may not be amiss to infer from cotemporaneous history that such is the fact. It is the first instance in the history of the country where congress took public action towards the education of the youth of America by the public treasury. Had Mr. Hutchins lived to complete the public surveys, the plan followed by him would, no doubt, have been the universal custom in all parts of Ohio. His death and the numerous land grants prevented carrying out the act in all parts of the state; but the idea was used in many of the divisions of Ohio lands made by states or private companies.

Peace had hardly been declared when soldiers of the Revolution began to press their claims to western lands. Congress had promised land bounties to those who would engage in the war till its close, or to their representatives should they be slain by the enemy. These bounties ranged in amounts from one hundred acres to several thousand, owing to the rank of the soldier. General Rufus Putnam, a valiant Revolutionary officer, who had suffered many pecuniary losses in the conflict for freedom, on June 16, 1783, addressed a remarkably intelligent letter to General Washington, sending with it a petition to the Continental congress in behalf of himself and many other comrades, asking for the survey and allotment of lands to soldiers. General Putnam outlines in his letter to General Washington a plan of survey and allotment somewhat similar to the one afterwards adopted. He also states he "cannot approach any of the members, as he is unacquainted with those outside of the states of Massachusetts and New York, both of which states have public lands for sale which they are pushing on the market." Hence he wisely concludes "they will not favor any scheme for the settlement of congress lands that would in any way detract settlements from their own lands." He also "relies on the friendship of his old commander and companion in arms," and confidently expects from him all the aid he can consistently give.

General Washington in his reply admits the justness of the claim and the wisdom

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of the plan, but states that "the unsettled condition of the country and the conflicting claims of the states will prevent immediate action." He advises patience, and hopes "the soldiers will agitate the matter till the country recognizes them, and through its legislative council grants their just demands."

The patriots did not relax their efforts. Their continual agitation was felt by congress, who, recognizing their claims, urged upon the several states the surrender of their western lands for the common good of all, and thereby enable congress to fulfill its pledges.

By 1785 the various concessions then made were confirmed, and so confident was congress of the ultimate result of its requests that the act already referred to was passed, defining the mode of survey and settlement of the western territory. General Putnam was appointed one of the surveyors of the territory, but being at that time engaged in the survey of public lands in Massachusetts, he secured the place for his friend and military associate, General Benjamin Tupper. General Tupper left for the west in the autumn of 1785, intending to prosecute the surveys, but owing to Indian troubles went no farther than Pittsburgh. He returned early in the winter, fully impressed with the idea of a settlement in the west. He could not induce his friends to entertain the "insane idea," as one of them expressed it, of a settlement in that wild region, and for a time the general almost despaired. He thought of his old army associate, General Putnam, and visited him in his home at Rutland, Massachusetts. Here before a blazing hickory-wood fire in a capacious old-fashioned fire-place, whose polished and-irons reflected its abundant heat, these two veterans passed a long and memorable evening. Tradition says they passed the entire night. They recounted the dangers they had experienced in the war that just closed, and discussed the plan of a new settlement in the limitless west, where a few years of labor and privation would return to them the comforts they had lost in the conflict through which they had passed. The result of the evening's conference appeared in an advertisement in the Massachusetts papers of January 25, 1786, inviting all those who might wish to join a company to be known as the "Ohio Company," to meet in their respective counties on the fifteenth of February and elect delegates to represent them in a conference to be held in the Bunch of Grapes tavern in Boston, March 1. That day eight counties were represented by eleven delegates, who, after deliberation, appointed a committee of three to prepare a plan of organization. This committee reported March 3. Its recommendations were adopted, signed by all present, and subscription books were opened. Ten per cent. of the subscriptions were to be in specie, to defray the expenses of survey. The rest could be paid in continental certificates, then quoted at a very low figure. One year elapsed before enough subscriptions were obtained to assure the project. By that time Connecticut had ceded her western lands, except in the Western Reserve. This deed of cession quieted all titles of states to land in the west, and the company was at liberty to choose any unoccupied or unreserved lands it might desire.

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March 8, 1787, a called meeting of the shareholders was held in Brackett's tavern, Boston, when Dr. Mannasseh Cutler, General Rufus Putnam and Samuel H. Parsons were elected directors, and Winthrop Sarjent, secretary.

Dr. Cutler was authorized to contract with congress for a body of land in the "Great Western Territory of the Union," as the resolution expresses it.

The doctor left his Massachusetts home in his old-fashioned chaise, in June, for New York, where congress was then in session. At the same time the constitutional convention was in session at Philadelphia. Dr. Cutler bore letters of introduction to prominent men at both places. He found many plans on all sorts of questions before congress, and saw it would be necessary to use his best skill as a lobbyist. He was in truth a remarkable man, and peculiarly well-fitted for the task. A graduate in medicine, law and theology; an adept in diplomacy; a polished and dignified gentleman, everywhere respected for his attainments and learning, and above all a firm believer in the universal freedom of mankind, the doctor found use for all his versatile talents. So indifferent were many of the congressmen that the doctor could not secure an intelligent audience with them, and, almost discouraged, was on the verge of leaving and buying land of one of the states, when his friends rallied to his support and induced him to make greater efforts. Other persons came forward asking him to extend the limits of the company and purchase more land. These were admitted as associates, the doctor frankly stating their influence necessary to succeed.

One obstacle in the way was the uncompromising attitude of the New England members in the company on the question of slavery. While negotiations were in progress, the ordinance for the government of the territory came before congress. Dr. Cutler and his associates insisted on a clause forever prohibiting slavery in the territory. This was opposed by the southern members as inimical to the rights of all citizens The New England associates refused to acknowledge the right to deprive anyone of liberty, save in the punishment of crimes. Planting themselves on this principle, they refused to yield.

"Make the country a desirable place for us to live or we do not want it," said they.

"It must either be a free country, or we will go where the country is free," they said again.

The plan of purchase proposed by the company and its associates would not only extinguish about four millions of the public debt, but would place in an unoccupied part of the country an excellent, hardy, energetic class of citizens, who would soon share largely in the burdens of public progress. The intimation held out by the associates that they would buy of the states whose offers were at cheaper rates than then proposed by the government, and the necessities to do something to enhance the value of public securities had their effect, and tended to advance the ordinance for the government and the sale of the lands.

The ordinance for the government of the territory, commonly known as the "Ordinance of 1787," or the "Compact of

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1787," is one of the most remarkable state papers ever issued. No one can study its provisions and not be impressed with the breadth of their scope and the remarkable character of their statements. It has been declared that its provisions are more beneficial and more sagacious than the Constitution of the United States itself. It bears the marks of the master minds of the time, impressed with the fundamental ideas of universal freedom, education, religion and morality—the New England ideas of good and enduring government. It was passed July 13, 1787. Its most striking passages—those that fixed forever the character of the entire northwestern country, and which ultimately led to entire freedom for all in the United States—are those relating to religion, education and freedom.

"No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner," says the compact, "shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments."

Again it says, "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Its clause, the one which gave the compact its great reputation, one which has often been called the "Corner-stone of Liberty," the first declaration in a state paper against the rise and encroachments of slavery, carried in the face of all opposition, and without which Dr. Cutler said the land would be valueless, reads: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, provided always"—and without this concession the act could not have been passed, and Dr. Cutler was wise enough to concede the point to accomplish the greater good, trusting to time to complete the work—"that any person escaping into the territory from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

Of this remarkable compact Daniel Webster, in his famous reply to Hayne, said: "I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the ordinance of 1787."

It was the first emphatic and effective protest against slavery in America. Its influence, descending down the annals of time, sundered the shackles of every slave and eventually lifted into the glorious light of freedom more than four millions of bondmen.

The charter of the New England associates was not a silent law on their statute books. They were men of broad minds, many, liberally educated, and all determined to found a home where the principles they vindicated should be assured to them and to their children.

The way was now open, and, like their Puritan ancestors, they were ready to go. A contract was closed for one million five hundred thousand acres, which, by the advice of Thomas Hutchins, was located at the mouth of the Muskingum river.

Of this tract, two full townships were reserved for the benefit of a university; sec-

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tion sixteen of every township was reserved for the benefit of schools, and section twenty-nine for the support of religion. The contract was ratified by the board of treasury, October 27, 1787, and at a meeting of the directors November 23, it was ordered that "General Rufus Putnam be appointed general agent and superintendent of the company to supervise its western operations." Under him were "four surveyors, with twenty-two attendants, six boat-builders, four house carpenters, one blacksmith and nine common workmen." Twenty-two of these men, under command of Major Hatfield White, assembled at Danvers, Massachusetts, early in December; the remainder, twenty-six in number, under General Putnam, gathered at Hartford early in January, 1788. The first party reached Sumrill's ferry on the Youghiogheny, a small affluent of the Monongahela river, the place of rendezvous, some thirty miles above Pittsburgh, about the last of January, where the second party joined them about the middle of the next month. Work was pushed rapidly on a flatboat, three canoes and the *Adventure Gally*, afterwards called the *Mayflower*. This was a well-constructed boat, forty-five feet long, twelve feet wide, and built so as to protect the inmates from the attacks of Indians on the shores of the river.

On the afternoon of April 2 the little band of pioneers launched their vessels and began their journey. Stopping at Pittsburgh to secure a few necessary supplies, they floated out upon the placid bosom of the Ohio and began their downward journey on its clear waters. A little after sunrise on the seventh, as they passed Kerr's island, Captain Devoll remarked to General Putnam, "I think it time to take an observation; we must be near the mouth of the Muskingum." It was a dark and rainy morning, and the mouth of the stream was almost hidden in the dense foliage of the great sycamore trees growing on either bank. Before they were aware, they had floated past and saw Fort Harmar, which they knew to be at their landing-place, above them. They made fast to the bank, secured ropes and the friendly aid of soldiers, and turning the boat back crossed the Muskingum a little above its mouth. Here, about noon, this band of forty-eight men, the advance guard of western civilization, landed on the eastern bank, and the first permanent settlement by Americans was begun in the northwestern country.

The "Territory northwest of the River Ohio" has often been called the "New England of the West." The *Mayflower* of the Puritans landed on the bleak New England shore a sturdy race of men, on a dreary December day, in the year 1620; one hundred and sixty-seven years three and a half months after, the *Mayflower* of the Ohio company landed their descendants, an equally vigorous race, at the mouth of the Muskingum.

The Puritans of 1620 left their native country for one where they might "worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience." Their descendants, resisting all attempts to enslave them in both spiritual and temporal matters, were now planting the seeds of civilization whose growth should fill all the land.

Rude shelters were at once built. The woodman's ax resounded throughout the forest, the surveyor's compass and chain

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began their work, and the ground was stirred to receive the seeds of a vegetation that should sustain them in their daily labors. A month had hardly elapsed when the second band of emigrants landed, under the care of Colonel John Hay, who in his daily journal says:

> We landed about three o'clock at the mouth of the beautiful Muskingum. Our boat was forty-two feet long, and brought a company of twenty-seven men, two cows, two calves, seven hogs, nine dogs and eight tons of baggage.

The force of men now numbered seventy-five, whose vigorous labors soon began to show their effect in the new settlement.

A stockade and fort was begun for General Putnam and his followers, many of whom had fought through two wars and knew the necessity of incessant vigilance against a wary, dusky foe, who watched with jealous feelings the growth of the colony. Cabins were built at the "Point," near the mouth of the river, where most of the settlers intended to live, leaving the fort above them for the use of the officers' families and the improvised garrison, and for a place of safe retreat in time of danger.

June 5 James Varnum brought a number of emigrants, among whom were Mr. James Owen and his wife, to whom belongs the honor of being the first woman to settle in the territory. Women as captives, or as wives of soldiers and officers, had preceded her to the western wilderness, but none were before her in the *role* of a settler. For this fact, and for her generous bravery in nursing many settlers in the epidemic of small-pox that afterwards visited the settlement, she was presented with a donation lot of one hundred acres. The family remained in the settlement till after the Indian war, when they returned to the east to live.

She was not long the only female settler. June 19 six families arrived, and a home feeling began to pervade the colony. In August eight families came and others soon followed, so that by the time the snows and ice of winter closed navigation and largely prevented travel, there were in the settlement sixteen families representing forty-eight persons, and eighty-four men without families, or in all one hundred and thirty-seven inhabitants.

Law and order prevailed in this settlement from the beginning. Immediately after their arrival the settlers formed an association for order, promulgated a set of rules, which Jonathan Meigs was empowered to enforce. He published them on the Fourth of July by nailing the sheet on which they were written to a large beech tree that stood in a conspicuous place.

Arthur St. Clair, who had been appointed governor of the territory, arrived July 9 and was received with no little ceremony. He published the first laws for the government of the colony July 25, and as often thereafter as was necessary, promulgated new ones.

The cabins of the point and the garrison of Campus Martius were filled with an energetic set of men during the winter of 1788-89. There is no evidence that the children of the settlement received any public instruction at that time. There must have been, if the young men and women were counted, over forty children of school age. It is not probable they passed the long winter without some in-

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struction. It was, however, of a private character, given by the heads of families —the fathers and mothers who had children needing instruction. Religious exercises of some kind were very faithfully attended. At a meeting of the directors in the east, March 5, a committee was appointed consisting of Dr. Cutler, General Varnum and Colonel May, "to consider and report upon the expediency of employing some suitable person as a public teacher at the settlement now making by the Ohio company."

The committee presented an able report on the necessity of education and religious instruction in the new colonies, and, at the directors' request, Dr. Cutler agreed to find a man to go. He employed Rev. Daniel Story, a young minister then preaching at Worcester, Massachusetts. He became the first regularly ordained minister (excepting Catholic priests and the missionaries to the Indians) to settle and pursue his calling in the northwest. He agreed to go for a salary of five dollars per week and his necessary traveling expenses, and made ready to go in one year after his engagement. In the meantime, the colonists were not without the means of grace. As early as July 20, Rev. William Breck, a member of the Ohio company and a New England man, preached in the hall of the northwest block-house the first sermon to white men heard in the Ohio country. His text was: "Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people; for all the earth is mine, and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation"—a very appropriate text for a people planting the foundations of civil society in the wilderness. His text, from the law-giver of the Israelites, was one of peculiar force now, and to his sermon was given close attention.

On the twenty-fourth of August Dr. Cutler, who had come on a visit to the colony he had been so instrumental in establishing, preached a forcible sermon in the same place. He was so well known and so universally esteemed that almost every inhabitant of the settlement attended his services. When no one was present who could preach, services were regularly held, at which time some one of the associates read a sermon, and all engaged in singing and a general exercise. Many of the men were classically educated and were capable of appearing before any assembly, and among them were those much accustomed to public speaking.

The winter of 1788-89 was spent by the colonists in various ways. Amusements of many kinds were enjoyed. When the weather permitted, exploring and surveying parties were continually out in the wilderness about selecting lands for new settlements. The crowded condition of the Point and the stockade gave promise of a large settlement, and other sites were chosen.

Down the Ohio some fourteen miles the river describes an abrupt bend, enclosing a rich alluvial plateau, about which was a magnificent forest. The strip of bottom, high enough to preclude danger from excessive freshets, extended up and down the river several miles, and here a company of forty associates determined

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to locate. During the winter the lands were surveyed and allotments made, and by the first of April a few rude dwellings were ready for occupancy and the settlement began. Among its promoters was Colonel Ebenezer Battelle, an energetic gentleman, a man of culture, and one who eventually became prominent in public affairs. He built a log cabin in what was called the middle settlement. These settlers occupied considerable portion of country along the river, and were known as the upper, middle and lower settlements. Where Colonel Battelle lived was a beautiful prairie or plain, which in time came to be known as Beautiful prairie, eventually shortened to Belpre. Here most of the settlers lived. Soon after they were located, Bathsheba Rouse, daughter of John Rouse, from New Bedford, Massachusetts, gathered the children of the middle settlement together, and in a room in Colonel Battelle's house, which he gave for the occasion, opened the first school of American children known to have been taught in the northwest. History is silent regarding the daily routine of this school, but conjecture may be safely indulged, when the character and history of the settlers are considered. The New England speller, the New England primer and the New Testament formed the principal text-books used. All were taught that

"In Adam's fall
We sinned all,"

or that

"Death cuts down all,
Both great and small.
As runs the glass
Man's life doth pass,"

and an hour-glass gave the scholar an idea of time.

A picture representing two crowned heads, and one, a man with a staff, helped the pupil to remember that

"Young Obadias,
David, Josias,
All were pious,"

while near was a man kneeling in a repentant attitude, immediately in front of whom was a feathered biped, with enormously extended tail feathers. The scholar who hesitated to read the couplet,

"Peter denied
His Lord and cried,"

had the picture to aid his memory.

Farther on, a cut representing a horned individual, with a tail ending in a spear point, in front of which ran a youth, aided the pupil to read,

"Young Timothy
Learned sin to fly."

The bier and body of a king showed that

"Xerxes did die
And so must I."

At the close of these illustrated rhymes appeared the cut of a tree, in the branches of which could be seen a man, about whom it was said

"Zacchæus he
Did climb the tree
Our Lord to see."

By the time the pupil could recite the alphabet and read the small words and these rhymes, he was next instructed by a series of questions and answers, both tending to advance his limited biblical knowledge and aid his retentive powers.

"Who was the first man?" he read, and the answer, "Adam," was impressed on his mind. "Who was the first woman?" came next, and the answer, "Eve," followed. "Who was the first

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murderer? Who was the first martyr? Who was the oldest man? Who built the ark? Who killed Goliath?" and similar questions, with their attendant answers, gave the scholar his first lesson in Old Testament history, while "Who saves lost men? Who denied his master? Who made you? Who redeemed you?" and "Of what are you made?" gave him similar lessons in the New Testament. An "Alphabet of lessons for youth" came next, the initial letters of which began sentences taken entirely from the book of Proverbs.

Various rhymes, all of religious sentiments, followed, and then the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed and Dr. Watts' Cradle Hymn were added.

"Verses for little children," "Advice to youth," and the poem of Rev. John Rogers, illustrated by his burning by papal hands, while his wife and ten children were doomed to see them suffer without power to prevent. This was followed by a long dialogue between "Christ, a youth, and the devil," written in rhyming verse, which ended the poetical part of the primer. Next came that wholesome but unrelished and final part of the work, over which so many New England children, in and out of school, have worried and almost rebelled, and which they were obliged to memorize—"The Shorter Catechism." From "What is the chief end of man?" to "What does the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer teach us?" one hundred and seven questions in all, may not have been relished by all who were obliged to commit it, and who could not understand its theology; yet never a man or woman, who lived to mature years and who gave a candid opinion concerning it, was ever heard to regret its learning, and never one has been found who does not testify to the excellent mental drill it afforded the mind. Compared to some of the mental food now fed to children, it is unsurpassed, to say nothing of the moral force of its teachings.

The daily drill in the primer, the New Testament, in simple exercises of numbers, and other exercises calculated to improve the infant minds intrusted to her charge, was the usual routine followed in this pioneer school. Advantages were few and external helps still less, but they did what they could, and for several summers this young teacher gathered her little band together and taught them as well as she could. Bathsheba Rouse's school was continued through the summer and perhaps through the autumn months. The settlers were not inclined to have their children idle, and when in school they were much safer from danger than when roaming about the cabins. During the winter the older children attended school, and as the young lady was either occupied with the smaller children or was not sufficiently educated for the young men and young women, another teacher was employed for this purpose. When Colonel Battelle came from his eastern home he was accompanied by Daniel Mayo, from Boston, a graduate of Cambridge university, who, like many others, desired to build in the west the home he could not so easily secure in the older settlements.

Public sentiment was then averse to women not only teaching, but in many localities even learning the advanced

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branches, and this may have had its influence in the election of a male teacher. There was, also, nothing to prevent anyone from opening a school, if he or she could obtain the scholars. In this settlement, like its parent stem, at Marietta, the people were well enlightened, vigorous thinkers, and hence only an educated person could hope for success. Mr. Mayo, combining all the requisite qualities, could easily secure the necessary number of scholars and teach during the winter. He followed this avocation several sessions, from which it must be inferred he gave satisfaction. During the summer months he labored on his lot, as he could when not molested by the Indians. Eventually he married a daughter of General Israel Putnam, and settled in Newport, Kentucky, where his descendants yet live.

These two pioneer teachers obtained their support by what is, and what became for many years the usual means of support—subscriptions. Each parent subscribed one or more scholars, the tuition being graduated in price by the studies pursued. These subscriptions were paid in the only money current at the time, that is, any articles of barter the teacher could use. Board was provided by the patrons, among whom the teacher "boarded round," generally staying a week at a time. This practice prevailed for many years after in the schools of Ohio, and in some localities is not unknown yet.

The same winter that Mr. Mayo began his school in Colonel Battelle's cabin, Major Anslem Tupper taught school in the northwest block-house, at the garrison of Campus Martius, having for his scholars the officers' children and such families as were living there during the winter. Down at the Point, Jonathan Baldwin taught in a room in the block-house near the Muskingum river, and a Mr. Curtis also taught in a cabin that had been built for a cooper shop. Each of these teachers obtained what support he could, and each, no doubt, found his small improvised school-room full of scholars.

Across the river, at Fort Harmar, where were by this time a number of settlers, a school was also opened, but by whom tradition does not now record. Afterwards Mr. Baldwin taught here, and authorities are not wanting to claim his school to be the first at this place.

Schools were maintained in all these places during the summer of 1790, and as the Rev. Daniel Story was now on the ground, regular religious services were held, the minister dividing his time among the settlements as circumstances demanded. In July of that year the agents of the Ohio Land company appropriated one hundred and fifty dollars out of the public funds to be divided among Marietta, Belpre and Waterford, the last named a settlement on the Muskingum, established that summer on a fertile tract of country, north of Marietta. The money aided very much in enhancing the value of instruction, and was, as the directors intended, wisely used. Schools were continued at each of these points during the winter of 1790-91, the increase in emigration greatly increasing the number of scholars.

The Indian war that had been slowly gathering and greatly feared by the settlers, sudenly broke out, January 4, 1791. Immediately every settlement was put

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under martial law, and strict military discipline enforced. Nothing but prompt, decisive and effectual measures saved the settlements. At Belpre, "Farmer's Castle," a secure fort and stockade was built, while at Waterford settlement, Fort Frye bade defiance to the savages. At the Point a stockade was erected, block-houses built; and here, at Campus Martius, and at Fort Harmar, extreme measures of safety were secured and enforced.

These measures necessarily shut the people into small but safe enclosures. During the long war that followed, the schools were never once abandoned. The children were measurably safe in the school-rooms, usually some part of a block-house, and while there were not idle. The settlers firmly believed that

> "Satan will find mischief
> For idle hands to do,"

and acted accordingly. In April, 1791, eighty-four dollars was appropriated for the support of religion at Marietta, fifty dollars for the same purpose at Belpre, and twenty-six dollars for Waterford. A condition stipulated that Marietta should support the minister one year, Belpre seven months, and Waterford three and a half months. At the latter place Joseph Frye and Dean Lyler, well-educated men, taught school in one of the block-houses in Fort Frye, and on the Sabbath, when Rev. Story was not present, conducted religious exercises.

At Belpre, where Farmer's Castle was built, to which the most of the pioneers in the upper, middle and lower settlements gathered, Colonel Battelle's house formed one of the corner block-houses, and in this school was regularly maintained during the entire time of the war. When it could not afford room for all who desired to attend, a cabin was fitted in a rude but comfortable manner and used.

The settlements mentioned were the chief ones made prior to 1795, the close of the Indian war. But one other, that of John Cleve Symmes, who purchased a tract of land between the Miami rivers, similar to the purchase of the Ohio company, was made prior to the close of this war, that, during its continuance, almost stopped immigration into the Ohio country.

Symmes selected his purchase as early as 1786, but did not complete his arrangements till 1788. That summer he brought his first band of settlers and endeavored to found a great city at the bend, as it was called, in the river a few miles below the present site of Cincinnati. The projectors of Cincinnati outrivaled him, and the establishment of Fort Washington at that place decided the fate of the future city of the Miami valleys. No schools were attempted before the summer of 1790 in this part of the state. June 21 of that year John Reilly began a six months subscription school in Columbia, five miles above Fort Washington, in a cabin prepared for his use. It is probable that he pursued his calling during the next winter. By the next summer or fall his school had grown so that part of his scholars were taken by Francis Dunlevy, who taught the higher branches and who afterwards became a prominent teacher in Lebanon. This was continued till 1793, when Mr. Reilly gave the entire school into Mr. Dunlevy's charge and removed to Mill Creek. His cabin is men-

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tioned in Dr. Goforth's diary as "Reilly's School-house," and as such is the first mention of a school-house in the American settlements in Ohio. Mr. Reilly kept a journal, in which he records many incidents illustrating the life of the colony. He says :

> In the month of August I boarded twelve days with Mr. Patrick Moore ; in the month of September, twelve days with Hugh Dunn, and in December, six days with John McCulloh.

A number of settlers had gathered in Cincinnati by the year 1792, at which date a log cabin was built so as it could be used for a school-house, in which about thirty pupils were taught.

The foregoing narrative closes the beginning of the public schools of Ohio and the northwest. It shows that by the year 1792 there were three settlements in the Ohio company's purchase and two in the Miami country in which schools were taught. The congregation of the families caused by the dangers of the Indian war gave greater facilities of gathering the children together. It made an enforced idleness on the part of a few of the men, who improved the opportunity to teach such scholars as they could secure. As many of the settlers were educated men, they were all the more willing to encourage such efforts, and when a suitable person presented himself or herself, they were sure to gather all the children of school age (and the age was not closely scrutinized) who were not already subscribed. Their pay was whatever they could get, and was almost entirely in such articles of barter as the parents could secure.

The schools mentioned comprised all those taught in the territory until the close of the Indian war in 1795. Different teachers were employed, and the number of schools sometimes varied, according to the number of pupils who could be secured; but these settlements were the only permanent ones attempted until the close of that dangerous period. The influence of these schools was of a formative nature. They instilled into the minds of the youth the knowledge possessed by their parents, that an educated man is to be preferred to an uneducated one in any community, and that in the race of life the one with his faculties trained in a good educational course has a far superior chance of not only winning in the race but of doing infinitely much good while he runs.

A. A. GRAHAM.

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David Morison

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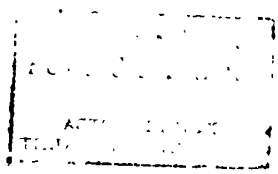

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DAVID MORISON.

WHEN political advancement by steady grades to a position of honor and responsibility comes to a man in a community in which his days had their commencement and where his youth was passed, it may be taken as a conceded fact that he possesses not only unusual capability, but a character that has been tried and proven and a reputation that stands fair in the sight of men. When this preferment comes at an early age it also argues much more, and shows that it has not come as a concession to a long life in party service or a reward of years in party toil. When the Republican party of Cuyahoga county, in the fall of 1887, looked about for a man who could retain the support of the people in a season when voters were disposed to be independent at the polls or remain altogether therefrom, it was no small compliment to David Morison, then on the sunny side of forty, to be placed at the head of the ticket as a nominee for the honorable and important trust of state senator; nor was that compliment lessened when the people, in the election of November, made him their choice by the expressive majority of 3,425 votes. The same qualities of sound business judgment, personal honesty, conservativism, and squareness and fairness even in matters of partisan discussion, led his own ward, the careful old Second, to make him its representative in the city council in 1877—a time when the city was more attentive to the character and bearing of that important body than, unfortunately, it has been upon many important occasions since. So well did he perform the duties of his office that upon the expiration of his term he was renominated and reëlected—a programme twice afterwards repeated, which gave him eight years of continuous service. His preparation for the careful and economic administration of the affairs of the people had been thorough in several directions. He was born in Cleveland, on October 16, 1848, of a Scotch-American parentage, and was thus equipped by natural gifts with some of the best gifts of nativity to which man can fall heir—the Scotch thoroughness and thrift and the American keenness and practical insight into things. His mother, Charlotte C. Bidwell, was a descendant of an excellent New England stock, and came to Cleveland in 1826. She was one of the founders of the old Stone Church society, and was a lady in all ways worthy of the high respect in which she was held. His father came to Cleveland in 1833, and was of Scotch descent. The early days of the son were passed in the public schools, and at twelve years of age he was sent to Oberlin, where he expected to finish its regular course; but before that time the death of his father compelled him to give up the purposes of an ambitious youth and take a place in the ranks of men. The management of his father's estate and the care of two sisters and a brother fell upon him, and kept his

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hands full for several succeeding years. Although not yet arrived at maturity, he proved himself worthy of the trust imposed upon him, and so carefully conducted the private business of the heirs as to show himself fitted for like labors in behalf of the municipal corporation. The highest compliment that could have been paid to his efficiency and personal conduct as a member of the city council was tendered him by that body when, after five years of service, he was made its president, in April, 1882. The choice met with the general satisfaction of the people, and the pledges of renewed faithfulness that he made upon taking his seat were amply fulfilled. In his remarks upon that occasion, Mr. Morison said: "I feel deeply sensible of the magnitude and importance of the position to which you have elected me. Forty-six years ago Cleveland emerged from its village infancy into a full-fledged city with a population of but little over five thousand. To-day, the second in the state, she has a population of over one hundred and eighty-five thousand. The council, as the sole legislative body of this great city, holds in trust its interest, welfare and prosperity. To preside over the guardians of so important a trust is indeed an honor, but that honor carries with it duties difficult of performance. While I shall in all things endeaver honestly, conscientiously and impartially to fulfill those duties, I feel that the task will be impossible without your indulgence, assistance and coöperation.

"Never did our city enjoy more unexampled prosperity; never was its growth more marvelous; never was its financial affairs more sound. During the last four years its (bonded) indebtedness has been reduced over three millions, and during the last two years, from the Federal census of 1880 to the police census of 1882, our population has increased over twenty-five thousand. It can excite no wonder that, under these circumstances, matters of interest and importance will in the near future demand your earnest and thoughtful consideration. Among these, I may mention, are an improved system of sewerage, the paving and repaving of streets, the extension of water-works, and new thoroughfares to the flats, rendered necessary by the extensive growth in manufactories. I may also mention the necessity of enlarging several departments of the city that they may be commensurate with the increased necessities of the public service. Whatever steps we may take in improvements requiring expenditure, we will be limited by the rate of tax levy allowed by law. The making of these improvements will call into exercise the highest degree of judgment and ability, ever keeping in mind the need of improvement and the jealousy of the citizen of increased taxation. Excessive taxation defeats its own end, and will strangle and cripple the growth and the prosperity of the city.

"In administering our trust it is our duty to use the same careful tact and policy that a careful and successful business man resorts to in the management of his business affairs. We must remember that we are not here as partisans, that we are trustees of the city, and that the city's affairs are to be fostered regardless of party considerations."

In addition to his services in the council, Mr. Morison was also an active member

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of the board of city improvements during several terms, being the representative of the council in that body during 1880 and 1881, and the citizen member in 1886. Among the measures for the good of the public completed or carried forward during his public service, and which received the aid of his judgment and vote, the following most notable are worthy of mention: The legislation by which Wade park was accepted and made available for the free and perpetual use of the people; the measures by which the great New York, Chicago & St. Louis railroad found a right of passage through the city; the authorization given the water-works trustees to purchase lands for the new Fairmount Street reservoir; the extension of the franchise of the Brooklyn Street railway line from Bank street through to Woodland cemetery; and it is due largely to his influence and labor that the old methods of cheap and uncertain paving were cast aside and the trimmed Medina stone introduced. The individual, minor matters of improvement of which he was the originator were numerous, but are needless to speak of in detail in this connection. His business training always led him to the sound view of any municipal question. He approached his duties as a tax-payer and a representative of other tax-payers, and never allowed his vote upon questions that were not purely politics to be controlled by partisan considerations and appeals to passion. Slow and careful in his deliberations upon any question, he did not commit himself until he had examined it from all points of view, and when once grounded upon an opinion, he was not to be led or stampeded therefrom until a better method or more useful way was clearly pointed out. Never parading as an orator, he could still express himself in a clear, clean-cut manner that went to the heart of the matter and appealed to the judgment and goodwill of his hearers, and made his speeches in council far more effective than those of other men who supplied rhetoric for logic and made flowers of speech take the place of sincere convictions. And let it be set down to Senator Morison's credit in these days of broadcast charges that, in all the heat of municipal contests, and the still more aggressive and less considerate campaigns of politics in which he has taken part, no man has ventured to make a charge against his personal integrity, or dared to suggest that he was ever connected with any scheme that was not square and honest or open to the free inspection of the world.

Mr. Morison was a Republican from the early days of his boyhood, taking from the first a deep interest in political questions and always having an opinion of his own. He has also, for years past, been one of those who believed that it was the duty o every good citizen to take a part in polit. ical affairs, and in consequence he has been an active worker in support of the principles and party in which he believes, and has been a member of committees having in charge a number of important campaigns. A hard worker, popular, endowed with many generous and admirable qualities of head and heart, thoroughly acquainted with the needs of the city and state, ready to listen to all, but controlled by none, and ambitious to do his duty

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and do it well, he will, beyond doubt, have a successful and useful career in the senate of the state, and justify the prophecies and expectations of those by whose suffrages he was selected.

J. H. K.

THE WILLOUGHBY UNIVERSITY OF LAKE ERIE, WILLOUGHBY, O.

THIS was a loud name for a "university" in a very small but very busy little village on the west bank of a small stream, or river, as it was then and is now called, that empties its waters into Lake Erie about twenty miles east of the Cuyahoga at Cleveland.

Chagrin, now Willoughby, was one of the first towns on the Western Reserve that organized a "circulating library." Its books were well selected. It had a large number of good histories, with good selections of works of fiction, travels, biographies, poetry, religious works, etc.

In the winter of 1833–4 a lyceum and debating society was established, in which lectures on various historical and other subjects were delivered, and the current political and social questions of the day were discussed. The lectures and the debates never failed to draw "crowded houses" and attentive listeners of both sexes. In 1832 Chagrin, for its population, had a larger number of intelligent and energetic business men and cultivated, interesting young ladies than any village in all the region of the lake. It was famous all over the "Reserve" for the beauty and character of its young society.

In 1834–35–36 "The Willoughby University of Lake Erie" was born of the "lyceum." Dr. George W. Card, Judge N. Allen, J. Lapham, esq., Mr. Samuel Wilson and a few others were its sponsors and godfathers. It had a regular faculty, board of trustees, president, treasurer and secretary. Its medical department—H. A. Ackley, M. D., professor of anatomy; Amasa Trowbridge, professor of surgery; Daniel L. M. Peixotto, M. D., professor of theory and practice of medicine, etc., etc.; J. Lang Cassells, M. D., professor of chemistry; William M. Smith, M. D., professor of *materia medica* and botany. Some of these professors of this young "university" were well known to the country and had made their mark in their professions. Dr. Trowbridge from northern New York stood very high as a skillful surgeon. Dr. Peixotto* was a medical author of the city of New York of acknowledged learning and ability, an elegant classic scholar, an eloquent writer and lecturer, and whether on literature, history or the healing art, was always interesting. In the wonderful science of anatomy Dr. Ackley was rapidly gaining an enviable reputation, and in after years was one

* Dr. Peixotto was the father of Benjamin F. Peixotto, esq., now of the city of New York, and our late consul at Roumania and at Lyons where he won an enviable reputation.

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of the most skillful surgeons in the country. Professor Cassells was for long years well-known in Cleveland. In 1835–6 the university had twenty-three students. Tickets for the lectures, $55; matriculation and library tickets, $5; graduation fee and diploma, $15; board from $1.50 to $2.25 per week. Five doctors were graduated in 1836 and four honorary degrees of M. D. were conferred.

A very good three-story brick building was built at Willoughby for the use of the "university," and its enthusiastic founders hoped to make it one of the permanent and useful institutions of the state. The legislature of Ohio had voted money to aid institutions of learning in southern Ohio, but I believe it has never been rightfully chargeable of doing anything of the kind for northern Ohio.

After some changes of professors at different times, and struggling bravely for a useful life, the professors thought it best to remove the medical school to the city of Cleveland, and it was established there soon after the year 1840–42, with Dr. J. P. Kirtland, the Delamaters, Dr. Ackley, Dr. St. John, Professor Cassells and others as medical teachers, and it was a success as a medical school. A medical college in a young and growing city like Cleveland, with professors of the ability of the late Dr. Kirtland, the elder Delamater, Dr. Ackley, Dr. St. John and Professor Cassells as lecturers and teachers could not fail of success. They were among the strong men of the land.

Let me hope that Dr. Elisha T. Sterling or Dr. H. K. Cushing of Cleveland will furnish you with a history of the Cleveland Medical college.

JAMES A. BRIGGS.

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HISTORY OF THE SYNOD OF THE WESTERN RESERVE.

I.—ORIGIN AND PRESBYTERIAL CONSTITUENCY.

THE northeastern portion of Ohio, comprising the Connecticut Western Reserve, was settled by immigrants from New England and Pennsylvania. Many of these early took measures to secure the enjoyment of religious privileges. The synod of Pittsburgh reached out to care for the spiritual wants of the new settlers. In the autumn of 1800 there were at least two ministers on the field, viz.: Rev. William Wick, a Presbyterian, and Rev. Joseph Badger, a Congregationalist. Others followed, and though they had been trained in different systems of ecclesiasticism, they cordially united their forces for the sake of harmony and strength. In 1814 the presbytery of Hartford, of the synod of Pittsburgh, was divided, and the presbytery of Grand River was formed, including the whole of the Western Reserve except six churches in the southeast corner. This Grand River presbytery was the germ out of which the Western Reserve synod grew.

In 1818 the synod of Pittsburgh divided the presbytery of Grand River, setting off that part of it lying west of the east line of Portage and Cuyahoga counties, and thus constituting the presbytery of Portage.

Again, in 1823, the presbytery of Huron was organized by the division of Portage, and apparently including all the territory of that presbytery except Portage county.

In May, 1825, the general assembly of the Presbyterian church by resolution detached the three presbyteries of Grand River, Portage and Huron from the synod of Pittsburgh and organized them into a new synod under the name of the Synod of the Western Reserve. The first meeting of the new synod was held in Hudson, Portage county, September 27, 1825. The opening sermon was preached by Rev. Joseph Badger from II. Corinthians iv. 5. The first moderator was Rev. Giles H. Cowles, D. D. The first stated clerk was Rev. William Hanford.

The new country was filling up with immigrants, and the new synod reached out beyond the bounds of the Reserve and even beyond the bounds of the state of Ohio to care for them.

It does not appear from the records how the synod became possessed of the presbytery of Detroit. But in 1827, when the synod was but two years old, we find this presbytery recognized by the recorded absence of its members from the meeting of synod. In 1828 it made report to synod, and we find the synod containing 47 ministers, 84 churches and 3,036 communicants.

In 1827 the presbytery of Grand River was divided, and the ministers and

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churches included in the county of Trumbull were organized into the presbytery of Trumbull.

In 1829 the presbytery of Huron requested to be divided that a new presbytery might be organized, to be called the Presbytery of Cleveland. After discussion the request was indefinitely postponed. But the next year, 1830, the request was again presented and this time was granted. The new body was to cover the three counties of Cuyahoga, Medina and Lorain.

In 1832 the synod met in Detroit, Michigan.

At the meeting in 1833 the presbytery of Detroit was divided into three parts and the presbyteries of Monroe and St. Joseph were formed. At the same meeting it was resolved to petition the general assembly to erect the three presbyteries of Detroit, Monroe and St. Joseph into the synod of Michigan, which was accordingly done.

In the five years of connection with the synod of the Western Reserve, the presbytery of Detroit had advanced from 6 ministers, 6 churches and 234 communicants to 19 ministers, 26 churches and 1,088 communicants.

In 1836 the presbytery of Cleveland was divided into three parts, and the ministers and churches located in the county of Lorain were organized into the presbytery of Lorain, and similarly the presbytery of Medina was constituted of the ministers and churches in the county of that name.

The same year it was resolved that the ministers and churches lying west of the counties of Sandusky and Seneca, which counties themselves are not on the Western Reserve, be formed into the presbytery of Maumee. This effort appears to have been abortive. The members of this presbytery did not appear in synod till 1840, when two of them were in attendance. In 1842 the members were recorded as absent members of Huron. In 1833 action was again taken, but *de novo*, and Maumee presbytery was formed, and thereafter lived, and remains unto this present (1887).

In 1839 Lorain presbytery was dissolved, and its constituency, both ministers and elders, incorporated into the presbytery of Huron. In 1842 these same churches, with those in the eastern section of Huron and Erie counties, were organized into the presbytery of Elyria.

The presbytery of Medina was dissolved in 1854, and its constituent ministers and churches were attached to the presbytery of Elyria, except two ministers who became members of the presbytery of Cleveland.

The presbytery of Portage, in 1863, was incorporated with that of Cleveland, under the name of the presbytery of Cleveland and Portage, and in 1866 the presbytery of Elyria was dissolved and its members were divided between the adjacent presbyteries of Huron and Cleveland and Portage.

No more territorial changes occurred, but with the five presbyteries of Grand River, Cleveland and Portage, Huron, Trumbull and Maumee, the synod came to the reunion of the Presbyterian church in 1870.

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II.—EVANGELISTIC INTEREST AND AGENCIES.

At the very first meeting of the synod the committee of bills and overtures submitted a proposition to form the body into a domestic missionary society, and a special committee was appointed to prepare a constitution of such a society, if they should deem it expedient. At the same time the synod sent a request to the general assembly asking permission to conduct its own missionary operations. It appears that this petition was granted by the assembly, and, accordingly, the next year the synod was organized as the "Domestic Missionary Society of the Western Reserve," with a constitution of its own and a board of directors to conduct its operations. The object was declared to be "to assist congregations that are unable to support the gospel ministry and to send the gospel to the destitute within the bounds of synod." It was recommended that all the congregations take a collection on the first Sabbath of January to aid the funds of this society. Three years later, in 1829, this Domestic Missionary society became auxiliary to the American Home Missionary society. At the same time a report was made to the board of missions of the general assembly. In 1830 was considered the question of leaving the American Home Missionary society to coöperate with the assembly's board of missions. The synod declined to do this, on the ground of the engagement already had with the society and because they were satisfied with its operations. At the same time the most cordial approbation was expressed towards the assembly s board, and it was distinctly declared that the churches were at liberty, if they so desired, to contribute to the board or to solicit and receive aid from it.

In 1829 the Western Reserve Branch of the American Education society was organized within the synod to aid needy, pious young men in preparation for the gospel ministry.

In 1833 there was formed "The Foreign Missionary Society of the Western Reserve," auxiliary to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Meanwhile the synod had expressly approved and commended the Western Seaman's Friend society and extended kindly hospitality to the Sunday-school union. All these organizations were on the ground by their agents soliciting funds and seeking to accomplish the objects for which they had been created.

Nor were the interests of higher education neglected. Before the organization of the synod had taken place, the two presbyteries of Grand River and Portage had appointed a joint committee to meet in Warren, April 16, 1822, to devise ways and means to establish a literary and theological institution. The afternoon of the preceding day was observed as a concert of prayer for the divine blessing upon the movement. While these two presbyteries were following up this matter as rapidly as they could, the presbytery of Huron was organized, and was immediately invited to coöperate with the

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others. The three presbyteries then appointed each four members, and these twelve men were, in 1826, incorporated as "The Board of Trustees of Western Reserve College." It was not strictly and formally a synodical movement, having been inaugurated before the erection of the synod. But it was begun and carried on by the three presbyteries composing the synod, the college receiving its charter within the first year of the synod's life. The trustees had sent a report to the synod at its first meeting in 1825, before its charter had been granted by the legislature, and at their first meeting under the charter they directed a report to be made. Thus the synod and the college joined hands as co-laborers, in the very beginning of the life of each. The presidents have all been members of the synod, and the college was the recognized agency by which the synod did its educational work. For a long series of years the synod each year appointed one of its members, chosen from the presbyteries in rotation, to preach a *concio ad clerum* at the commencement of the college.

The minutes of the synodical session of 1829 show that the synod took an interest in, and raised money for supplying the state penitentiary with regular preaching; deliberated on the duty of the churches to support their own poor; sought to find some means of aiding in the support of disabled ministers; took a recess to attend the anniversaries of the Western Reserve Bible society and of the Western Reserve Sunday-school union, and had a committee on the subject of forming a state temperance society.

The subject of slavery was often brought up in synod, and various courses were proposed to be taken in regard to it. The synod steadily bore testimony against the evil. But, in response to propositions to separate from the general assembly on account of it, it was insisted that it was better to remain and strive for the removal of the evil than to flee from the contest.

In its later years the synod considered the evil of feticide as a crime against nature and a sin against God; testified earnestly against it, and entered into correspondence and coöperation with physicians in order to diffuse abroad information in regard to the prevalence and wrong of the practice.

It appears, thus, from the records of this body, that there was scarcely a subject of living interest in its time, pertaining to religion and good morals, in which it did not interest itself, not only theoretically but earnestly and practically. One cannot read the record without being impressed by the manifest earnestness and devotion of the men who labored here for the building up of Zion and for the advancement of every good work.

Nor was the synod unmindful of the obligations of citizenship and the relations of the government of the country to the government of God. In 1861 the strongest sentiments were expressed condemning the southern rebellion, and the strong desire was set forth that the prevailing National troubles might be composed in such a way as to

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restore the Union unbroken, and to overthrow and destroy utterly the giant evil of human slavery.

III—PECULIARITIES OF ECCLESIASTICISM.

The synod of the Western Reserve was a "Plan of Union" body, *i. e.*, its churches and ministers were associated together according to the "Plan" adopted in 1801 by the general assembly and the general association of Connecticut. It is by no means needful at this day to discuss the expediency of this "Plan of Union." It has passed into history. The majority of the churches of the Western Reserve synod were Congregational in their internal organization, but they were associated in presbyteries and synod according to Presbyterian forms of government. It is evident that both Presbyterians and Congregationalists of that day, when the country was new and the churches were feeble, were more intent upon securing religious privileges and promoting the spread of the gospel than upon furthering the establishment of their own forms of polity. And the "Plan of Union" has this explicit testimony to its catholic fairness—that extreme Presbyterians denounced it for its Congregationalism, and extreme Congregationalists denounced it for its Presbyterianism. Between these two extremes was a large body of ministers and of churches who felt themselves edified by means of it. The ministers, of course, were regularly ordained ministers of the Presbyterian church. In the synod and in the presbyteries not only ruling elders were admitted to seats, but also members of standing committees in the churches. These standing committees were charged with duties much like those of ruling elders. A stranger visiting the Western Reserve synod would have observed no special ecclesiastical peculiarity except this—the most precise and punctilious adherence to Presbyterian rules anywhere to be found.

The synod was organized in 1825. In 1826 and thereafter to 1836 inclusive, the records were regularly presented in general assembly for examination, and were uniformly approved, except in 1833. At the synodical meeting in 1832 reply was made to certain allegations of the general assembly, to the effect that rumor charged the presbyteries with serious irregularities. The synod appears to have admitted that previous to 1830 some presbyteries had received members from corresponding bodies without requiring a profession of adopting the confession of faith of the Presbyterian church. But, after the resolution passed by the assembly of 1830 on this subject, they say they believe no such practice had obtained. They say, also, that they had no knowledge or belief of the prevalence of the practice of licensing or ordaining candidates for the ministry without their receiving and adopting the confession of faith. In regard to the allegation of irregularity in relation to ruling elders, the synod say that in the year then last past, more ruling elders had been elected and ordained than during any three or four years previously. They answer the charge of

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violating the constitution by saying: "Inasmuch as that constitution does not make the eldership essential to the existence of a church," and refer to the plan of union as authorizing them to receive churches with no elders into presbytery. This is the subject-matter of the only exception taken to the synod's records before the excision. But the assembly's committee certainly did not carefully read the records of the synod, or they would not have put in quotation marks, on the page directly opposite, what is not the language of the synod, either in identity of words or in sentiment. This exception is correctly quoted in Moore's 'Digest,' from the minutes of the general assembly. But it makes a false accusation, and manifestly did injustice to the synod.

In the history of the synod there are noted two other exceptions to its records. One alleges the omission of certain matter which is plainly spread upon the page, and the third one is illegible.

These facts are now history, and they simply show that the synod of the Western Reserve was accustomed to transact business with faithfulness and regularity.

It is not necessary here to detail the whole history of the acts of synod at the time of the excision. That is adequately set forth in Dr. Moore's 'Digest' and in Kennedy's 'Plan of Union,' a copy of which latter work is designed to accompany this sketch. Suffice it to say, that the Western Reserve synod did not take occasion to disband, nor to convert itself into a consociation and its presbyteries into associations. It seems quite probable that this might have been done if the erroneous views alleged against them had really prevailed; and at this day it is difficult to see why such a change, had it been made with unanimity, might not have been followed by happy results. But it is manifest that the ministers were earnestly attached to the Presbyterian system. The presbyteries, therefore, sent up their commissioners to the assembly of 1838, and assisted in the organization of the body which became the first of the New School assemblies. With these assemblies the synod walked till the reunion, not in perfect unanimity, however. In 1847 the presbytery of Grand river, and in 1856 that of Portage urged a withdrawal from the assembly on account of slavery, and occasionally a church would make a similar suggestion, and in the presbyteries some churches went off on account of this cause. The synod held that they could do more in behalf of the anti-slavery cause by remaining with the assembly, and in conjunction with other synods pushing that body onto higher ground, looking to the abolition of the obnoxious institution. Between 1850 and 1860 the southern element in the New School church sought chiefly to have the subject kept out of the assembly, but could never succeed.

In the later years of its existence the synod of the Western Reserve entered into arrangements with adjacent synods in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Penn-

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sylvania, in accordance with which it sent to and received from these synods delegates, who carried and brought fraternal salutations, and gave information of conditions and labors. This correspondence was found both pleasant and profitable.

IV.—PERSONAL MENTION.

It might seem invidious to select a few names only as worthy of special mention among so many names of men worthy of it because of their talents, manifest piety and devotion to the Presbyterian church; and yet there are some that ought never to be forgotten. While they are mentioned, let it be understood that they are but noble specimens of a noble class.

The Rev. William Hanford was elected stated clerk of the synod at its organization, and held the office for thirty years. Physically feeble and decrepit, he possessed an acute mind and unusual executive ability, and was especially earnest in seeing that the business of synod was transacted in an orderly, exact manner. His resignation was offered in 1855 on account of the infirmities of age, and was accepted with expressions of high respect, esteem and sympathy.

Mr. Hanford's successor was the Rev. Xenophon Betts. Mr. Betts was a man of rare gentleness of spirit, and capable of exact service withal, so that the office seemed to have lost nothing by transfer to his hands. Like his predecessor, Mr. Betts lived to a good old age, and in 1868, after thirteen years of service, he resigned the office on account of the disabilities incident to age, and with the highest veneration of the body he had loved and served so well.

The name of Rev. Joseph Badger, the first missionary on the Western Reserve, deserves to be held in lasting remembrance. His early labors extended from the Pennsylvania line at least as far west as the Sandusky river, if not to the Maumee, upon the bank of which his remains rest under a marble slab erected in 1857 by the synod. Mr. Badger preached the sermon at the organization of the synod. A volume of memoirs of his life was written years since by Professor E. P. Barrows, D. D.

Other names of original and prominent members were: Giles H. Cowles, D. D., the first moderator; Harvey Coe, Luther Humphrey, John Keys, Caleb Pitkin, John Seward, Joseph Treat, C. B. Storrs, the first president of the Western Reserve college; Simeon Woodruff, Enoch Conger. These names one hears most frequently spoken by the few survivors of the early times. In later years the history is graced by the venerable names of Ansel R. Clark, Daniel C. Blood, Dexter Witter, Joseph Merriam, Alfred Newton, D. D., Alfred H. Betts, Everton Judson, Professor Clement Long, D.D., LL.D., Presidents George E. Pierce, D. D., and Henry L. Hitchcock, D. D., as of Drs. S. C. Aiken, W. H. Goodrich, S. B. Canfield, James Eells, James Shaw, C. H. Taylor, J. B. Bittinger, Revs. E. C. Sharp, W. S. Kennedy, Samuel Wright, Dr. O. A. Lyman and many others who have passed on or still abide on this side in old age or on the down-hill side of life.

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But the time drew near when the synod of the Western Reserve, after forty-five years of labor, was to yield up its distinctive existence, to be merged into the results of reunion. In 1864 the subject was brought up in the synod, and a committee consisting of Drs. A. Newton and James Shaw and Elder S. H. Mather was appointed, to report at the next meeting. Accordingly, in 1865, this committee reported a series of three resolutions, expressing satisfaction in the fact of a disposition looking towards brotherly love and confidence, and advising both ministers and churches to study the things that make for peace, and not to be deterred from seeking reunion by obstacles, however great. These resolutions were adopted, and on the adoption the synod joined in prayer and praise.

The reunion movement went forward to completion. The last meeting was held October 19, 1869, in Ashtabula, and afterwards the territory occupied by the synod of the Western Reserve was occupied in part by the new synod of Cleveland, and in part by that of Toledo. Rev. Dr. William H. Goodrich was the last moderator; Dr. James Shaw was the last permanent clerk; Rev. William F. Millikan was the last temporary clerk, and the last stated clerk was the writer.

E. BUSHNELL.

TERRITORIAL BENCH OF MINNESOTA.

II.

DURING the administration of President Fillmore the Honorable Jerome Fuller was appointed chief-justice and the Honorable Z. Hayner associate justice of the surpreme court, both from New York. The latter held the office but a few months, and at the expiration of the term (to fill a vacancy) for which he was appointed returned to New York. He does not appear to have occupied the bench at any term of the supreme court, and the reports contain no opinions written by him. No sources of information are at hand to afford a more particular sketch of his life.

Judge Fuller was from western New York and educated under the old school of practice which there prevailed before the introduction of the code. He was an able lawyer and thoroughly upright judge, and was very highly respected and esteemed by all with whom he came in contact during his comparatively brief residence in the territory. A number of his opinions will be found in the first volume of 'Minnesota Reports,' which evince scholarship and judicial learning of a high order. His retirement from the bench of the territory was much regretted by the bar and citizens generally. He presided at only two terms of the supreme court, but legal business had then so increased that he probably performed more labor than

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any judge who had preceded him. After the expiration of his term he returned to Brockport, New York, and a few years later was elected county judge of Monroe county, in which is situated the city of Rochester, where resided some of the ablest lawyers in the state, which city has long been distinguished for the eminence of its bench and bar. The acquaintance of the writer was continued with him in that state, and he has ample evidence of the marked ability with which for many years he filled the position to which he had been elected and the very high esteem with which he was regarded by all classes of the community.

Under the administration of President Pierce the Honorable William H. Welch was appointed chief-justice and A. G. Chatfield and Moses Sherburne associate justices of the supreme court.

At the time of his appointment Judge Welch was a resident of St. Anthony and held the office of justice of the peace. As a lawyer he perhaps would not rank as high as either of his associates. Although of more than average mental ability, he lacked the thorough legal training and subsequent practice needful for the able jurist. This, combined with the fact that he suffered much from ill health, made him less prominent than his associates. Still his published opinions commanded the respect of the bar and are quite equal to the average of those in western territories. During his term he removed to Red Wing, and after the expiration thereof, a few years later, he died in that city.

The Honorable Moses Sherburne was born January 25, 1808, in the town of Mount Vernon, Kennebec county, state of Maine. He was the oldest son of Samuel Sherburne, of English descent. He was educated in the public schools and in the academy in the town of China, his native state. He commenced the study of law in the office of Nathan Cutler in Franklin county, Maine. After admission to the bar he opened a law office in Phillips, of the same county, in 1831, and soon became prominent in his profession. His strong abilities were soon recognized by the people and he was elected, first, as a member of the house of representatives, and, later, to the senate of Maine. He filled other important offices—that of postmaster, judge of probate of Franklin county and bank commissioner of the state of Maine. He was elected and commissioned as major-general of militia in 1842. The record of his life in his native state is an honorable one and shows the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. He received his commission as associate justice of the supreme court of the territory of Minnesota April 6, 1853, and in the following fall came with his family to the territory. He was not unknown to many residents of Minnesota and his appointment gave general satisfaction, and it was not long before the bar of the state learned that it had secured an able and incorruptible jurist. Coming as a stranger to most, he had no friends to reward or enemies to punish. His sole aim was to do absolute justice between man and man. He had no ulterior purposes to subserve. He might have thought of honors, in the future state, and allowed them sometimes to sway his judgment, but no man, so clean was his record,

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ever whispered he was influenced by such motives.

His character as a judge was tersely and truthfully summed up in an appreciative paper (to which we are indebted for the main facts in this sketch) read by the Honorable Henry J. Horn before the State Bar association in April, 1884:

> Judge Sherburne was eminently fitted for the bench by his thorough legal education and training, and his varied experience. His mind intuitively sought the merits of a controversy, and his quick and ready perceptive faculties led him soon to a correct decision. His opinions are clear, forcible and scholarly. Judge Sherburne's sense of justice was very keen, and he was scrupulously conscientious in discharging his judicial duties. It is related by an eye-witness that on one occasion, when he was about passing sentence upon a prisoner who had been convicted before him of a criminal offence, the defendant, who was a Mason, handed a letter to the judge which proved to have emanated from a brother Mason, and which the judge construed as an attempt to influence him by reason of this relationship. Judge Sherburne indignantly tore the letter in pieces, and sentenced the offender to the full extent of the law.

After his retirement from the bench, Judge Sherburne resumed the practice of law in St. Paul. He was much sought as a wise counselor, and his sound judgment could always be relied on. Nor was he less prominent as an advocate before a jury. To quote from the paper above referred to, "he was a very formidable antagonist in a jury case, and largely successful. In his appeals to a jury he rarely affected oratorical display, but was eloquent, nevertheless, and very clear in stating and explaining his case and his positions. He was earnest and frank in the presentation of his case, impressing the jury with the sincerity of his belief in the strength of his client's case. He stood in the front rank of our bar, and was universally esteemed and respected by his professional brethren."

He died, greatly regretted, March 23, 1868.

The Honorable A. G. Chatfield was commissioned associate justice of the supreme court of the territory, April 7, 1853, by President Pierce. This selection was, for the territory, the most fortunate that could have been made. The life of Judge Chatfield was a remarkable one, and deserves more than a passing notice.

He was born in Otsego county, New York, January 10, 1810. His maternal grandfather, Jonathan Starr, was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and was taken prisoner by the British while defending Danbury, his native place, and which was then burned. His maternal grandmother was of the Ruggles family, whose descendants number some of the most distinguished jurists and public men of New York.

Judge Chatfield was essentially a self-made man. His father was a farmer of moderate means and unable to furnish his sons with the advantages of a collegiate or academic education. But his thirst for knowledge was insatiable. When the day's work was over he was almost invariably found with his books, often studying by fire-light, and in this way fitted himself for entrance to Hamilton academy. By teaching a part of the time he was able to finish a course in that institution. He was thus prepared to commence the study of law, the profession which he chose. At the age of twenty-one he entered the office of Henry T. Cotton, in Steuben county, New York. The requirements for admission to the bar, at that time and under

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the practice then existing, were much more stringent than at present. Three years' study were required for admission to practice in the county courts—seven for admission to the supreme court. In 1833 Mr. Chatfield was admitted to practice in the county court, and formed a partnership with James Birdsall, esquire, at Addison, Steuben county, New York, and soon secured a good practice.

In June, 1836, Mr. Chatfield was married to Miss Eunice E. Beman of Addison, New York. Mrs. Chatfield, still surviving, is a most estimable, highly-educated and accomplished lady, and since her husband's death has resided at Belle Plaine, in this state.

Mr. Chatfield's large natural ability and untiring industry were soon widely recognized, and in 1836 he was elected to the legislature of New York. By a singular coincidence his brother, the Honorable Levi S. Chatfield, afterward a prominent politician and an eminent lawyer, was a member of the same legislature.

In the capacity of legislator, Mr. Chatfield soon made his mark. His valuable services were recognized not only by the assembly of which he was a member, but by his constituents as well. For three years in succession thereafter, both he and his brother were returned from their respective counties as members of the assembly. The high position he had already attained in that body may be inferred from the fact that he was made chairman of perhaps the most important committee of the session—that for investigating the affairs of the Erie Railroad company, to which the state had loaned three million dollars.

Four years thereafter his constituents again insisted—much against his will—that he should serve them another term, and he was again elected to the assembly in 1845. This was at the time when the anti-rent troubles were at their height. The intense excitement which these occasioned at the time is still well remembered by residents of that state. The most important committee of the session of 1846 was that appointed to consider the difficult question of relief for both landlord and tenant, growing out of the issues presented. Samuel J. Tilden was chairman of that committee and Mr. Chatfield a member of the same. The masterly report made by that committee, and which went far towards finally settling the serious complications which had arisen, was understood to be largely due to Mr. Chatfield's pen. He was elected during the absence of the regular speaker to fill his place for a considerable part of the session.

As another proof of the high regard entertained by the assembly for the eminent ability and integrity of Mr. Chatfield, it may be stated that at the close of the session he was appointed on a committee with the ablest men of the legislature to investigate and report on frauds alleged to have been committed in the enlargement of the Erie canal and other canals in the state. This was an arduous duty, demanding nearly a year's time and for which the compensation was nearly nominal.

Mr. Chatfield had thus given for several years the best portion of his life to the service of the state, and, it is needless to say, without any adequate compensation. He never sought office, it was forced upon him, and while he could ill afford to give

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so much attention to public interests, there was nothing selfish in his nature, and he sacrificed himself (pecuniarily speaking) to the great good of the public. His true vocation was the law. He was aware of this fact. The writer knows this from statements made by the judge himself. For himself it is doubtless true that he made a mistake in meddling at all in politics. For the state he so faithfully served it was an immense gain, for he served with no unworthy motive, but with an eye single to the interests of his constituents, and he left the halls of legislation much poorer than he would have been had he never entered them. Looking at it in a purely selfish view, his example might serve as a warning to young lawyers. Given an able lawyer of irreproachable integrity, he should never engage in politics, at least until he is ready to abandon the profession. But should this rule be universally adopted, what would become of the interests of the state?

Strongly averse as Mr. Chatfield naturally was to political life, he was not yet through. A constitutional convention had been called in New York in 1846. The constituents whom he had so faithfully served in former years imperatively demanded that he should assist in framing the organic law of the state. Against his own inclinations and interests he yielded, and was elected as a member of the convention. This convention was one of the most important that has been held in that state for a revision of the constitution. Radical changes were made, which need here be only referred to. Suffice it to say that he served on important committees in that body and his influence was felt not less than in the legislature.

This was the last political office held by Judge Chatfield. The large amount of time claimed from professional for the discharge of public duties, at the end of ten years left him nearly as poor as when he commenced practice. Opportunities frequently occur to those occupying legislative positions for the acquisition of money. These, by Judge Chatfield, were never for a moment considered. With him "a public office was a public trust." The unsullied purity of his political life was known and admitted by all. Had he remained in politica llife, there can be no doubt he would have attained not only the highest honors of his native state but a National reputation as well.

But an honest man cannot live and provide for a family on politics alone, and he felt the importance of devoting himself entirely to his profession. Wisconsin was then attracting much attention. In 1848 he removed to Kenosha, where he formed a partnership with Volney French, esq., and the firm soon acquired a large and profitable business. In 1850 he was elected judge of Racine county, but resigned after holding the office a few months.

In 1853 he was in Washington in attendance on the supreme court, and then made the acquaintance of our delegate in congress, the Honorable H. H. Sibley. The two men in character and tastes had many things in common, and a warm friendship soon sprung up between them, which continued to the death of Judge Chatfield. Mr. Sibley always had entire faith in the future of Minnesota, and prob-

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ably was more familiar with its unrivaled advantages than any other man in the territory. He impressed his views so forcibly upon the mind of Judge Chatfield, that the latter decided to make this his future home. Largely through the influence of General Sibley he received the appointment of associate justice of the supreme court, his commission being dated April 7, 1853, and in June following he removed to the territory.

He settled first at Mendota and immediately entered upon the discharge of his duties. How well they were performed during his four years' term, the state reports bear partial witness; but the unanimous testimony of the bar of the state bears still stronger evidence. At that early day, comparatively few cases were appealed to the supreme court. In all that were, Judge Chatfield wrote his full share of opinions. The student to-day, who peruses them, will seldom find one which has been overruled on any fundamental principle of law. Practice, owing to the code, was in a transitional shape. All courts, not even excepting those of New York, at this time were at sea on practice and pleading. Minnesota at an early day had followed the lead of New York in her code of practice. Judge Chatfield had participated more or less as a member of the constitutional convention, in bringing about that change, consequently when on the bench, he was prepared to consider and weigh the numerous objections raised when points of practice were considered.

But the chief labor of Judge Chatfield was at *nisi prius*. His district was a large one, embracing nearly every county then organized west of the Mississippi river. His first journey was on horseback, following frequently only an Indian trail. He was equal to every discomfort of frontier life and never murmured, but was always genial and cheerful under all circumstances, and never failed to make warm friends of all with whom he came in contact.

After the expiration of his term as associate justice, in 1857, Judge Chatfield resumed the practice of law. In 1854 he made a claim on the Minnesota river, and laid out a village which he named Belle Plaine. The location was beautiful, and the judge, with his associates, William H. Smith and Major Robert H. Rose, expended a considerable amount of money in improvements. The enterprise bade fair to be successful. But unfortunately, before the company were able to realize anything on their investment, the crisis of 1857 struck them, and, indebted as they were, left them utterly helpless. There was no money in the state, nor could it be had from the east on any terms. In that terrible crash thousands of the best business men in the state were irretrievably ruined. The judge saw the moderate savings of a lifetime vanish almost in a moment, and his future pecuniary hopes blighted. And then, far past the prime of life, in a new country, smitten by the blast of poverty, when very few clients were able to pay any adequate compensation for professional services, he had to commence life anew.

But courageously he took up the burden. His ability as a first-class lawyer would always give him a support, but at that day the highest talent could here gain no more. But the people had then learned

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the high judicial qualities he possessed. With one voice, as it were, without distinction of party, they demanded his services as district judge. In 1870 he was elected to that office for the eighth judicial district, which he held to the time of his death.

No terms of eulogy can be too extravagant in speaking of the subject of this sketch as a judge. His success in this position was due chiefly to his mental and moral qualities. With the highest order of intellectual ability was combined the sense of justice and equity, so strong that no sophistical arguments, however strongly and ingeniously marshaled, could obscure his moral vision. He delighted in the intellectual conflict, for which the arena of the bar gives so wide a scope; but his charges to the jury swept away all sophistry and technicalities, and not seldom left the eloquent advocate feeling that his time had been wasted—that he would have won his case had not the judge had "the last say."

The writer may here repeat the remarks he had occasion to make at the bar meeting of Hennepin county, called to pass resolutions of respect to the memory of Judge Chatfield.

During the first four years of his official life I saw much of him as a judge, both at *nisi prius*, and on the supreme bench, and, in both capacities, may safely say that he had no superior, either in the territory or state. He had in a remarkable degree all the qualities of mind befitting the judicial office—dignity, accurate legal knowledge, large experience as a practitioner, impartiality, entire freedom from prejudice, unimpeachable integrity and severe habits of application. It has been my fortune to have known, in their official position, all the judges who have occupied seats upon the supreme bench of the territory and state; and none has been so universally honored and beloved as Judge Chatfield. His uniform kindness, patience and courtesy in listening to arguments, and readiness to accommodate counsel to his own personal inconvenience, endeared him to an unusual extent to the younger members of the bar, who loved him with almost filial affection.

Judge Chatfield died October 3, 1875, at the age of sixty-five, at Belle Plaine, Minnesota. If further evidence was required of the high honor and esteem in which he was held by all classes of his fellow-citizens, it was given in the large concourse of distinguished men, from all parts of the state, to do honor to his memory at his funeral. And not these alone, but a still larger number of his neighbors and friends from Scott county, who had known and loved him for his many virtues and noble, manly qualities. Not only in the supreme court, but by nearly every bar association in the state, were resolutions passed, expressive of the high esteem in which the judge was held and of the great loss sustained by the state in his death. His native state he well and nobly served, but the ripest fruits of his high legal abilities and stainless character he gave to Minnesota, his adopted state, which she will ever recognize with profoundest gratitude.

ISAAC ATWATER.

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REMINISCENCES OF NATURAL GAS IN THE OIL COUNTRY.

THE writer's earliest recollection of the sky at night is of a bright flashing light in the northern sky, brighter than any aurora borealis he remembers seeing in later years. For ten or fifteen years he cannot remember a night so dark that his shadow could not be seen on the fences and sides of the houses from the reflection on the sky of the burning gas well some seven miles distant. This was the famous gas well in Cranberry township, Venango county, Pennsylvania, to which I paid many visits when a boy and played many games of ball by its light at night with as much ease as with daylight.

One of the principal winter amusements of our neighborhood was sleighing parties to the burning well, and for a number of years after the completion of the A. V. R. R., excursions would come from Pittsburgh and even from the eastern cities to Emlenton, drive out to Salem—six miles—in sleighs, take supper, go on to the burning well seven miles, dance all night in the open air, return to Emlenton in the morning and thence take the train home.

This well presented a very interesting phenomenon in the summer also. During the hottest weather the iron pipe through which the gas escaped would be encased with ice several inches in thickness.* Since natural gas has ceased to be a mere interesting freak of nature and is destined to play an important part in the commercial, mechanical, economical and social progress of the world, any facts bearing upon its early history and development cannot fail to be of interest.

It is to be remembered that natural gas, like petroleum, is widely distributed, and has been known in all countries and all ages. In real and storied life we read many accounts of burning springs and wells. And this may be the scientific explanation of the burning bush which Moses saw.

The country surrounding Baku, a seaport town on the Caspian sea, has been celebrated for ages for its flowing oil wells and burning springs. Many of these are said to ignite spontaneously† and burn constantly. From time immemorial these burning fountains have been visited by Parsees (fire-worshipers)—pilgrims. And at the present time many of these devotees travel thousands of miles to offer up their

* Any partial obstruction in a natural gas pipe, which backs the gas up so that it has a high pressure on one side and a low pressure on the other, will cause ice to form on that portion of the pipe containing the low pressure, owing to the rapid expansion of the gas. It is the same principle that is used in manufacturing ice. Wright says "that in some wells where it has been tested by the thermometer the temperature of oil as it comes to the surface is but slightly above the freezing point." It is not unusual to see pellets of ice discharged from the conducting pipes of flowing oil wells in mid-summer.

† In two instances, lately, natural gas wells have been set on fire by pieces of rock being thrown out of the well by the force of the gas with such velocity that, striking a piece of iron or other obstruction, a spark was struck, the well fired, and the men burned who were working on the well.

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devotions to the fire god. It is not in the province of this paper to give a detailed history of all the places in which natural gas has been found, but we may say that it has been found in Italy, Germany, Russia, India, Africa, the Island of Trinidad, in many of the South American states, and other places too numerous to mention.

In 1618 a physician of Toulon, France, published a work entitled 'Natural History of the Burning Fountain near Grenoble.' The weavers of Oriental Georgia have used natural gas for heating and lighting purposes for centuries. The salt mine of Szalino, Hungary, has been illuminated by natural gas for many years.

The Chinese, who deserve the credit of drilling the first oil and gas wells, have burned natural gas for centuries. A Catholic missionary in 1833 gave a very graphic description of a burning well in the province of Slo-Tchouch. The burning well was extinguished by turning a small lake upon it. The gas was then conveyed to houses and used for heating and lighting purposes through bamboo tubing tipped with earthenware so as to prevent burning of the tubing. The gas was also used for evaporating salt water and other purposes, and there was still a large amount not used which was carried away from the well by means of a chimney and burned.

Dr. S. P. Hildreth of Marietta, Ohio, in a paper published in the American Journal of Science for July, 1833, on the "Saliferous Rock Formation in the Valley of the Ohio," says:

> All salt wells afford more or less of this interesting gas (carbureted hydrogen gas), an agent intimately concerned in the free rise of the water and universally present where salt water is found. Indeed, so strong is the evidence afforded by the rising of this gas to the surface of the existence of salt rock below that many wells are sunk on this evidence alone. . . . In many wells salt water and inflammable gas rise in company with a steady, uniform flow. In others the gas rises at intervals of ten or twelve hours, or perhaps as many days, in vast quantity and with overwhelming force, throwing the water from the well to the height of fifty or one hundred feet in the air and again retiring within the bowels of the earth to acquire fresh power for a new effort. This phenomenon is called "blowing" and is very troublesome to the manufacturer. The explosion is sometimes so powerful as to cause the copper tube to collapse and to entirely misplace and derange the fixtures about it. By constant use this difficulty is sometimes overcome by the exhaustion of the gas, and in others the wells have to be abandoned as hopeless of amendment.
>
> A well on the Muskingum and ten miles above McConnelsville, at six hundred feet in depth, afforded such an immense quantity of gas, and in such a constant stream, that while they were boring it several times took fire from the friction of the iron on the poles against the sides of the well, or from the frictions from the augur, driving the workmen away and communicating the flames to the shed which covered the works. It spread itself along the surface of the earth, and ignited several combustible bodies at the distance of several rods. It became so troublesome and difficult to extinguish whenever ignited, being in this respect a little like the Greek fire so celebrated by Gibbon, that from this cause only the well had to be abandoned. In the days of superstition and ignorance this would doubtless have been attributed to the anger of the genius who presided over the spot and thus protected it from the unhallowed approaches of man.
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> At A. P. Stone's well, on the opposite side of the river, a little below McConnelsville, the gas rises in small regular puffs, averaging one every minute or two, causing the water to flow in jets from the spout as it falls into a large cistern below. The water rises in the head through a bored log to the height of twenty-five feet above the surface of the earth. Through a hole in the top of a small receiver or cup the gas rises in a constant stream, and when a candle or torch is applied, kindles into a beautiful flame, burning steadily until extinguished by closing the hole—affording in the stillness and darkness of midnight a striking and interesting phenomenon. It is

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supposed that this well alone furnishes sufficient gas, if properly applied, to light the town very handsomely. No petroleum rises with it, and very little in any of the other wells of this locality. The quantity of gas in different wells varies very considerably; all, however, afford sufficient to keep the water in constant agitation over the mouth of the well.

A few miles above Charleston, on the big Kanawha, great quantities of the carbureted hydrogen are slowly emitted through the earth. A tract of several rods in extent near the river bank is so charged with it that on making shallow cavities in the sand and applying a fire-brand it immediately becomes ignited and burns with a steady flame for an indefinite period, or until extinguished by covering it with sand. The boatmen, a rude but jolly race, often amuse themselves by tracing a circle in the sand around one of the company unacquainted with the mystery, and applying fire, a flame immediately springs up as if by magic around the astonished wight, which being confined entirely to the circle traced adds much to his terror and increases the delight of his boisterous companions. In a short time the sand beneath the burning gas becomes red hot. The neighboring women sometimes make use of it to boil their water when washing clothes on the bank of the river, and boatmen occasionally cook their food in the same easy and cheap manner.

This spot would afford a fine sight for the temple of the fire-worshipers of ancient Persia.

The above abstract from a scientific paper published more than half a century ago, shows that natural gas is no new discovery. It would be difficult, even at this time, to write a more accurate description of gas wells, their peculiarities, the dangers liable to be encountered in drilling them, as well as the many peculiar phenomena presented by them than Dr. Hildreth did fifty-five years ago. He suggested the propriety of using the gas for lighting purposes, and it was utilized shortly afterward as a fuel and used quite extensively for evaporating the salt water, more especially at the salt works at Tarentum, on the Allegheny river, above Pittsburgh.

The oil producers commenced utilizing natural gas for light and fuel almost from the first developments made in western Pennsylvania. It was used in both drilling and pumping wells and in cooking and heating stoves as well as for lighting purposes, by the early residents of the oil country. But owing, doubtless, to the temporary character of the oil towns, and there being no large manufacturing cities near the oil producing territory, companies for supplying cities and villages with natural gas for fuel and manufacturing purposes were not organized on a large scale until about 1871-2.

During the early years in the oil country the residents would connect their gas wells, first with their drilling or pumping wells, and then with their houses and possibly with some of their neighbors' houses. Frequently several gentlemen living in the same neighborhood would join in piping the gas from some neighboring "gasser" and make use of it in common. Probably one of the earliest uses to which natural gas was devoted was that of illuminating the numerous croquet grounds, one of which was the almost universal annex of every pumping oil well in the country. During the early history of the oil country most of the oil wells were pumped continuously. Two men were employed running "towers" of twelve hours each. They had nothing to do, the boilers were fired by gas, and the ingenuity of the pumper usually suggested some method by which they were fed automatically. And in order to prevent themselves from being consumed with *ennui* they devoted their energies to constructing croquet grounds, and their ef-

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forts in this direction were certainly crowned with success. The ground in the oil country was too primitive, and even when under cultivation, too hilly to make a success on turf, so that they were made of earth instead, and when constructed with a clay body covered lightly with fine sand, made a ground almost as perfect as a billiard table; and when surrounded by immense gas jets, I know of no sport so fascinating as a game of croquet by gas-light.

Among my pleasant recollections of the oil country are the evenings I spent out on the hill-side with a jolly old bachelor pumper, whose engine house was his home. There he slept, cooked and ate. He was his own cook, chamber-maid and tailor, and when he invited his lady friends to spend an evening with him at croquet, the supper he served was certainly not to be despised. His engine house was a model of cleanliness, and with his gas fires he could cook a beefsteak or brown a buckwheat cake to perfection.

To give a detailed history of all the large gas wells that have been discovered in the country would exceed the limits of this article, and I shall content myself to make a few notes pertaining to the early history of natural gas and detail some of the unique or interesting phenomena presented by it. I am largely indebted for the facts here presented, and even often for the language used, to 'Early and Late History of Petroleum,' by J. T. Henry; 'Petrolia: its History and Development,' by Andrew Cone and Walter R. Johns; 'Coal, Iron and Oil,' by Samuel Harris Daddow and Benjamin Bannin; also Pennsylvania and Ohio state geological reports, and numerous newspaper and magazine articles.

The village of Fredonia, in western New York, "has been lighted for fifty or sixty years by gas which issues from springs at that place."

Nearly forty years ago a resident of Main street, Findlay, Ohio, "finding so much gas in the well he had begun as to render it valueless for the purposes for which he had dug it, constructed a rude gas receiver, connected it by a few feet of pipe with his chimney, and burned the gas through a perforated gun barrel." This primitive arrangement for burning gas as a fuel is still preserved and used in the same room.

"On the upper Cumberland, in Kentucky, gas accumulates in such quantities beneath the sheets of lower Silurian limestone, that many hundred tons of rock and earth are sometimes blown out with great violence. These explosions have received the name of 'gas volcanoes.'" Throughout western Pennsylvania, at many places, large rocks are found split asunder, attributed to earthquakes; but is it not probably due to natural gas explosions?

Upon the McCalmut farm, on the north side of the Allegheny river, on the hill, is one of the deep pits from which Pithole took its name. "The openings in these pits or holes are from a foot to eighteen inches in width and from six to twelve feet in length; the size increases as it goes beneath the surface. The depth of these pits has not been determined; stones thrown into the openings roll and tumble as long as they can be heard. Snow never remains about these openings, but melts away at once. Throw a handful of leaves

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over them and they are at once carried away by the current of air which constantly arises from them. They have been penetrated some distance—as far as the purity of air would permit, which is strongly impregnated with gas." I have never heard any scientific explanation of their origin, or of any thorough exploration of these pits ever having been made. Yet may not they have some connection with natural gas?

In the year 1866 Mr. Peter Neff, esquire, drilled two wells in Knox county, Ohio, near Kenyon college. "One of these wells, which had never been tubed, constantly ejected, at the interval of one minute, the water which accumulated in it. It thus formed an intermittent fountain one hundred and twenty feet high. In winter it became incased in ice and forms a huge translucent chimney, through which, at intervals of one minute, a mingled current of gas and water rushes to twice its height. By cutting through the chimney at its base and igniting the gas in a paroxysm, it affords a magnificent spectacle—a fountain of water and fire, which brilliantly illuminates the ice chimney."

The phenomena presented by flowing wells vary greatly, no two presenting the same features. Some flow regularly all day long, as regularly as pulse beats, some flowing quietly with scarcely any perceptible effort other than the ceaseless splash of oil. Others, although flowing regularly, make a great fuss about it, the conducting pipe being constantly trembling under the pressure of the escaping gas. Many wells flow only at regular intervals, and I think this is the rule, some flowing every twenty minutes, others every hour, while some only flow once a day or even once in two or three days. It is often quite startling to be riding along the road and to suddenly feel the ground tremble, followed by a rumbling noise like distant thunder, gradually growing louder, until there is a sudden hissing like escaping steam from a locomotive. But soon the suspense is relieved by the splashing of the oil into the neighboring tank, revealing the cause of the noise, often churning the oil into a foam. I have often remarked the fear my horse exhibited when passing a flowing well. He would often almost become unmanageable until the splashing of the oil would reveal the character of the noise, when his fears were allayed at once, although the noise was much louder.

Anyone who has watched the phenomena presented by gas wells and flowing oil and salt wells can not but be impressed with the belief that geysers are due to the pressure of gas, and not to steam, or the ingenious theory advanced by the great German chemist, Bunsen, that it is to the "molecular action of hot water," whatever that may mean.

About 1868 a large gas well was struck at Cumberland, Maryland, and was accidently set on fire. It burned two years before it was extinguished. Mr. Haworth conceived the idea of manufacturing carbon from the gas. The well was leased, a patent obtained and the industry proved a great success.

One of the most tragic catastrophes which occurred in the early history of the oil country was the burning of the first large flowing well on the John Buchanan farm in April, 1861. This well had been producing oil for some time when it was

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decided to drill it deeper, and just after supper on the evening of April 17 word was sent throughout the village that a monster vein of oil had been struck and the roaring and hissing of the flowing well soon brought together a large number of people to see the "gusher," which was throwing the oil up over the top of the derrick at the rate of three thousand barrels a day. As there had been no provision made to take care of such a large amount of oil, laborers were put to work digging a trench around the well to preserve it. Many of the neighbors brought their shovels and assisted in the work, when an explosion occurred like an earthquake. The gas had taken fire from the Wadsworth well some eight rods distant. There were about ninety or one hundred persons standing around, many of whom were enveloped in the flames. Of thirty-eight persons burned eighteen died of their injuries. Other accounts place the number of victims as high as thirty. Many of those who recovered were disfigured or maimed for life. Among those fatally burned was Mr. H. R. Rouse, one of the proprietors. He was a man of much literary taste and culture, a student and the owner of a fine library. He was proverbially liberal to the poor and left half his princely fortune to the poor of Warren county. "He was a man of deep religious convictions but had little sympathy with many of the popular forms of worship. After the completion of his will and less than an hour before death, a preacher friend desired to administer religious consolation. Mr. Rouse replied: "My account is already made up. If I am a debtor it would be cowardly to ask for credits now; I do not wish to discuss the matter."

In the early days in the oil country burning wells were extinguished by covering them with earth, but not always with success, as the burning well about fifteen miles below Franklin, on the Allegheny river, proved. This well was located only a few rods from the Allegheny Valley railroad track, and when the fire was extinguished at the top of the casing, it commenced burning from the ground some feet distant and even on the surface of the river. This well burned for over three years before the fire was controlled. At the present time the fire is extinguished much more scientifically. I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Shackleton for the following description of the manner in which it is done:

> The fire at a natural gas or oil well is extinguished by pulling up to it a large smoke-stack with wires, which have been attached to it; then hoist the stack on end enclosing the fire in the stack, so that it will go through it and burn out of the upper end. Then lean the stack over as far as possible, so that the flame will be as far as possible away from a perpendicular line above the well. When you have done this, jerk the bottom of the stack away from the mouth of the well, and the gas will go straight up and the supply going the pipe will be cut off, and none being left to feed the flame at the upper end of the stack, it will naturally go out. Sometimes in doing this the fire will smother itself as you are erecting the stack over the fire.

It was early in the sixties when the Tar farm, on Oil creek, boasted a population of one thousand inhabitants—quite a flourishing little town with churches, school-houses, stores, dwellings, machine shops, etc. Natural gas was burned almost exclusively at the wells on this farm, as well as on the Blood farm adjoining. At the Lady Washington, as at a number of other wells in the neighborhood, "pipes were carried to a height above the tops of the derricks and ignited,

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thus burning the gas not needed for the engines, giving the flats at night a cheerful appearance."

On the Tipton farm, on the south side of the Allegheny river, the Enterprise Mining and Boring Company of New York city, in 1864, sank a shaft to some distance in search of oil. After expending about ten thousand dollars it was abandoned and a new one commenced a few rods distant. "The shaft was 7 by 9 feet in size, cribbed with six-inch plank to the bottom of the first sand rock and calked to keep the water out. Depth to the first or bed rock, 30 feet; next 10 feet, shale rock; next 10 feet, hard gray sand rock; next, 40 feet of slate and soap rock. Some indications of oil found in the shale above the sand rock and in the slate and soapstone below, but none in the sand rock. The sand rock was very hard and broken, with small crevices all through. The larger portion of the water came in through the crevices in the sand rock. As the water rises in the river, it rises in or about the shaft, requiring the cribbing to be kept tightly calked about it. Some gas was found in the soft rock below the sand, sufficient to light it in jets." The shaft was afterwards abandoned at the depth of one hundred and sixty feet, owing to an explosion of accumulated gas, one man being killed by the same.

I believe this was the last effort made to obtain petroleum by digging shafts, and all efforts to secure gas and petroleum have been by means of the drill since that date.

On the Leedham farm, on Johnson's run, in 1864, several large gas wells were struck. "The gas was carried to the top of the derrick, and when ignited at night could be seen at a distance of twelve miles. The other wells drilled in this neighborhood the machinery was all run by the gas obtained from these wells, besides lighting up and warming the engine-house, derricks, houses, etc."

If space permitted we might mention the wells drilled at Erie, Pennsylvania, about the year 1860. Gas was not found in large quantities, and was used principally for illuminating purposes. The same was true of the well at East Liverpool, Ohio.

For a number of years the largest gas well in the world was that of the burning well where Gas City is now located, in Cranberry township, Venango county, to which I have previously referred. I have not been able to learn the exact date upon which this well was struck. It is usually put down in the books as being in the spring of 1868, but I think this well was burning several years previous to that date. The mistake is frequently made of confounding this well with the gas well at East Sandy, which was struck in the spring of 1869. It also caught fire and burned for over a year before it was extinguished. The amount of gas produced daily by these wells is not known, having never been tested. The next large gas well that was completed was known as the Newton gas well, five miles northeast of Titusville. This well was finished on May 11, 1872. Mr. Henry Hinkley, at that time mayor of Titusville, and Mr. A. R. Williams and other capitalists conceived the idea of supplying the many manufacturing firms and families of Titusville with fuel. They bought

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the well and, when measured, it was found that it was producing over four million cubic feet per day. A two inch pipe was laid into the city, and on the "first day of August, 1872, it was lighted on the public square and was greeted by the citizens turning out *en masse* with a brass band and having a general jollification."

This was the first attempt made to furnish natural gas on a large scale for manufacturing purposes, and proved entirely successful. The two-inch line was soon found too small and was replaced by a three and one-half inch line, which is now in use. After some years the supply from this well became very much reduced, and other wells were drilled in the same neighborhood, which have furnished all the gas used in Titusville and neighboring towns.

A correspondent of the Titusville *Herald*, under date of September 3, 1873, gives the following graphic account of the remarkable gas well at Fairview, Butler county, Pennsylvania, which was the next large "gasser" discovered:

The roar of the escaping fluid was equal to the sound of Niagara, and the iron tools that had penetrated one thousand three hundred and thirty-five feet of solid rock were raised and tossed in the hole with as much ease as a skiff is rocked upon the surface of an angry ocean; so strong was the gas giant that one man might have helped the tools out of the well without the aid of an engine. A man might throw a one hundred pound rock into the escaping column and it would be thrown with ease to the height of forty or fifty feet into the air; an ordinary club might be launched into the upward stream and it would be toyed with as a fountain plays with a marble. It would raise a club seventy-five or eighty feet into the air, and when it would begin to decend it would be elevated again until it would escape the centre of the current, and then return to the ground. The voice of the giant can be heard for five miles distinctly, and it sounds like the approach of a train of cars on the railroad, or like the break when letting down tools into a one thousand five hundred foot well. In the hole is a little salt water, just enough to make the gas appear like blue smoke. The water under the force of the gas is formed into a mist, and on approaching, the well appears like a column of smoke, but "woe be unto him" who touches a match in the giant's face, for his breath is explosion, and when lit makes heat enough to melt iron. For a few weeks this well blew and howled and whistled, making night hideous and day tedious with its ceaseless "yells," until the arms of science opened to receive the wasting fuel. A twenty horse-power boiler was placed near the well and connected to receive it. To the boiler was connected a three and one-half inch tubing, which was laid seven miles to Fairview, Petrolia, Karns City and Argyle; to this seven miles of pipe was attached forty pumping and drilling wells, eight pump stations and different pipe lines, two hundred gas burners and forty cook stoves, all of which burn the gas from this well. But they do not use it all. The well is only a five-and-a-half inch hole, but the waste-pipe is a five and five-eighth inch casing, which fairly rings with the pressure of the escaping waste gas.

This well was completed in June, 1872, and the piping of it to Petrolia and neighboring towns completed the same autumn. Soon after this the Waugh well, near Millerstown, was completed, also the Bruin well near Thompson's Corners, Butler county, Pennsylvania, and the Delemeter No. 2 was struck in 1874 near St. Joe. This was probably the largest "gasser" in the world at that time. The gas from this well was piped to Sharpsburg and used in the Spang & Chalfant rolling mill and sheet mill at that place. This was a five and five-eighths inch pipe and about thirty miles in length. From this date the use of natural gas became so general that it would exceed the bounds of this paper to attempt to follow its further development. Its use was then recognized as one of the leading industries of the state; millions of dollars were invested

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in its production, and its use gradually extended to New York and Ohio.

As the use of natural gas became almost universal in the oil country, numerous companies were formed for supplying it to the drilling and pumping wells, also to the numerous pumping stations and for domestic purposes. When a new oil territory was discovered, there was a race between the various natural gas companies in laying lines from the nearest gas wells to the new oil towns springing up like mushrooms. The result of this competition was, generally speaking, lots of gas and low prices. But it was not long until the shrewd managers of some of the companies, instead of "rushing" the laying of lines to the new towns, "rushed" to Harrisburg and devoted all their energies to securing franchises to furnish gas to towns which yet had no existence. There are special laws enacted in Pennsylvania whereby new oil towns can secure a borough government, the appointment or election of a burgess and town council, thus securing the benefits of police and fire protection, postoffices, schools, etc., etc., almost before there is a house completed. While this is necessary and proves of inestimable value to the oil country people living the half nomadic life they do, yet, like every good thing, it can be put to base uses, and such was the use the gas companies made of these borough governments in the oil country. As an illustration of the methods pursued we will cite that of Duke Centre, McKean county, Pennsylvania. Oil was struck in that neighborhood during the year 1878, and by the following year the population increased from a saw-mill and two or three farm-houses to four or five thousand inhabitants. While John Cochran & Co. were busily engaged in laying a gas line from their large wells at Coleville to Duke Centre, the Duke Centre Gas company were busily laying lines in Harrisburg, and so successfully that when the Cochran company commenced making connections to the houses in Duke Centre an injunction was issued preventing them from doing so by the Duke Centre company, as they had secured a franchise granting them the exclusive privilege of furnishing gas to the residents of Duke Centre. As a result the citizens of that borough were obliged to depend upon wood or coal for fuel for some months, while this energetic company prospected for gas territory and finally piped a limited amount to the town, and the residents had the poor consolation of trying to keep warm at insufficient gas fires, and often in cold weather were obliged to burn, in addition, coal or wood to keep warm. At the same time their slumbers were disturbed by the escaping gas from the Cochran company's line just outside the borough limits, where there was enough gas hissing and screeching and making night hideous, as it burned to waste, to furnish half a dozen such towns. In addition to this the residents had the sweet consolation of paying from $3.50 to $6.00 per month per stove for the privilege of burning what little gas they were able to get through the small "burners" they were given at the above prices, while the neighboring village of Rixford, a town of fifteen hundred or two thousand inhabitants, who were not blessed with a borough government, were getting their gas for fifty cents and a dol-

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lar a month and were not obliged to use burners and could use as much as they pleased.

The neighboring city of Bradford, which was also blessed with a company having a monopoly of the gas supply of the city, was obliged for many years to pay from $6.00 to $9.00 a month for gas for each stove; but within the last year some arrangement has been made so that they have competition, and now gas is furnished in abundance for one or two dollars a month.

I presume the moral of this story is to beware of monopolies. Yet when I look back at this distant time and see what the results have been of free gas in Rixford and monopoly gas in Duke Centre, I am not sure but that the balance is in favor of the monopoly. With the monopoly certain restrictions were placed upon the pressure used, upon the methods of making connections, etc., while in Rixford there were none; everyone burned it to suit his own convenience or inconvenience. I have treated cases of typhoid fever in Rixford in the middle of winter in houses in which there was not a stove or other method used for burning the gas than a large jet burning in the room with no chimney or other appliance for ventilation. As a result of this careless way of burning it, accidents were common; persons suffering from explosions and burns were almost constantly among my patients from that town. Large fires were very frequent. While Rixford has been almost completely burned to the ground three or four times, Duke Centre has not suffered from any very large fire—a remarkable exception in the oil country.

Although I have seen many serious accidents from the careless use of natural gas, and I have gotten up the coldest mornings in the coldest winter and found it all frozen, and have been obliged to smash up old boxes, barrels, or anything combustible with which to build a fire and have even been obliged to eat a cold breakfast for the same reason, yet of all fuels for cooking and heating purposes this is the best. The amount of heat required can be regulated at will. There are no ashes, soot, smoke or dirt of any kind.

For lighting purposes it is not quite equal to manufactured gas, yet, with the proper burners it is very good, while the expense is merely a nominal one.

For manufacturing purposes it is the ideal fuel, and even if the price was double that of coal it would prove the most economical in the end for most purposes.

A leading manufacturer in Pittsburgh some time since told me that he was paying as much money for his natural gas as he did for his coal. "But," said he, "I dispensed with the services of three hundred men who were shoveling in coal and carting away ashes."

From present indications the outlook for the future of the natural gas industry is very encouraging. As we have seen, it is a product widely distributed. It is true that, like coal and petroleum, it will become exhausted in time. But this is a contingency so remote that it is not necessary for this generation to contemplate. The natural gas territory of Pennsylvania has not so far been well defined. Most of the gas now utilized has been discovered accidentally in searching for oil. The oil man

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long ago discovered that where there were large amounts of gas there was usually little or no oil, and he has consequently avoided gas belts in his prospecting for oil. But since its use has became so general and gas territory is becoming more valuable, we will undoubtedly find this territory largely extended.

In Ohio the amount of such territory already defined is very large, and now Indiana is following with some of the largest gas wells in the country.* Indianapolis before the end of another season will be supplied with an abundance of natural gas.

We will make no attempt to prophesy as to the future of this industry, but it requires no prophet to foresee that natural gas is the coming fuel of the world, and even though the supply should become exhausted, gas would be manufactured and burned in preference to returning to the use of coal; and if means cannot be devised to pipe it successfully long distances those cities located away from the gas territory will be obliged to manufacture it or lose their prestige as manufacturing centres.

I can not close better than by giving the first sight of Pittsburgh as described by Julian Ralph, the clever "German Barber" of the New York *Sun*:

A great yellowish white speck low down in the distant horizon ahead is the first sight one sees of Pittsburgh. That speck is a flame forty or fifty feet long and half as wide. It is the advertisement of a gentlemen's furnishing goods store on Smithfield street, the Broadway of Pittsburgh. The enterprising brothers who keep the store had a figure of "Liberty Enlightening the World" on the corner of their great new building, and when natural gas invaded the city they took the cumbersome Bartholdian imitation of a firebrand out of her hand, substituted twenty feet of gas pipe for it, tapped the main in the middle of the street, and now they send a man up a ladder every night, and he lights a match and raises it to the pipe—and bang! a section of the city is lighted as no electric light ever began to light any part of outdoors. And there over the city this great balloon-shaped blaze sways and pulsates in the wind all night, roaring like a giant's furnace.

Just so the river-side is illuminated by two great flames that jet from ordinary little tubes sticking out of the side of Duquesne Heights. It is wonderful to see the wind catch one of these masses of flame and wrestle with it and bear it down and roll it over and bite great yellow and white pieces from it and fling them away, patches of fire that look as if they were going to float along and keep their shape awhile as whiffs of steam do, but instantly they are gone.

This natural gas carries no odor with it. You cannot detect its presence even when the air is laden with it. It leaks from mains in the Pittsburgh streets, and, finding a vein of sand, penetrates to the cellars of near houses. Several times it has happened that a resident has gone down in the cellar of his house to look for something, has lighted a match there, and has seemed to become the centre of a convulsion of nature that has wrecked all the windows, cracked the walls and blown the doors off their hinges. In some of the mills and in the lot where the new jail is going up the gas jets burn forever. There is at least one town or city in this region wherein the street lights are never put out, because it would be a waste of money to hire a lamplighter after the original lighting.

This new fuel is valued in manufactures because of the intensity and evenness of its heating properties. One manufacturer said that in his opinion it will presently double the wealth-producing power of the industries in and near Pittsburgh by improving the quality of every product in the development of which heat plays a part. For use in dwellings and offices it seems equally desirable. I only saw it in use in one house. There I saw it in an ordinary cylindrical stove. A pipe emptied the gas in at the bottom of the stove where it used to be customary to keep the ash pan.

At first, when the owner turned on his new fuel and dropped a match in at the stove door, the top lid was shot into the ceiling, the door flew across the room and the dampers blew out. He is an in-

* The Consumers' Gas Trust of this city has already fifteen gas wells completed, some of which show a pressure of fifteen pounds at the mouth of the well with the pipes all open.

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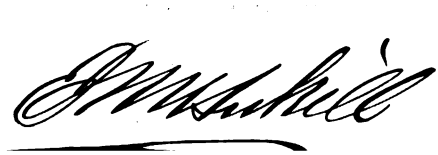

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genious person. He got a lot of bricks, broke each one in two, put the half bricks in the stove so that they looked like big coals, turned on the gas and chuckled to see how, as he expressed it, he had "fooled the stove into thinking he had returned to the old-fashioned way of getting heat." It fooled me also, for when the gas had been lighted in the stove for a few minutes the bricks became red-hot and looked precisely like coals.

A. R. BAKER.

E. M. HUKILL.

In casting about for a typical representative of the large oil and gas producing class of western Pennsylvania, attention is at once arrested by E. M. Hukill, esq., of Pittsburgh, who was and is a pioneer in both fields of production and a perfect cyclopedia of information upon every point concerning both of those wonderful gifts of nature to the favored people of this region. Mr. Hukill was one of the original producers in the once famous Oil Creek field away back in the days of '64, and has always kept in the van in developing new territory, until, to-day, like Alexander of old, he is sighing for new worlds to conquer, although fresh from the conquest of that hitherto *terra incognito*, the Green county (Pennsylvania) oil field covering a strip of territory many miles in extent. But of this achievement more later on.

The subject of this sketch was one of ten children of Gideon E. Hukill and Susanna McMurphy, and was born in New Castle county, Delaware, in 1840. Until the age of twenty-four he remained at home, during the last eight years of which time he, as the head of the family, his father having died in 1856, directed the operations of a large farm, improving himself meanwhile in such intervals of leisure as he could find with the limited advantages afforded by the common school system of that period, supplemented by a laudable ambition and determination to acquire an education.

In the spring of 1864, however, the innate activity of his nature asserted itself, and the yearning for a wider career than the narrow limits of a farm afforded led him to abandon the home farm and to remove his mother and her family to the neighboring village of Odessa, while the lover of agricultural pursuits started out into the world to carve out fame and fortune for himself. Naturally he drifted to Philadelphia, the metropolis of the little world of which he had hitherto been a part, where he soon found employment in a clerical capacity. But the routine character of his new-found occupation was no more compatible with his active temperament, fired as he was at this period with ambition to make a fortune, than was the farm life so recently left behind, and accordingly, in the fall of the same year the oil craze attracted him to the new field in western Pennsylvania, from which time his career may be said to have begun.

Mr. Hukill went to Oil creek, Venango county, the then seat of actual operations in oil, early in November, 1864, reaching there with but seven dollars and fifty cents. But with the demands for labor that then obtained, the young man speedily found employment, working at first as a day laborer

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and then as an *attache* of a surveyor's corps, employing his leisure time in outside ventures, so that within a month of his arrival in the new country he had established himself as a dealer in lumber and oil in a small way, gradually increasing his ventures until he soon became known as one of the largest and boldest operators in the region. From dealing to production was but a step for a man possessing the pluck, enterprise and energy of Mr. Hukill; and the transition completed, it was not long before he ranked as one of the most adventurous and successful producers of the entire region, which reputation he has always maintained and does to-day in all his operations.

In 1869 Mr. Hukill was married, in Jasper county, Iowa, to Mattie E. Lyday, a native of Washington county, Maryland, by whom he has had four children—Edwin M., junior, Lyday May, Ralph Vincent and Grace Watkins. During the ensuing two years Mr. Hukill continued his producing operations, but, removing to Oil City in 1871, he formed a partnership with J. B. Reynolds and S. H. Lamberton, and established the banking house of Reynolds, Hukill & Company, in which he continued an active partner until 1876, when the old spirit of activity, so long held in subjection within him by the demands of the more staid and conservative calling of a financier, asserted itself once more and he retired from banking operations to resume again the more congenial pursuit of prospecting for and producing oil, the ensuing five years being so spent, the last three, 1879, '80, '81, in the McKean country, or Bradford field. And this brings us to another epoch in the eventful life of Mr. Hukill, viz.: his abandonment, for the time being, of the oil interest and removal from the producing fields to Pittsburgh, where he became the pioneer in the production and utilization of that other and equally great boon to mankind—natural gas.

Since the discovery of petroleum, the oil men had not failed to appreciate the value of natural gas as a fuel, and it was continually utilized by them in their developing and production of oil, as also for domestic and general use in the towns and sections of country where it was produced; but as gas wells obtained contiguous to oil wells were subject to the same law of rapid decline and short life as the oil wells, it deterred capital from any attempt to pipe it to larger markets.

The Haymaker Brothers, with the aid of others, after an arduous task drilling in search of oil at Murraysville, in Franklin township, Westmoreland county, obtained, instead of oil, a monster gas well, in November, 1878; this well was allowed to flow into the air and waste for years, until the public became impressed that that was peculiarly a gas district and of permanence to warrant piping it a distance of eighteen (18) miles, to the great fuel mart of Pittsburgh; but it required the adventurous oil man to carry the belief into practice.

In the month of November, 1881, while sitting in the office of a friend in

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the city of Bradford, perusing the report of the late geological survey of Pennsylvania, Mr. Hukill discovered a chart representing Pittsburgh as the centre of a series of anticlinals. Coupling the theory, then slightly prevalent among oil producers, that territory covering anticlinals was more likely to produce gas than oil, with the fact that gas existed in immense quantities eighteen miles from Pittsburgh, the result was a faith in the possibility of finding gas nearer the city and the conception of a scheme to prospect by drilling these anticlinals with such purpose in view. Pursuantly he, with others, made publication in December of that year of their intention to apply to the governor (Hoyt) on the twenty-first day of January, 1882, or as soon thereafter as the department would hear them, for a charter to engage in the business of supplying gas—either manufactured or natural—for fuel in the city of Pittsburgh, the first regularly legal publication for such a purpose made by anyone, a copy of which was sent to the department of state.

But Mr. Hukill was surprised by an announcement in the Pittsburgh papers of the twenty-second of January that a charter had been granted the day previous to other parties for the purpose of supplying natural gas for fuel in the city of Pittsburgh; how a rusty publication made for another purpose some six months anterior could be modified and polished up to meet the requirements of the granting power, has never been explained to Mr. Hukill, but remains the patent of shrewd manipulators.

Evidently the move on the part of Mr. Hukill and his associates had aroused the dormant spirits of Pittsburgh, for notwithstanding the intense desire for natural gas fuel and the immense waste from the Haymaker well, Pittsburgh capital could not be induced to aid in bringing it in; and with the exception of a small pipe-line—for gas—laid by several manufacturers in 1874, from the Saxonburg gas well, in Butler county, to the Spang, Chalfont & Company Iron Works at Sharpsburg, nothing had been done in all these years to forward the great enterprise which has since become the boom and boast of the great manufacturing city.

Howbeit, the sequel proved the folly of the strategy which resulted in the grant at Harrisburg, on January 21, and the charter found its level with similar grants subsequently obtained, for the doctrine then held by some leading lawyers, of exclusive rights under priority of grant, was exploded by the higher courts.

The charter applied for by Mr. Hukill and his associates was obtained within reasonable time, but was never used by them and expired by limitation owing to the indisposition on the part of the associates to coöperate in carrying out the proposed scheme.

Most of the year 1882 was consumed by Mr. Hukill in an effort to introduce the "Strong process" of manufacturing gas for fuel into the iron manufactories of Pittsburgh, on the proposition that the capital requisite for piping the gas from a distance would much more than build the Strong plants, lo-

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cating them wherever needed and rendering the supply of gas for fuel cheap and reliably independent; but the result of this year's labor was to discover that manufacturers were very loth to give up the use of coal and accept a process of manufacturing fuel, not yet demonstrated beyond a question. But their faith was easy in the economy and utility of natural gas, and he became convinced that a manufactured gas for fuel might ultimately prevail, but not when and where natural gas abounded. Hence the abandonment by him of further effort in that direction and the turning of attention to development for natural gas.

In the meantime, and by the end of the year 1882, others, to-wit: Pew and Emerson, had entered this promising field, had drilled a gas well in the vicinity of Murrysville, from which they had laid a pipe line to Pittsburgh, and the natural gas fuel business was now an accomplished fact in the Smoky City. Once inaugurated, it had but to yield to the universal eager demand and king coal must seek another market.

In the month of March, 1883, Mr. Hukill took up his abode in Pittsburgh, and through the services of Professor John F. Carll, of the geological survey of the state, began the work of ascertaining for his own guide the definite location of the anticlinals on either side of the city. There is but little reason to doubt that this was the first enterprise conducted on the anticlinal theory, though such a mode of search for gas was popular for a year or two following and more stress was laid upon it then than in recent years.

Owing to Mr. Hukill's reticence, however, his plan of procedure was advertised but little, yet what follows will show that his action supported his belief. He located three test wells, the first upon the Brady's Bend anticlinal, in Shaler township, Allegheny county, west of the city; the second on the Waynesburg anticlinal, east of the city, on the line of the Pennsylvania railroad at Carpenter—now Adarra—station; the third on the same anticlinal about two miles north of number two well. The first and second wells proved to be —instead of gas—large water wells in the stratum that should have produced gas, owing to the rapid dip of the rock toward the south which placed it below the gas horizon and into the water vein. The third well was far enough north to find the gas strata above the water level, and was a good gasser. This and other gas wells drilled near it by him fixed the south limit of the now famous Murrysville gas belt. Meanwhile he assumed the probable course of the gas belt yet to be developed, sympathizing with the course of the anticlinal. He located and drilled a well on land leased for the purpose, about ten miles north and thirty degrees east of north from the original Haymaker well, which resulted in a good gasser and fixed the north limit of said Murrysville belt, in length about fifteen miles and at the time of this writing contains over one hundred wells, supplying gas for Pittsburgh and adjacent markets.

Apropos, let us remark that as some

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may chance to read this who are unfamiliar with oil and gas phraseology, it may be well to add that where development has fixed the limit and dimensions of oil and gas districts they are found to lie in a northeast and southwest direction, varying from a north and south line, from twenty degrees to forty-seven degrees, and in the great majority of cases the length is several times the width, so that the term belt is usually applied to a producing district. In the case of the Murrysville gas belt, developments have proved it to be about fifteen miles in length and varying in width from perhaps two thousand feet to two miles, while the general direction of its length is about thirty degrees east of north and west of south from a north and south line. The limits and bearings of these belts can only be determined by drilling of wells, and the first prospectors—who are commonly called "wild catters"—in any section taking up land and opening up a line of developments must assume a bearing and venture upon it until they can be guided by the results of drilling.

As the subject of this sketch has figured prominently as a pioneer or "wild-catter," his mode of precedure has been to assume a bearing upon conclusions arrived at in various ways, survey an air line for a distance across the country, and lease land on either side of that line and follow with the drill.

Several thousand acres of land thus acquired and tested by Mr. Hukill on the Murrysville belt, passed, in October, 1884, into the possession of the Carpenter Natural Gas company, the organization of which company was at that time consummated under a charter granted January, 1884, Mr. Hukill becoming its president and general manager; and its capital of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was, a few months later, increased to four hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This company, in the fall of 1884, laid a pipe line from the Murrysville field to the city of Pittsburgh, with a branch line running into McKeesport, on the Monongahela river. The enterprise was a prosperous and successful one up to September 1, 1885, when it passed into the possession of George Westinghouse, jr., Robert Pitcairn, *et al.*, and Mr. Hukill retired from the company.

The next enterprise which engaged the attention and services of Mr. Hukill exceed, in many respects, anything in the history of petroleum developments, and is notorious as "Hukill's Greene county scheme." In the early part of 1885 he discovered that one of his subordinates in the Carpenter Natural Gas company, Mr. J. F. Thompson, was a pioneer in early days in Greene county, Pennsylvania, a field that had never given much return for the labor and money expended, and at this time had been abandoned by all operators. Sundry consultations about the inducements this now neglected field offered, resulted in the forming of a trio of E. M. and George P. Hukill and W. H. Shackleton, and assigning Mr. Thompson the duty of taking up a considerable body of land there, and putting down one or more wells a little outside of former developments.

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Accordingly, Mr. Thompson, within a month or two, reported to his employers the successful completion of a good well. This well caused a ripple of excitement and brought into the field a number of other operators. Several wells were started and Greene county was once more the point of attraction for two or three months; but by this time operators became impressed with the belief that good wells were scarce in that delusive region, and they were reshipping their machinery to other and more promising fields, while Mr. Hukill had bought the interests of both his partners that they might escape the hazard of further venture.

Up to this time the only oil producing rock in Greene county was known as the Dunkard sand, owing to the fact, doubtless, that the first discovery of this stratum was in a well drilled near Dunkard creek, a stream that flows through that county and empties into the Monongahela river. This stratum lies about seven hundred feet below the surface, varies greatly in thickness and quality of sand, and is very unreliable as an oil producer, so much so that it does not justify operators in drilling it.

After the stampede of operators in 1885 and Mr. Hukill was left to hoe the row alone, he resolved upon deeper drilling to ascertain what producing strata there might be below, and upon a wider range of development. Accordingly, he had a line surveyed south, varying something like thirty degrees west of south, through Greene county, crossing the state line into West Virginia, across Monongalia county, thence across Marion county, and to the border of Harrison county in West Virginia, nominally forty-five miles, and leased land on either side of this line, until forty or fifty thousand acres had been acquired. Upon these lands four or five wells were drilled, some distance apart, to the depths of twenty-five hundred, twenty-six hundred and twenty-eight hundred feet, to prove what sand rocks existed, their position, their character and which was the probable oil sand. This was the work of something like two and a half years and ordinarily a work of six months, an exceedingly difficult task, attended with innumerable mishaps and delays, and aggregating a very heavy expenditure, all before there was any return in the way of production. But the nut was finally cracked and he was permitted to taste the sweets of the kernel, finding the oil in a lower strata.

A victory had now been achieved in solving the difficult problem of how many strata of sand rock there are, and which one produces oil. And this, the most extensive individual enterprise in the long list of oil operations, bids fair to be a very prolific one. The perseverance and tenacity of purpose displayed in this scheme of prospecting astonishes the boldest operator, for the faith that has prompted this untiring and unyielding effort has received no sympathy or encouragement whatever during the tedious ordeal, from either the scientific or practical observer.

The latest enterprise undertaken by Mr. Hukill has proven equally success-

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ful and profitable with his previous undertakings. Early in the year 1886 Mr. Hukill secured several thousand acres of land in Washington township, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, on the north portion of the Murrysville gas belt, and organized the Pine Run Gas company, Mr. Hukill becoming its president, for the purpose of supplying with fuel gas the boroughs of Apollo and Leechburg, on the Kiskiminetas river, and Freeport on the Allegheny river, including four large iron works and numerous small manufactories at these places. The apparent prospects for the company did not attract investors, and as a consequence Mr. Hukill and his associates were obliged to assume nearly all of the stock, the former taking over three-fourths of it; but the success of the enterprise has exceeded their highest calculations. The capital was subsequently increased, and the pipe line extended from Freeport to Natrona, on the Allegheny river, to supply the very extensive plant of the Pennsylvania Salt Manufacturing company—chemical and acid works—and the Pine Run Gas company is now a prosperous and growing institution, yielding large dividends to its stockholders.

This sketch would be incomplete without some reference to the remarkable traits of character that have conduced so largely to Mr. Hukill's success throughout life, the most marked of which, probably, is the wonderful will-power possessed by him, which, supplemented by a splendid physical vitality and energy of purpose, enables him to carry through to successful completion every venture undertaken by him. The governing law throughout his entire career has been a deep religious principle, a firm belief in an all-wise, directing Providence, to which he ascribes all his success. Endowed by Nature with a splendid physique, sound constitution and perfect health, he retains them all to-day, a circumstance he unhesitatingly declares is due to his entire abstinence from the use of liquor and tobacco in every form, never having tasted the former in any shape, and having an utter abhorrence of both.

Mr. Hukill is a man of strict punctuality in all things, and carries order and system into everything he does, not excepting, even, the routine of the home circle, and his delightful home in the beautiful and aristocratic suburb of Oakland is an ideal one. His punctuality, moreover, is supplemented by the strictest probity, and everything he does is characterized by uprightness of purpose, a fact that is attested by his associates and business acquaintances generally.

Although Mr. Hukill may be considered a good organizer and able to execute with rigid discipline plans previously matured, he has remarked of himself—and the remark is justified by the facts—that an effort to practice economy in the affairs of every-day life seems to dwarf every element of his nature, and that his success appears to lie in the conception of an enterprise and the carrying it through to a successful issue while dwelling but little upon the economies. Apropos, which phase of his

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character is his extreme generosity and benevolence, his gifts to church and charitable objects aggregating a large amount annually. And the practice of these principles has made Mr. Hukill what he is—a successful man.

F. A. LAYMAN.

GENERAL WILLIAM A. THROOP.

WILLIAM A. THROOP was born at Schoharie C. H., Schoharie county, New York, July 26, 1838. Seven years later the family removed to Syracuse, New York. While there, in 1854, he secured a position with the firm of Hall & Hopkins, booksellers, but on account of ill-health severed his connection with them in March, 1855, and came to Detroit, Michigan, whither his parents had removed some years previous.

He early developed strong purpose and self-determination, traits which distinguished him through life.

He soon entered the book store of John A. Kerr & Company, and despite many changes of the firm retained his situation until the call for seventy-five thousand volunteer soldiers issued by President Lincoln. He was the first Detroit man to respond, and on the sixteenth of April, 1861, only four days after the first rebel gun was fired on Fort Sumter, and the next morning after the President's proclamation, this young merchant, then in his twenty-third year, enlisted for three months' service in the First Michigan volunteer infantry.

At that time he was an enthusiastic and efficient member of the Detroit Light Guard, having joined that company November 9, 1858, and the drill and discipline there obtained readily procured for him a second lieutenant's commission in one of the Detroit companies that composed the new regiment.

The day after his enlistment, April 17, 1861, at a special meeting of the Detroit Light Guards, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That we, the Detroit Light Guards, tender our services as a company to the commander-in-chief of Michigan militia, and ask to be enrolled in the regiment called for under the proclamation of the fifteenth instant.

All the signers of the resolution were ordered to report to Sergeant Lum, who was made recruiting officer.

Michigan's quota under the governor's call was one regiment. Under that call uniformed militia were given the preference, and so highly was the privilege of membership in a company prized, that instances are on record where money was offered by persons desirous of taking places of company members.

The Detroit Light Guard was enrolled as Company A, Charles M. Lum, captain; John D. Fairbanks, first lieutenant, and William A. Throop, second lieutenant. The organization of the regiment was completed April 29, and on May 1 the command was mustered into the service seven hundred and ninety-eight strong. Prior to its departure from Detroit, the

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regiment was presented by the ladies of the city with a silk flag at a public meeting on the campus martius.

The regiment, fully equipped, left for the front May 13, and reached Washington May 16, being the first troops west of the Alleghanies to arrive at the capital. The President received them amid an immense concourse of people, and publicly thanked them and the commonwealth of Michigan for their prompt response.

The regiment was assigned the honor of leading the Union forces which crossed Long bridge, May 24, and began "the invasion of the sacred soil of Virginia." It was this regiment also, which on the same day drove in the enemy's pickets and captured a troop of one hundred and fifty rebel cavalry with horses and equipments, and occupied Alexandria, the first city taken from the rebels. In the battle of Bull Run, July 21, Lieutenant Throop and his comrades in General Heintzelman's division (Second brigade, Third division, McDowell's army) were in the hottest of the fight. Four times his regiment charged upon one of the heaviest rebel batteries, and they reached—says their commander's report — "the most advanced position occupied on that disastrous day." A survey of the field after the engagement showed that the dead of the First were nearest the enemy's works.

The regiment returned to the state at the expiration of its term of service, and was mustered out August 7. Only ten days later Lieutenant Throop reënlisted for three years, and bore rank from muster as captain of Company F.

The regiment, First Michigan volunteer infantry, nine hundred and sixty strong, left Michigan September 16, occupied the camp near Bladensburg during October, and was then assigned to Hooker's command at Annapolis Junction, to guard the railroad between Washington and Baltimore.

Here Captain Throop remained during the winter of 1861–62, and in April was removed to Old Point Comfort. He took part in the capture of Norfolk, then joined the Army of the Potomac on the Chickahominy, participated in the engagements at Mechanicsville, June 25, at Gaines' Mill, June 27, where he was seriously wounded, and was sent to Washington for treatment.

At Gainesville, August 28, Captain Throop especially distinguished himself in the heroic charges made on the enemy's batteries on the Warrenton and Centerville turnpike, where eight officers and half of the regiment fell. From that day's daring and fidelity, August 30, 1862, dated his commission as major.

In the memorable battle of Antietam, September 17, Major Throop participated, and at Shepardstown, Virginia, September 19–20. He was in the fierce winter contests December 13 and 14, at Fredericksburg. He took part in a reconnoissance on the thirty-first of December, 1862, crossing the Rappahannock by fording at Richards' ford, and re crossed at the junction of the Rapidan—was at United States ford, January 1, 1863—Burnside's second campaign, January 20–24.

At Falmouth, Virginia, March 18, 1863, he was mustered "by promotion" lieutenant-colonel of the First Michigan

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volunteer infantry, and the regiment assigned to General Hooker's command, First brigade, First division, Army of the Potomac. This was the brigade which, by eleven successive days of continuous field service before and during the hard fighting at Chancellorsville, May 1–5, deservedly won the appellation of the flying brigade.

After a few days' rest, May 28, this brigade was again upon the march, fighting June 9 at Kelley's ford, June 19 at Aldie, June 21 at Ashby's Gap, Virginia, and by hard marching reached Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, at 1:30 A. M., July 2.

The entire Fifth corps was in hot action that day, and the colonel being wounded soon after the opening of the engagement, the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Throop. An extract from his own official report of that day is as vivid as it is thoughtful of others and unassuming to himself:

> We left Hanover on the evening of the first with the brigade, marching during the night to a place near the battle-field of the second. On the morning of the second we were formed in line of battle, in reserve, where we remained until about four o'clock, P. M., when the brigade was ordered to the front. We were in position in line about 4:30 P. M., with the Twenty-second Massachusetts on our left and the One Hundred and Eighteenth Pennsylvania on our right.
>
> We no sooner had our line fully established than the enemy drove in our skirmishers and appeared in force at the edge of a wood, on our front, within two hundred yards of our line. We ordered our men to fix bayonets and commenced firing upon the enemy with deadly effect, driving them back after a severe fire of half an hour. They, however, soon returned and were a second time driven back with great loss. Our men stood up bravely under the storm of bullets sent against them, loading and firing as coolly as though on drill.
>
> We entered the fight with three field, one staff, sixteen line officers, and one hundred and twenty-five muskets. We maintained our line, repulsing and holding in check the enemy until 7:30 P. M., when we were ordered to fall back, which we did in good order, being relieved by a brigade of Pennsylvania reserves.

It is to be remembered that the stubborn resistance of a single corps—the Fifth—against overpowering numbers, that afternoon, enabled General Howard to hold Gettysburg, and so was turned the tide of the Great Rebellion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Throop, in spite of his wound in the second day's fight, not only held his place on the memorable July 3, but joined in the pursuit of the enemy July 5, shared in the action of Williamsport, Maryland, July 12, recrossed into Virginia July 18, aided in driving the rebels through Manassas Gap, in an engagement at Wapping Heights, July 21, and went into camp at Warrenton, July 27. On the eighth of August the regiment was at Beverly Ford, and on the seventeenth of September it crossed the Rappahannock, and, with the Eighteenth Massachusetts and a squadron of the Second Pennsylvania cavalry, occupied the town of Culpepper, doing provost duty, Lieutenant-Colonel Throop commanding.

The regiment remained at Culpepper until October 11, when the army fell back to Centerville. Later, at the battle of the Rappahannock, it was conspicuous. Of the regiment a correspondent wrote:

> On they moved, looking more as if on dress parade than in line of battle prepared for the fray, led by the gallant Colonel Throop. What cared they for the shot and shell as they fell thick and fast around them, sometimes throwing the sand into their faces, as one burst in front, or ploughed up the earth at their sides. Yet onward the whole line moved. By this time they had gained the banks of the railroad, directly under the enemy's frowning guns. The sun was sinking to rest, the sable folds

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of night were fast falling upon the scene, the cannon one by one ceased their horrid roar, and comparative quiet reigned, when, as if by common consent, the "battle cry of freedom" was heard, sounding like a death-knell to the traitors' hearts, followed quickly by the loud crash of musketry. The charge was made, the works scaled, and the day was ours.

February, 1864, two hundred and thirteen of the regiment reënlisted as veterans, and after a furlough from March 1 to April 1, under command of Colonel Throop, the regiment returned to its former camping grounds at Beverly Ford, Virginia, April 18, and formed part of the Third brigade, First division, Fifth corps, in Grant's great campaign of 1864.

The First Michigan took part in every engagement, was the first to give information of the enemy's proximity, and fired the first musket in that campaign, and for twenty-five days was not out of sound or range of musketry and artillery. On the first of May Colonel Throop moved his command to Brandy Station and on the fourth crossed the Rapidan at Germania Ford. On the fifth the pickets discovered the enemy in motion. Receiving orders to attack as skirmishers the regiment became engaged and drove in the opposed advancing forces. During the action, which soon became general, the First lost a considerable number of men.

During the next eight days it was almost continuously engaged in battle or skirmishing, sustaining large losses, especially at the battle of Alsops' Farm on the eighth, when the regiment came out of the engagement with only twenty-three men. It participated in the battles of Laurel Hill, Po river, Spottsylvania, at Ny river, North Anna, Jericho Mills, Noel's Farm, and Tolopotomy.

At the battle of Tolopotomy, May 30, 1864, Lieutenant-Colonel Throop received a third wound. None but those who took part in the siege of Petersburg can appreciate the severity of the work endured by the brave men identified with that long struggle.

On July 8, 1864, Lieutenant-Colonel Throop was recommended to the President for promotion to brigadier-general, by Generals Bartlett, Griffin, Warren and Meade, "for gallant and conspicuous services."

On the thirtieth of July, 1864, he received his fourth wound in action. Two days later, August 1, he was commissioned brevet colonel of the United States volunteers, "for brave conduct and efficient service in the battles of the campaign." He joined in the bold and dexterously executed movements made in repelling those most desperate but unsuccessful efforts of the enemy, August 19-20-21, to recover their prestige and lost ground, and on the twenty-second was ordered to take command of the First brigade, First division, of the Fifth corps.

He held his command during the autumn, and was appointed acting inspector of the First division of the Fifth corps, November 30, 1864, by order of General Warren.

He took part in the movement, December 7 to 11, to destroy the Weldon railroad, and on his return was mustered out of service and honorably discharged January 6, 1865, having earned a military record second to none. His worthy services were not, however, forgotten, and he was commissioned brevet brigadier-general United States volunteers March 13,

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1865, "for attention to duty and discipline." He was also tendered by the secretary of war an appointment as captain of the Twenty-eighth infantry (regular army) July 28, 1866. This he declined on account of business engagements.

After his return from the army in 1863, General Throop engaged in the stationery business in Detroit. He received, September 12, 1870, from Governor Baldwin, the appointment of quartermaster-general of the state of Michigan.

This office he efficiently discharged for five successive years, devoting much time and attention to bringing into existence and success the "State Museum."

In 1873 he was appointed receiver of taxes of the city of Detroit, which office he held until 1877 (two terms) with honor to himself and rare fidelity to the city.

After 1877 he devoted his time principally to real estate business and war claims, until a few months before his death, October 2, 1884, when he again engaged in the stationery trade.

General Throop's wound received at Gaines' Mills, June 27, 1862, proved very serious, and was lasting in its results. Never a day of his subsequent life was he free from pain on account of this injury. General Throop was always attentive to business, courteous to everyone, and genial in all his relations as a man and a citizen, a loving husband, a devoted father.

General Throop married, July 30, 1866, Mary J. Porter, only daughter of the late George F. Porter, an old and esteemed resident of Detroit. His wife and one son (who bears his name) survive him.

He was a member of Fairbanks Post 17, G. A. R., and of Detroit Commandery No. 1, Knights Templar.

The following war record of Colonel Throop is taken from Robertson's 'Michigan in the War':

THROOP, WILLIAM A., Detroit—Second lieutenant, First infantry, three months, May, 1861; captain First infantry August 17, 1861; wounded in action at Gaines' Mill, Virginia, June 27, 1862; major, August 30, 1862; lieutenant-colonel, March 18, 1863; wounded in action at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, July 3, 1863; wounded in action at Tolopotomy, Virginia, May 30, 1864; wounded in action before Petersburg, Virginia, July 30, 1864; brevet-colonel United States volunteers, August 1, 1864, "for brave conduct and efficient service in battles of the campaign;" colonel December 22, 1864; mustered out as lieutenant-colonel January 6, 1865; brevet brigadier-general, March 13, 1865, "for attention to duty and discipline."

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

A VALUED friend of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, in referring by private note to the sketch of Britton A. Hill, published in the January issue, says: "I am reminded of a letter received from one of my old legal friends; and I send it herewith, that you may judge whether we are at the end of the experiment so well stated by the champion of the supreme court." The enclosure is as follows:

"My Dear Sir:—I thank you for the copy of Mr. Bancroft's 'Plea for the Constitution of the United States, Wounded in the House of its Guardians,' which you sent me.

I have read it with a great deal of interest. It is a masterly treatment of the subject; it is unanswerable, except from the standpoint so clearly outlined in the sentence from Justice Gray's opinion quoted in Mr. Bancroft's introduction: 'The power to make the notes of the government a legal tender in payment of private debts being one of the powers belonging to sovereignty in other civilized nations, and not expressly withheld from congress by the Constitution.' But concede the pernicious assumption that congress may exercise all powers of sovereignty not expressly withheld by the Constitution; concede that the Federal government is not one of delegated enumerated powers; give up or condemn the old-time Democratic doctrine of strict construction and the judgment of the court is right. It is the legitimate outgrowth of the teachings of the New England school of statesmen, or politicians, as you like.

It is no satisfaction to know that that section of the country which had produced the strongest advocate of the doctrine that the Federal government is one of general powers, feels most keenly this practical application of that doctrine. But it will be a source of satisfaction if a contemplation of the probable consequences of the judgment of Juilliard *vs.* Greenman shall turn back in seareh of ancient landmarks that large and influential class of otherwise enlightened people who were driven from the political faith of their fathers, by the fear that they might be drifting in the direction of secession. This may be the beginning of better days, when a plea for states rights will not give the nightmare to good and patriotic people, and when they will see that a government of limited and defined powers will be really stronger for this country than the 'strong government' towards which we have been advancing with rapid strides during the last quarter of a century. But the present attitude of the Democratic party on this question is not assuring."

ONE reason why the Wisconsin State Historical society has become the great and useful institution it has become, lies in the fact that its officers and many of its members are imbued with an earnest and willing spirit to advance the cause of historical knowledge in all possible ways. As a result of this feeling, Madison, where the society is located, is filled with citizens who appreciate and aid those by whom the work is in charge; and is itself a centre of historical culture and activity.

THESE remarks are called forth by the fact that there has been instituted in Madison a series of "cotemporary club talks on the History of the Northwest," to be held semi-monthly and in which such men as Consul Willshire Butterfield, Reuben G. Thwaites and Dr. James D. Butler are to take part. The announcement of this series informs us that "something similar to what has been known in Boston for five years past as Old South Historical Work—consisting chiefly of the promotion, by the means of popular lectures to young people, of a more

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serious and intelligent attention to historical studies, especially studies in American history —the Contemporary Club desires to introduce in Madison." To this end, it has solicited and secured, for the opening course of lectures, the gratuitous services of several gentlemen whose daily studies are in the line of original historical investigation, particularly in the department of western history. The topic chosen has been the Northwest Territory—erected by the ordinance of 1787—its history being traced, in a consecutive series of popular talks, from the earliest times down to its final division into the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, the course closing with a talk showing the importance of the study of northwestern history and its position in general history. These historical talks are seasonable at this time, for it was just one hundred years ago—in 1788—that the first permanent white settlement was made in the old Northwest territory —at Marietta, Ohio.

THE Chicago Historical society is preparing for a fine building of their own. With the resources of money, pluck and patriotic devotion to the cause of history in their organization, the work will not be long delayed, and must of necessity be first-class in every respect when completed.

THE account of the inception, growth and present condition of Cleveland's old and honored historical society, found in this issue, and prepared by its secretary, D. W. Manchester, will be found to contain a great deal of matter of special and general interest. The next in this series will cover the record of the Wisconsin State Historical society, and has been prepared by its corresponding secretary, Reuben G. Thwaites. Kansas, Nebraska and Virginia are already in course of preparation.

THE growth of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical society, it may be said in connection with the above, is remarkable, and one might even say phenomenal, when it is considered that it has never received any pecuniary aid from the state or city, but has depended for support solely upon its members and friends. Many of the successful organizations of a like character throughout the country have the aid of the public treasury for the supplying of their needs, but no such fortune has befallen this one. That it should have won the high standing it enjoys, have accumulated so large and valuable a museum and library, and sent forth the publications that bear its name speak volumes for the energy, liberality and unselfish devotion of those who have had its interests at heart.

IN the paper upon the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, from the pen of D. W. Cross, esq., of Cleveland, in this issue, a great deal of new light is thrown upon a subject about which less is known by the present generation than upon any question of equal importance in the recent past. Mr. Cross's statements can be relied upon, for while in one sense he was a witness to the inside workings of many of the events occurring in that exciting movement, he has supplemented personal knowledge by research and a close study of the whole affair. The two papers prepared by Mr. Cross are of unusual historic value.

D. W. MANCHESTER, secretary of the Western Reserve Historical society of this city, was elected one of the vice-presidents of the Webster Historical society, at its annual meeting in Boston, on January 19. Honorable Joshua L. Chamberlain of Maine was chosen president, while Mr. Blaine, Senator Edmunds and Secretary Bayard are among its vice-presidents.

THE death of Horace G. Cleveland in this city on February 3, removes from an active and intelligent usefulness one whose loss will be felt in many directions, and whose companionship will be missed in many circles. While he was of benefit to many lines of labor, his interest in all matters of historical research and preservation was a distinctive feature; and those engaged in like measures of public good

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will best understand the extent of their sudden loss. Many friendly suggestions and words of advice have found their way into this magazine from him, and only a few days before the sickness that called him hence so soon, saw him in this office, full of life, and apparently in possession of many years of usefulness. Truly a good man and worthy citizen has passed away.

A COPY of number two of the annual publications of the Early Settlers' association of Cuyahoga county, is very much desired. Anyone having such copy to spare, or knowing where it can be secured, will do a great favor by sending word to this office.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

MR. MARSHALL AND CLEVELAND BUILDERS.

Mr. George F. Marshall has rendered this community a valuable service, and done fitting honor to a most useful and worthy class of citizens, in his instructive and entertaining paper on the "Early Builders of Cleveland," published in the January number of your valuable magazine. The paper has the real excellence of all historical writing—accuracy of matter, and discrimination and justice in the bestowment of praise for personal achievement. The good results to be gained by the present generation from such local historical narrative is vastly more than the simple preservation of the *facts* stated; the lessons of such labors and lives as those of the builders of our cities are a constant and wholesome inspiration to honest and persevering endeavor.

Doubtless, for the period covered by Mr. Marshall's paper, he has faithfully mentioned, without intentional omission, the names of all who, as master builders, have had any considerable part in the building of Cleveland. He takes up the subject at the date of the "Bridge War," which was, I believe, in the year 1836, and condenses into his essay the history of the succeeding half century. The building business, as a somewhat distinct calling in Cleveland, had been prosecuted before the year 1836. Among the earliest—perhaps the first—master or "boss" builders who wrought in the infant city, was the father of the writer—Wileman W. White. He came to Ohio from Berkshire county, Massachusetts, in the year 1815. With him came two worthy builders, mentioned in the "roster" of Mr. Marshall, S. I. Hamlin and Silas Belden. These three young men were fellow-apprentices together, learning their craft in the town of Lennox, Massachusetts. They came from the Berkshire hills in the winter of 1815–16, making the journey hither in a sleigh, with their chests of tools, and very little else. My father was the eldest of the three, and they together, with axe and broad-axe in hand, struck into the woods in Euclid, now East Cleveland township, and began to fell and hew timber for building purposes. They found a genial home in the log tavern of Job Doan during the winter. They built the first bridge across the Cuyahoga at Centre street. It was a mere raft anchored across the stream, called a "float bridge," and rigged with a draw to allow the passing of vessels. It was a temporary affair, and about the first spring freshet swept it into Lake Erie. So this destructive battle with the elements was the first "bridge war" on the Cuyahoga. The bridge was paid for by public subscription. The subscription list will be found in the Western Reserve Historical Association rooms, and also the contract with the vestry of Trinity church for the construction of the church edifice, built in 1829 on the corner of St. Clair and Seneca streets. White & Hamlin, who had formed a copartnership, were the builders of

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this structure. It was much the largest church edifice then built in the village. A fact curious to the present generation, and which illustrates the struggle for means of subsistence and exchange in that early day, is found on inspection of the subscription to the bridge, above referred to. Small sums of two or three dollars were paid and received in bushels of "wheat" and "black salts." Neighborhood "bees" were made to raise the heavy timbers of every considerable frame building at that time, and it was supposed impossible to conduct a successful "raising" without a good supply of the "ardent" to warm and lubricate the joints and tenons. In the case of this church, Hamlin, who never forgot the strictness and purity of his New England training, resolved that that building should go up without whisky. My father, who was more inclined to give way to the universal customs of the day, doubted the practicability of getting sufficient help without the beverage. Hamlin's resolution prevailed, however, and the church was "raised" without liquor. Both Hamlin and Belden were successively partners of White in the building business. They built all, or nearly all, the considerable buildings of that day in Cleveland. On the corner of Bank and Superior streets, where the Mercantile Bank building now stands, they built a building for "The Commercial Bank of Lake Erie." In it was to be placed a winding staircase. This was a novelty, and required unusual skill in carpentry for that day. For the necessary designs and computations my father was obliged to send to Boston for a work on architecture. He spent several nights over this manual in making his plans for the staircase. Nothing better shows the primitive condition of architectural work here; and yet, as Mr. Marshall says, every large building, and most small ones, were modeled strictly after some standard style of architecture, the Doric order prevailing.

My father lived on the corner of Bank and Lake streets until the year 1835, when he moved to Newburgh, where he had purchased land and built a saw-mill near the Ohio canal, and where he lived until the year 1842, when his active and useful life ended.

Very truly yours,

HENRY C. WHITE.

JANUARY 22, 1888.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

FACTS ABOUT THE WHISKEY REBELLION.

Your editorial remarks regarding the "Whiskey Insurrection," p. 234, are not all strictly correct. You are mistaken when, writing of the excise law of March 3, 1791, you say: "It was the *first* law of the kind ever passed in this country." In the debates in congress of the confederation, on January 29, 1783, James Wilson of Pennsylvania said: "An excise had been mentioned. In general, this species of taxation was tyrannical and justly obnoxious, but in certain forms had been found consistent with the policy of the freest states. In Massachusetts, a state remarkably jealous of its liberty, an excise was not only admitted before, but continued since, the revolution. The same was the case with Pennsylvania, also remarkable for its freedom. An excise, if so modified as not to offend the spirit of liberty, may be considered as an object of easy and equal revenue." See 'Elliot's Debates,' Vol. V., p. 40. In the Pennsylvania convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, on December 11, 1787, he said: "An excise, in its very principles, is an improper tax, if it could be avoided; but yet it has been a source of revenue in Pennsylvania, both before the revolution and since; during all which time we have enjoyed the benefit of free government." *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 502. The last excise law of Pennsylvania here referred to went into operation January 1, 1778, and was not repealed until September 21, 1791. Connecticut also had an excise law.

The United States revenue act of 1791 was very different from the English excise law; the latter took away trial by jury; by the United States law it was expressly reserved. The English law permitted the right of search at any

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moment, day or night; the United States allowed no search but in the daytime, by virtue of an oath before a magistrate, and then only in company with a civil officer, and, even then, no building or apartment could be searched if it entered and designated in the return made by the distiller and denoted by a sign. These show some of the differences of the English and United States excise acts; in the last, all the rights of the citizens were jealously guarded.

I do not recollect ever having heard it said that the revenue law was "a scheme devised by Hamilton for the express purpose of testing the power of the new Federal government," and will only say that such a charge is as false as it is monstrous! The revenue act was absolutely necessary to pay off the Revolutionary war debt and the expense of the Indian war for the defense of the frontier. I. C.

ALLEGHENY, PA.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

THE FILSON CLUB.

THE following may be of interest as further illustrating the work of the Filson club of Louisville, Kentucky, of which we made extended mention last month: "While each member is at liberty to bring before the club a paper on any subject he may wish, there is yet a system in the selection of subjects, with a view to having the prepared articles cover, in detail, the whole period of Kentucky history To this end, subjects are assigned to different members, so that when the work done in detail is brought together a complete history of the state will be formed. Under this arrangement separate monographs are now being prepared on the geological history of the state, the pre-historic inhabitants, the Indians, the itinerants and explorers, the first settlers, the domestic life of the pioneers, the pioneer schools, the currency, the law and lawyers, the courts and judges, the physicians and medicine, the mountaineers, the Baptist church, the Presbyterian church, the Catholic church, the Episcopal church, the Methodist church, the amusements and local intercourse, the intrigues of foreign nations, the separation of Kentucky from Virginia, the religious excitement of the beginning of the century, etc. To these are added the biographies of leading individuals whose lives help to make up the history of the state. In this systematic assignment of subjects, it is believed that the whole history of the state will eventually be gathered together in the archives of the club and form the great storehouse from which the future historian can draw ample and reliable material."

WISCONSIN SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING.

THE thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Wisconsin State Historical society was held at the society rooms in Madison on January 5, 1888. From the report of Secretary Thwaites, then presented, the following random facts have been gleaned:

The annual appropriation of $5,000, constituting the general fund, has been spent as usual in meeting the current expenses of the year—chiefly book purchases, salary of second assistant librarian, freight and express, etc. The binding fund now consists of $21,294.67, counting in the appraised value of a section of Texas land, a few notes as yet unpaid, and a bequest of $1,000 not yet available. The income of the fund during the year was $1,185.82, from which was appropriated $250 for binding. The sum of $600 will be spent for this purpose during the current year. The antiquarian fund, established only a year ago, has reached the sum of $450.35. The secretary makes a vigorous appeal for donations to this eminently useful fund, the income from which is to be devoted to the procuring of Wisconsin antiquities, manuscripts or other objects of historic interest, and historical investigations within the state. The library additions for the year have been 2,787 volumes and 1,996 pamphlets, a total 4,783 books and pamphlets, against an average of 4,622 per annum for the past decade. The present strength of the library is 60,722 volumes and 62,727 pamphlets—a grand total of 123,449. The strength of the institution may be best realized by citing that of a few of the departments: Bound newspaper files—fountain sources of modern history—5,240, reaching back to the year 1650; British and American patent reports, 4,717; genealogy and heraldry, 1,092; Shakespearean literature, 895; maps and atlases, 1,000; literature on the rebellion and slavery, nearly 2,000; while in Americana generally, but two other libraries in the United States, and they on the Atlantic coast, can surpass the Wisconsin collections.

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The annual election then occurred, with the following results:

Vice-president, in place of Honorable Morgan L. Martin of Green Bay, deceased—Senator Philetus Sawyer of Oshkosh.

Curator for two years, to succeed Samuel Klauber, deceased—Honorable John B. Cassoday, associate justice of the supreme court.

Curators for the term of three years—Lyman C. Draper, LL. D., James D. Butler, LL. D., Honorable Buell E. Hutchinson, Honorable John D. Gurnee, Honorable N. B. Van Slyke, General Chandler P. Chapman, Honorable H. H. Giles, Professor J. B. Parkinson, Honorable George B. Burrows, Honorable John A. Johnson, President Thomas C. Chamberlin, LL. D., and Professor John C. Freeman, LL. D.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting of this young and enterprising society was held at Topeka, on January 17, 1888. The following points are from the report of the secretary, Judge F. G. Adams: Bound volumes added to the library, 740; unbound volumes and pamphlets 1,666; volumes of newspapers and periodicals, 1,007; single newspapers and newspaper cuttings containing special historical material, 269; maps, atlases, etc., 60; manuscripts, 228; pictures, 170; miscellaneous contributions, 51; scrip, currency, etc., 5. Thus it will be seen that the library additions of books, pamphlets and newspaper files during the year number 3,413 volumes. Of these 3,188 have been procured by gift, and 225 by purchase. The total of the library at the present time is as follows, namely: 9,092 bound volumes; 22,769 unbound volumes; 6,993 bound newspaper files and volumes of periodicals; in all, 38,854 volumes.

A letter was read from D. W. Wilder, president of the society, in which he offered his resignation and suggested that the society should elect a president every year, instead of once in two years. Major Simpson, of the committee on nominations, reported that the committee had agreed upon Honorable Ed. Russell of Lawrence, for the position of president. Honorable William A. Phillips of Salina, was elected vice-president to succeed Major H. H. Williams, who has removed from the state.

A resolution was adopted changing the date of the annual meeting of the historical society to the third Tuesday in November of each year for the consideration of the annual report of the board of directors.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

'RECOLLECTIONS OF A MINISTER TO FRANCE, 1869-1877.' By E. B. Washburne, LL. D. In two volumes. Illustrated. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

It is fortunate that Mr. Washburne was enabled to complete this valuable work before reaching, recentiy, the close of his long and stirring life, for it remains not only as a monument of literary excellence to one who served his country in many eminent positions through many trying scenes, but it also preserves to the world an unbiased and correct story of one of the most tragical episodes in the history of France—the descent of the German army upon the French capital and the Paris commune. Mr. Washburne was called into the cabinet of President Grant in 1869, as secretary of state, but from his own choice soon afterward resigned that position to become minister to France, where he remained from the spring of 1869 to the fall of 1877, his term covering one of the most interesting epochs of European history.

The position of American minister gave Mr. Washburne an opportunity for knowledge and observation accorded to few, having not only the confidence and respect of the French empire, commune and republic, as the one followed the other, but also that of the Germans who were storming the gates of "the world's capital," and filling with want and woe her streets. The story thus gleaned is told in a simple and graphic manner, and leaves a vivid impression upon the mind of personal experience and knowledge. In the near seven hundred pages of which the two volumes are composed there hardly seems a line that is not

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pertinent to the subject and a part of the text. Arriving at Paris towards the closing days of that empire of Napoleon III., that seemed secure, and over which no shadow of coming disaster had fallen, he had a rare opportunity to witness the scenes that so rapidly and tragically followed each other—the Ollivier incident, the declaration of war, the grand outward march of the French army to a certain triumph across the Rhine, the disaster that befell disaster, the fall and capture of Napoleon, the proclamation of the republic, and then the siege. Then came days of work and anxious waiting and watching for the American minister, who did not desert his post, but remained through it all, became a common ground upon which French and German could meet for the conduct of such business and the discussion of such questions as arise necessarily between two parties in the quarrel of war. Then came the armistice and the evacuation; the rise of the commune; anarchy and terrorism in the streets of Paris; the downfall of the commune; Paris under the republic; the overthrow of Thiers; the final establishment of that republic that holds the destiny of France in hand to-day. In every hour of these stirring events Mr. Washburne was a moving and busy factor, and the skill and address with which he met all the perplexing and dangerous questions confronting him, added to the respect of Europe for the American character, and gained new honor for the flag under whose folds so many found shelter in those days of peril. The work is one of thrilling interest and permanent value. The main thread of the story is garnished with many incidents of personal experience and observation that add to that interest and value. Scores of fine illustrations are scattered through the two volumes. In all, the work may be counted one that will retain its value beyond the curiosity of the present, for it is the full and unbiased history of a series of events that, although primarily of France, belong in reality to the history of mankind in its struggle for freedom and the equality of all.

'THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.' By George Lowell Austin. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

Mr. Austin well says that "it would be impossible to write the life of such a man without also writing, however briefly, the history of his times." And what eventful years for the American people and for humanity lay between the year 1837, when the question of slavery began to be agitated as it never had been before, and the ratification of that amendment to the National Constitution which made the black man not only free forever, but raised him to citizenship and made him a man in law even as nature had fashioned him one in form and fact. To those who have come upon the scene of action since the Emancipation Proclamation and the ratification of the Thirteenth amendment, the perilous times that preceded the War of the Rebellion seem only a pathway for liberation and the crowning achievement of the age—a long and difficult road, but safe in the end because of the results to which it would lead; but to those who trod that road, the difficulty and danger were there without the inspiration of success—they saw final dissolution of the Union and a ruin of the American Nation as an ever-present danger, and only faith in God and the triumph of the right kept their courage up. The men who, like Wendell Phillips, fought the good fight, need neither glory nor justification—both have come in the victory they won. Those who, of recent years, only heard Phillips upon themes that for a few years before his death occupied his attention—such as the causes of temperance, woman suffrage, labor reform and prison reform—heard the orator, but they never understood the full measure or those powers that only slavery debate or denunciation could call forth. The story, as so graphically told by Mr. Austin in the work mentioned above, should be read by every American, old or young. It is not only the story of Phillips, but of the fight he fought, and the men who stood bravely by his side. One gains in a short space a fair and full view

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of the most exciting half century recorded in new world history. The work seems complete in all the essentials of a good biography, and is very well illustrated.

'CORPORAL SI KLEGG AND HIS PARD: HOW THEY LIVED AND TALKED, AND WHAT THEY DID AND SUFFERED, WHILE FIGHTING FOR THE FLAG.' By Wilbur F. Hinman, late lieutenant-colonel Sixty-fifth regiment Ohio Veteran Volunteer infantry. Pp. 706, with 193 original illustrations. From the press of the Williams Publishing Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

The work performed by Colonel Hinman in this book has a dual character; it furnishes to those who know something by experience or observation of the war, a chance to review the days of darkness and sunshine that lay between 1861 and 1865, with a new interest and a better appreciation of what they meant; and to those to whom the whole subject is new, it gives an insight into the realities of soldier life that hardly any other method could convey. For while "Si" and "Shorty" are, in one respect, fictitious characters, they are, in a deeper sense, a very hard and certain reality—for they went forth by hundreds in every regiment, and by scores in every company, and what they saw and felt and suffered was the lot at times of every boy in blue who underwent that process by which the raw recruit became a trained and veteran soldier.

The book speaks to every emotion. It tells its story with a simple directness that has no artifice, and yet is all true art—the art that takes hold on the heart and bids a laugh here and a tear there from the very mirth or pathos of the situation. Colonel Hinman, although a trained newspaper man from whom much has always been expected by way of the pen, has surprised those who knew him best, by the unsuspected depths of power and feeling shown in this book; and we suspect that because there was deep feeling in its writing, the power came all the more sure and effective in laying on the colors and making the picture what it is.

'Si Klegg' has been before the public less than two months, and yet he has been welcomed with affection and enthusiastic interest by veterans in all parts of the land. The words of commendation spoken by the humblest soldier finds an echo in the endorsement of General Sherman and other leaders; and if the public at large appreciate the story as the soldier does, it will command an enormous sale, and bring a large measure of fame to its gifted and modest author.

'LINCOLN AND STANTON: A STUDY OF THE WAR ADMINISTRATION OF 1861 AND 1862, WITH SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF SOME RECENT STATEMENTS OF GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.' By William D. Kelley, M. C. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. (Questions of the Day, No. XXIX.)

This reply of Mr. Kelley, for so many years an honored member of congress, has been before the public for some time now, and needs no introduction. Yet it is a book we cannot hesitate about endorsing, as throwing considerable light upon a troubled period of our war history, and as fully answering all the statements adverse to Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton, as made by the late General McClellan in his article in the Century. Mr. Kelley writes with great clearness and directness, and those who know him do not need be told that he means and believes every word he utters.

'HISTORY OF THE CITY OF CLEVELAND: ITS SETTLEMENT, RISE AND PROGRESS.' Edited by W. Scott Robison. Illustrated. Published by Robison & Cockett—the *Sunday World*, Cleveland.

This finely arranged and well illustrated book of over five hundred pages, upon the history of Cleveland, fills the place for which it was intended with no small degree of success, and has the advantage which no former history of the city possesses, that of conciseness combined with newness. It has a vast amount of information clearly arranged, and its writers have shown themselves acquainted with and interested in their task. The main direction of the work has been in the hands of Mr. F. D. Leslie, who has been assisted by F. T. Wallace, P. W. Graham, Professor B. A. Hinsdale, John R. Commons, Lizzie H. Neff,

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and other well-known writers. The map of Cleveland, with sketches of a number of our best-known citizens, add to the value of the work. It has met already with a favorable reception, and as the publishers have undertaken the book in the expectation of a liberal patronage from the public, it is to be hoped that their faith will not be misplaced.

'PATRICK HENRY.' By Moses Coit Tyler. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York, in their American Statesmen series. Received from Cobb, Andrews & Company.

That the time has come when the life and character of Patrick Henry should be treated in the light of modern information and investigation is aptly pointed out by Professor Tyler, when he shows us that no life of that statesman and patriot has appeared since that by William Wirt in 1817, "before the time had fairly come for the publication of the correspondence, diaries, personal memoranda and official records of every sort, illustrating the great period covered by Patrick Henry's career." To the author of the work above quoted a large field of information has therefore been opened that was not accessible to Wirt, including a large number of manuscripts that have never seen the light in any shape. That Professor Tyler has made judicious use of his opportunity need not be explained to a public which has had so many excellent contributions from his pen. In his treatment of Henry he has been careful and yet candid, and has, perhaps, given us as true a view of his work and the times in which he lived as can at this day be presented. The record is a long one, full of stirring activity and honorable endeavor —covering his struggles and triumphs at the bar; service in the first continental congress; his brave utterances that have so greatly served in making his name immortal; his three terms as governor; his fights over the new Constitution and the amendments; his final services at the bar; and retirement to the quiet of old age. The book is not merely a record of Patrick Henry, but is a clear and direct statement of the stormy scenes before and during the Revolution, and illustrates many things that by the general reader are not too well understood. This American Statesmen series is a choice addition to our history, and this book of Professor Tyler has more than ever justified the far-sighted wisdom that brought the series into being.

'WELL-WORN ROADS OF SPAIN, HOLLAND AND ITALY; TRAVELED BY A PAINTER IN SEARCH OF THE PICTURESQUE.' By F. Hopkinson Smith. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. Received from Cobb, Andrews & Co.

This little volume is almost as delightful and illustrative of the scenes amid which its author traveled, as would be the visible products of his pencil; and whether viewed from the standpoint of the artist or the general reader, must be regarded as a breezy and picturesque interval amid courses of more solid reading. We have been given the record of many idle days spent in rambling about odd places, into quaint nooks, and along well-worn roads of travel. As the author frankly says of his pages: "They contain no information of value to anybody. They are absolutely bare of statistics, are entirely useless as a guide to travelers, and can be of no possible benefit to a student desirous of increasing his knowledge, either of foreign architecture, mediæval art, politics or any kindred subject." This, to most of us, will constitute the most fascinating invitation to travel along these well-worn roads, and to catch glimpses of foreign life that lie beyond the restrictions and time-worn facts that we are told the book does not possess.

'THE ISLES OF THE PRINCES; OR THE PLEASURES OF PRINKIPO.' By Samuel S. Cox, late United States minister to Turkey, and author of 'Buckeye Abroad,' 'Why We Laugh,' 'Three Decades of Federal Legislation,' etc., etc. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Mr. Cox needs no introduction to the American people, as law-maker, man of letters, or diplomatic representative of their interests in the far east. When he for a time laid aside the legislative robes and departed for Turkey, it was hoped by many that he would find lei-

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sure and willingness to show to others what he himself should see; for it was well known that nothing grave, quaint, comic or instructive would escape the keen eye that had long since trained itself to see so well. In the present work that desire has been wonderfully gratified. As described by its author, it "is intended to be a recital of the many diversive excursions in and around these islands and the adjacent places in Asia and Europe." Yet it is far more than an account of the excursions as such; it is a close glimpse into a corner of the earth, and at the homes and ways and purposes of a people not by any means too well known in our quarter of the world. The bright, sharp, descriptive touch which Mr. Cox so well uses, makes the book one of exceeding interest. There is nothing of the guide-book or the guide-book letter about it. Many illustrations explain and apply the text; and as a whole it is a most useful and happy addition to the library—whether as a book of description of the Turkish people, or a means of diversion to while away an hour not otherwise employed.

TOWNSEND MACCOUN, of 150 Nassau street, New York, makes announcement of the following work, which cannot but be of interest to the people of Cleveland, and of the northwest generally: 'The Old Northwest: With a View of the Thirteen Colonies as Constituted by the Royal Charters,' by B. A. Hinsdale, Ph. D. In the hands of Professor Hinsdale this great subject will be most worthily treated. The appearance of the book will be awaited with interest. It fills a field, to a large extent, vacant heretofore.

Pamphlet publications received as follows:

'A HISTORY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PERSIA,' compiled mainly from the official records and communications of the United States government, and from contemporary writings. By R. R. Dawes. Published by E. R. Alderman & Sons, Marietta, Ohio.

'PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN: WITH THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND PROFESSOR JAMES D. BUTLER'S MEMORIAL ADDRESS ON ALEXANDER MITCHELL,' Madison, 1888.

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Engd. by R. Dodson, N.Y.

Very truly yours
C. Robinson

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Magazine of Western History.

Vol. VII. MARCH, 1888. No. 5.

WITH THE KANSAS CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE OF 1856.*

Almost a third of a century has passed since the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the enactment of other slave legislation in connection with it gave warning to the people that the crisis so long impending was at last upon them, and that something more than polemics and the debate of theories would be demanded in the troubled times so surely at hand. While many were filled with fear lest the threatening evils might not be averted, the majority failed or refused to see the certain purpose of the slaveholder, and, taking compromise for their bed-rock of hope, looked for a peaceful solution of a question for which there could be no peace.

Events of legislation, material growth, and the advance of the people into the wilderness of the west had prepared the way for the crisis so long delayed; and in the middle of the decade of 1850 and 1860 there was a demand for action of some sort at the hands of the government and people—decision and deed, rather than threats or promises or talk.

Congress had passed the act organizing the territory of Kansas, and had offered to the people on generous terms that rich and attractive country, peopled as yet only

* Honorable Amos Townsend, who represented the Cleveland district in congress during several terms, accompanied the congressional investigating committee to Kansas in 1856, as sergeant-at-arms, being then a young man and a fellow-townsman of Senator Sherman, of that committee. Upon the earnest solicitation of the editor, he has consented to write out his experiences on that memorable occasion, and the result is a paper not only of great historical value, but of the most absorbing interest, giving, as it does, the inside events of one of the most exciting episodes in American history.—[Editor Magazine.

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by the Indian; and as the question arose whether or not this fair land should be laid under the shadow of human slavery, the contest between the two ideas that had so long been kept in outward peace only by general sufferance and the needs of a common interest, awoke with a purpose that must needs hold its own until one should die at the hand of the other. In other words, this question of the extension or restriction of slavery was a great political problem that for many years had been discussed in and out of congress with earnestness and ever increasing bitterness. The National legislature had vainly tried to settle it by passing acts of compromise, which a succeeding congress would repeal and enact new laws upon the same subject, thus keeping the question before the people, until every intelligent man and woman throughout the country had become interested and had taken a position upon the one side or the other.

The issue was sharply defined: To nationalize slavery—to carry it into the territories then free, and make of them new slave states, or to forever prevent it and save the new lands of the west from being desecrated by the National crime.

This had really been the contest for many years, but never before so boldly asserted. These two distinct theories of government had been traveling on parallel lines for many years with increasing rapidity, until they touched the border line separating the slave state of Missouri and the free territory of Kansas, where the antagonizing forces were irresistibly brought face to face, and where argument and compromise ended and the struggle for supremacy took the form of active, offensive and defensive warfare. It was the beginning of the end; and under the guiding hand of providence the contest was never to cease until after years of terrible conflict the Nation saw, in the surrender of Appomattox its release and expiation from the sin of human slavery, the inherent strength of the Constitution tested and proven, the loyalty of the American people vindicated, and a nation of free people, in fact as in name, sent forward on its grand mission to teach the practical lessons of free government to the civilized world.

It was here, on the virgin soil of Kansas, in sight of a slave state, that the slumbering demon of rebellion first woke into active life. The event lies so many years in the past that many men now active in public life were but children then, or yet unborn. To all such, as well as to older persons, the recital of the stirring events connected with the early settlement of Kansas, will seem more like romance than reality. The events connected with the incipient stages of the rebellion are therefore in danger of being lost sight of in the shadows of the greater events that followed.

In recalling some of the incidents connected with the congressional investigation of the affairs of the territory of Kansas, it is the intention to avoid, as far as possible, the repetition of anything contained in the valuable report of the congressional investigating committee, but to describe some things that occurred, not referred to in the committee's report, and which I have never seen in print.

It may perhaps be well to state briefly a few of the leading facts that led to the appointment of this committee, that the

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reader may understand the circumstances under which it made the visit to Kansas at that time. The act of congress organizing the territory of Kansas was passed in May, 1854. Franklin Pierce, then President of the United States, immediately thereafter appointed Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania, territorial governor; Daniel Woodse of Missouri, secretary of state; —— Le Compt of Maryland, United States judge; General Donaldson of Missouri, United States marshal; Andrew J. Isaacs of Louisiana, territorial district attorney.

Governor Reeder did not reach Kansas until the following October, when he immediately caused a census of the actual residents of the territory to be taken, and ordered an election for delegate in congress to be held on the twenty-ninth of November, at which election General Whitfield, then late of Tennessee, received 1,117 legal votes and 1,725 illegal votes, as was shown by the census taken at that time.

At this time the trouble began. The settlers claimed that the citizens of Missouri came over in organized companies, voted, and controlled the election in the interests of slavery, and that they would not submit to such action. The next election was for a territorial legislature and was held March 30, 1855, with the same result as the former election, followed by greater dissatisfaction. Loud complaints were made on all sides and the same charges of Missourians controlling the election were made. Governor Reeder tried to have a fair election. He declared a large number of the elections illegal and ordered new ones. He became involved in the troubles, lost the confidence of his own political party friends, and was soon thereafter removed. Elections now became the rule, and in less than two years the census had been taken three times and seven elections held in the territory. At all of these elections "shall the state be free or slave" was the controlling issue.

There were two state constitutions presented to congress, asking for admission as a state. One was known as "The Lecompton Constitution," was the work of the pro-slavery element in the territory, aided by their friends from Missouri and other southern states, and embraced provisions that made it unquestionably a slave state. It was repudiated and denounced by a very large majority of the actual residents of the territory, and was regarded by everyone as a great outrage on the rights of citizenship. The other was what was known as the "Free State Constitution." It was regularly prepared by a constitutional convention, duly elected in pursuance of law and precedents, had been submitted to a vote of the people and adopted by a very large majority, the pro-slavery citizens and the Missourians not voting. Under this constitution was elected Dr. Charles Robinson as governor and a full set of state officers. They had never assumed to act officially, and did not expect to assume the duties until congress had admitted Kansas as a state.

It was claimed, and I believe truthfully, that three-fourths of the actual residents were in favor of making Kansas a free state, and that all the elections were controlled by citizens of Missouri and non-residents who came there and voted and

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went away the next day. Many of them were well-known citizens living in Missouri. All of the territorial officers except Governor Reeder were outspoken in favor of making Kansas a slave state; and he was in favor of allowing the resident voters to determine that question for themselves at the appropriate time, but personally, I believe, was in favor of making it a free state. But he became very unpopular with the leaders of his party. President Pierce removed him and appointed as his successor ex-Governor Wilson Shannon of Ohio, who also found it impossible to harmonize the contending factions, and was himself removed in less than one year and General Geary of Pennsylvania appointed to succeed him. But in a few months he also was removed, having failed to satisfy his own political party, and Robert J. Walker of Mississippi was appointed his successor.

Governor Reeder and Governor Shannon from time to time, during their respective terms, had made full reports of the condition of affairs of the territory to the President and to congress. Reports and protests were also sent to congress by both parties, backed by any amount of proof. In the meantime General Whitfield was reëlected delegate from the territory. Ex-Governor A. H. Reeder contested his claim to a seat on the ground that he (Reeder) had received a very large majority of all the votes cast by actual residents of the territory.

In this condition of affairs, congress could find no safe basis for congressional legislation in aid of the settlers, or to determine who was elected delegate in congress from the territory. Such was the situation in March, 1856, when congress adopted a resolution appointing a committee of three of its members to go immediately to Kansas with full power to take testimony covering all the questions at issue, and report all the facts to congress at the earliest possible day. The speaker appointed William A. Howard of Michigan, John Sherman of Ohio and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri. The committee was regarded as one of great importance at the time, as the whole country was greatly agitated on the subject of the Kansas troubles.

William A. Howard was past middle age, thoroughly educated, a lawyer by profession, and a man of ability and very high character. John Sherman was a young man, a lawyer by profession, had enjoyed a large practice for more than ten years before he entered congress and was now serving his first term. He was a good speaker, a clear thinker and a strong, logical reasoner. Mordecai Oliver was also a lawyer, past middle age, able, courteous, cultured and indolent. He represented the border district in Missouri, and was probably appointed for that reason. He did not wish to serve, and had no heart in the investigation. It was conceded by all that the committee was composed of strong and fair men.

At that time I lived in Mansfield, Ohio, and was surprised to receive a telegram from John Sherman asking if I would accept the position of sergeant-at-arms and accompany the committee to Kansas. I answered that I would, and immediately received a telegram that I was appointed, and the committee would be ready to start in three days. The officers ap-

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pointed by the committee to accompany them were as follows: Clerks—G. G. Fogg, Concord, New Hampshire; John S. Bowen of Pennsylvania, and S. P. Hanscom of Boston; official reporter, William Blair Lord of Washington; sergeants-at-arms, Amos Townsend of Ohio and John Upton of Albany, New York. Afterwards, in Kansas, John T. Hughes of Missouri was appointed assistant clerk, and H. J. Komer of Kansas assistant sergeant-at-arms.

The committee and the subordinate officers arrived at St. Louis April 10, where they were joined by ex-Governor Andrew H. Reeder and General J. H. Whitfield, the delegate in congress, the right to whose seat was contested by Reeder. The committee had invited these two gentlemen to accompany them and to be present at the investigation at their own expense, if they desired to do so, which invitation they accepted.

It must be borne in mind that the task which confronted the committee was something vastly different from a like journey to Kansas, in these modern days of ease and comfort of travel, of established government, of quiet and safety. The region west of St. Louis was practically a wilderness, with here and there a small and rude hamlet; the territory of Kansas was filled with men ready to wage war with each other at the word, and such law and order as prevailed was only such by the sufferance of those by whom those frequent reigns of violence were caused and continued. With the exception of a local road from St. Louis to Jefferson City, there was no railroad or telegraph line west of the place first named. In short, the great and prosperous state of Kansas, that to-day stands so near to the front among the great commonwealths beyond the Mississippi, was only a germ out of which much might come, or that might be forever crushed by the very evils a remedy for which it was the duty of this committee to discover. I can see no grander evidence of the stride forward our country has taken in three decades than to lay the Kansas of 1856 beside that of 1888.

After a day's stay at St. Louis, we took a steamboat to Kansas City, which we reached in about three days, arriving there on the fourteenth instant. The great and busy city of eighty thousand inhabitants, and railroad lines leading in all directions, that now stands on the banks of the Missouri, and to which a tide of emigration and prosperity rolls steadily from north and east—promising even greater things than those that have yet been—has little left to remind us of the frontier settlement of four or five hundred people that lay back of the wharf to which our boat was tied. A fairly good new hotel, kept by the Eldridge brothers, was the best building in the town, and, in fact, the only brick or stone building in it. The houses, to the number of a couple of hundred, were scattered around over the hills and valleys, or more properly gullies. The town was located on the line between the state of Missouri and Kansas territory, on an exceedingly rough piece of land, to the surprise of all when so much beautiful level land lay in sight all around it. The reason given was the fact that at this point on the Missouri river the banks were of solid rock, and, although rugged, high bluffs formed the

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shore for a mile or two each way at this point; for several miles above and below there was nothing but beautiful bottom lands. But the shore lines of the latter were constantly changing by the action of the currents, which sometimes swept away several hundred feet in a single year. This is true of the Missouri river for hundreds of miles, and it is difficult to find a safe place to build a village or city.

The committee remained here a few days, where they received an official communication from Colonel E. V. Sumner, in command at Fort Leavenworth, inviting them to hold their sessions at the fort, where he said they would certainly be safe, but offered such protection as they might desire at other points, should they require it. The committee wrote a courteous answer declining to meet at the fort, and expressing the opinion that nothing would occur requiring the services of the military. The committee remained here long enough only to secure an outfit, which consisted principally of two saddle-horses and equipments, blankets, etc., and then proceeded to Lecompton, then the seat of the territorial government, where, with as little delay as possible, copies were made of the records of the three censuses that had been taken of the inhabitants of the territory; also copies of the poll-books, tally sheets and election returns of the various elections held in the territory from its first organization, which were there on file at the seat of government. It was fortunate that this was done so early and promptly, as one week later I doubt very much whether it could have been done at all. These abstracts and copies of the records were made the basis of the investigation and the key to the outrageous frauds that had characterized all the elections that had taken place in the territory. Those who had been engaged in these frauds never ceased to regret that such copies had been permitted to be taken.

Lecompton was a small village of a few hundred inhabitants. The state house was a one-story building, rudely built and poorly furnished. The place also possessed a frame hotel, badly furnished, the bar-room of which was the largest, most important and best patronized part of the house; the bedrooms were large, with ten or fifteen beds or cots and very little else; the dining-room was long and narrow, capable of seating about thirty people, with not much to eat and that badly cooked, but with plenty of drink. The governor, United States judge and all the territorial officers were supposed to live here, and some of them did stay here. The town was full of people day and night. A feeling of unrest and excitement prevailed everywhere. The air was filled with rumors and fights, while riots and murders were frequent. All questions were determined and discussed from the standpoint of free or slave state. This state of feeling prevailed throughout the territory. It was undoubtedly the outgrowth of the unprecedented social and political condition of affairs from the day the territory was organized. In less than two years the census had been taken three times and seven territorial elections held; they had already had two governors and were awaiting the arrival of the third. Law and order were things unknown. "Border ruffians" and "abolition hordes" were the terms employed to

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designate the two leading parties. At every election there were twice as many votes cast as there were residents in the territory, as was shown by the census. It was charged, and not denied, that Missourians came over the line at all the elections, voted and marched back again. This terrible state of affairs made it a most desirable camping ground for a set of bad men, gamblers, tramps and dead-beats from all over the country, who cared nothing about slave or free state, but took advantage of the excitement to rob, steal and even murder in the name of the one side or the other, as the case might be. Every man seemed to go well armed, prepared to attack or defend against attack. With rare exceptions no effort was made to conceal their arms, but on the contrary, pains were taken to parade them. The majority wore a belt, sometimes under blouse or coat, sometimes outside, from which was suspended at least two pistols. Occasionally, in addition to the pistols at the belt, a man would be seen with a bowie-knife in his boot, which he always wore high, with the handle of the knife outside so he could readily grasp it, and occasionally a rifle would be slung across his back. This may seem absurd, but I have seen crowds where as many as one in ten would be armed in this way. It was generally understood that really brave men did not make a show of their arms. This species of bravado was evidence of a want of real courage; nevertheless a great many people were killed and assassinated. I had provided myself with a good thirty-eight calibre pistol, but finding nearly everyone I met with so many war implements, I felt ashamed of my one little pistol, so I put it in my trunk and never took it out until I returned home. I relied for my protection upon the United States commission which I had in my pocket, and soft words. I had occasion to show my commission a great many times to avoid arrest or to obtain my release when I was arrested. Finally I obtained a certificate of character, or pass, from prominent leaders of the pro-slavery party, so-called, such as General Stringfellow, whose pass I found better than the United States commission.

The committee met in Lawrence on the twenty-third. The place that has now become a large and prosperous city was then only a small village of one thousand people. The sessions were held at what was called the Free-State hotel, a large, fine, stone building, four stories high, probably the best and most costly building at that time in the territory. Lawrence, at that time, as seen from the hills just above it, presented the appearance of a beleaguered city. Rifle-pits, earth-works and bastions were constructed on all sides, to which approaches could be made by an attacking party. We were informed that this was done in the fall of 1855, and was to enable the citizens to defend themselves against the attacks of what was called an organized mob, mostly from Missouri, led by the sheriff of Douglas county. It seems that some time in the fall of 1855 S. J. Jones, sheriff of Douglas county, a bad and dangerous man and a terror to all the citizens, came to Lawrence and arrested a man for some small offence, and on his way to Lecompton with his prisoner in the evening, he was met by a little band of men who took his prisoner from him—the very

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thing that Jones wanted done. He immediately called on Governor Shannon, stated the facts in his own way and asked for military force of three thousand men to aid him in making the arrest of the scoundrels who had taken his prisoner. The governor, without duly considering the gravity of such a thing, at once issued an order to Major-General W. P. Richardson, commanding the First military division of the territory, and to General J.A. Strickler, commanding the Second military division, setting forth briefly the facts as told him by Sheriff Jones and directing them to assemble the military without delay and to report to Sheriff Jones at Lecompton, etc. This was the beginning of what well-nigh proved a bloody battle.

The people of Lawrence and surrounding country were kept advised of what was going on and immediately commenced preparations for defense.

To give the reader a little insight into the real condition of affairs here at that time, I will quote a few paragraphs from the order issued by Governor Shannon calling for the military, and also from his report to the President of the United States giving an account of what afterwards occurred in relation to the same transaction. After setting forth the facts he says:

Warrants will be issued against these men and placed in the hands of the sheriff of Douglas county for execution. He has written to me demanding three thousand men to aid him in the execution of the process of the law and the preservation of the peace. You are, therefore, hereby ordered to collect together as large a force as you can in your division, and repair without delay to Lecompton and report yourself to S. J. Jones, the sheriff of Douglas county, together with a number of your forces, and render to him all the aid and assistance in your power, if required, in the execution of any legal process in his hands. The forces under your command are to be used for the sole purpose of aiding the sheriff in executing the law and for no other purpose.

This is signed, "Wilson Shannon, governor," and sent to the address of Major William P. Richardson. A similar order was issued to General H. J. Strickler.

The following extract is taken from his report addressed to His Excellency Franklin Pierce, dated December 11, 1855:

Armed men were seen rushing from all quarters towards Lawrence, some to defend the place, others to demolish it. The orders I had issued to Major-General Richardson and General Strickler had brought to the sheriff of Douglas county a very inadequate force for his protection when compared with the forces in the town of Lawrence. Indeed, the militia of the territory being wholly unorganized, no force could be obtained except those who voluntarily tendered their aid to the sheriff or to General Richardson and Strickler. The whole force thus obtained did not amount to more than three or four hundred men, badly armed and wholly unprepared to resist the forces in Lawrence, which amounted at that time to some six hundred men, all remarkably well armed with Sharp's rifles and other weapons. These facts became known across the line in the state of Missouri. Large numbers of men from that state in regular bodies rushed to the county of Douglas, and many of them enrolled themselves in the sheriff's posse. . . . I proceeded as rapidly as possible to the camp of General Strickler beyond Wakarusa, six miles east of Lawrence, and arrived in camp about three o'clock in the morning of the sixth instant. I found that General Strickler as well as General Richardson had very judiciously adopted the policy of incorporating into their respective commands all the irregular forces that had arrived. This was done with the view of subjecting them to military orders and discipline, and to prevent any unlawful acts or outbreaks. The great danger to be apprehended was from an unauthorized attack on the town of Lawrence, which was being strongly fortified and had about one thousand and fifty well armed men to defend it, with two pieces of artillery; while on the other side there was probably in all nearly two thousand men, many of

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them indifferently armed, but having a strong park of artillery. I found in the camp at Wakarusa a deep and settled feeling of hostility against the opposing forces in Lawrence, and apparently a fixed determination to attack that place and demolish it and the presses, and take possession of their arms. It seemed to be a universal opinion in the camp that there was no safety to the Law and Order party (a party they called themselves) in the territory, while the other party were permitted to retain their Sharp's rifles—an instrument used wholly for war purposes. After mingling with all the leading men in the Wakarusa camp, and urging on them the importance of avoiding a conflict of arms, that such a step would probably light the torch of civil war and endanger the very Union itself, I still found there was a strong desire with all and a fixed determination with many to compel the forces in Lawrence to give up their arms. . . . . .

Early in the morning of the seventh instant I repaired to the camp at Lawrence and found them busily engaged in their fortifications and in drilling their forces, and had a full and satisfactory interview with the committee appointed by the forces in Lawrence, in relation to the impending difficulties. So far as the execution of the laws was concerned, we had no difficulty in coming to a satisfactory understanding. It was at once agreed that the laws of the territory should have their regular course, and that those who disputed their validity should, if they desired to do so, test that question in the judicial tribunals of the country; that in the meantime no resistance should be made to their due execution, and the citizens of Lawrence and vicinity were, when properly called on, to aid in the arrest of anyone charged with their violation, and to aid and assist in the preservation of the peace and good order of society. While on my part I gave them every assurance in my power that they should be protected in all their rights and defended against any unlawful aggressions, it is proper that I should say that they claimed that a large majority of them had always held and inculcated the same views. The assurances I received entirely satisfied me that no one against whom a writ had issued was then in Lawrence; that they had fled, and that they were harboring and concealing or defending no one against whom a writ had been issued. This was entirely satisfactory and all that had been desired, but to satisfy the forces that surrounded Lawrence, so that they could be induced to retire in order, was the great difficulty to be overcome. To issue an order to the sheriff to disband his posse, and to General Richardson and Strickler to disband their forces, would have been to let loose this large body of men who would have been left without control, to follow the impulses of their feelings, which evidently was to attack and disarm the people of Lawrence. . . .

Early in the morning of the eighth, through the influence of some of the leading men, I procured thirteen of the leading captains in the Wakarusa camp to be appointed a committee to confer with a committee from the Lawrence camp, to meet at Franklin, midway between the two hostile forces. I proceeded to the Lawrence camp and returned to Franklin in the evening with the committee, where the peace interview took place. This interview, which lasted for some time, resulted in producing a better state of feeling, and the committee from the Wakarusa camp were satisfied to retire without doing anything more, and so reported to the army. This, with the active exertions of myself and others, produced a better feeling among the men, and by daylight on the morning of the ninth I felt I could with safety order the forces to disband, and accordingly did so. They retired in good order, and refrained from any act of violence, but it was evident there was a silent dissatisfaction at the course I had taken.

The above furnishes some idea as to why Lawrence was found in such warlike condition; and yet, even the bravery of the men who had its defense in hand did not prevent destruction and almost irreparable ruin from overtaking it at a later date. Before leaving this phase of the border troubles, mention may be briefly made of the attack which was made upon the place in May, 1856, even while the congressional committee was in session at Leavenworth.* Lawrence was in the midst of a free state community, and was accordingly under the ban of the pro-slavery party. The attack occurred on May 21. The forces employed were at first under command of John B. Donaldson, United States marshal, and afterwards

* For many of the facts that follow concerning this attack, the author is under obligation to Judge F. G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas Historical society.

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of S. J. Jones, the pro-slavery sheriff of the county. These were both civil officers, who had writs to execute for the arrest of citizens of Lawrence, charged with treason and other political offences, and for the abatement of what were termed nuisances, namely, the printing offices of the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Free-State* newspaper and the Free-State hotel. The writs had been issued under indictments of a grand jury in pursuance of instructions given by United States Judge Lecompte, the chief-justice of the territory. The forces were chiefly from Missouri and other slave states, and had been organized as territorial militia. Many of them had been for some weeks posted in various convenient localities for the object of overawing the free-state settlers, and aiding the civil officers, as they said, to enforce the laws—the laws which had the year before been enacted by the usurping legislature elected by Missouri votes, and which laws were repudiated by the free-state settlers.

These forces were called out, and had been brought to the vicinity of Lawrence by a proclamation of the United States marshal to aid him in executing the writs. General David R. Atchison, late United States senator from Missouri, and acting vice-president, had crossed the Kansas river at Lecompton with the Platte County, Missouri, rifles and two pieces of artillery. The Kickapoo rangers, under Captain Dunn, reinforced by pro-slavery men from Leavenworth and Weston, Missouri, had marched to the same point. Colonel John H. Stringfellow, with Captain Palmer's company of South Carolinians from Atchison, had also gathered there. These reinforced the different camps under Colonel Wilkes of Carolina and Colonel Titus of Florida, who were encamped between Lecompton and Lawrence. Colonel A. G. Boone from Westport, Missouri, with several other pro-slavery leaders from that place and also from Liberty and Independence at the head of bodies of armed men, or to take command of companies that had preceded them, marched across the frontier a day or two before the twenty-first. They formed a camp on the southeastern side of Lawrence, under command of Colonel Buford of Alabama. The forces thus congregated numbered from five to eight hundred men, partly mounted, partly on foot, and were mostly armed—Missourians, Carolinians, Georgians, Alabamians and all—with Mississippi rifles and bayonets. These arms were United States arms; they belonged to the territory and were in charge of the Federal appointees of the territory. Besides the artillery brought by Atchison, there were other two pieces of cannon in their hands. They marched in the night time, and, shortly after sunrise on the morning of the twenty-first, were drawn up and posted on Mount Oread, overlooking Lawrence. The cannon were planted completely commanding the town.

Thus supported, Deputy United States Marshal W. P. Fain, taking a few men with him, went into town with his writs and arrested two of the citizens, Judge G. W. Smith and Colonel George W. Deitzler. He met with no opposition, was treated courteously, and took dinner at the Free-State hotel. Then with his prisoners he returned to the hill, Mount Oread, where he addressed his large posse

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of five or eight hundred men, and told them that he had no further need of their services, but that Sheriff Jones had some processes to serve and that they would hold themselves in readiness to go with him.

Towards three o'clock Sheriff Jones rode into town accompanied by some twenty armed men. Halting in front of the Free-State hotel he called for General S. C. Pomeroy, who was a member of a committee of safety which had been appointed by the citizens. Jones demanded the surrender of the cannon and other arms in the possession of the citizens. The cannon were given up to him and he also took a few rifles. While he was thus engaged, the forces on Mount Oread, under Atchison, Buford, Stringfellow and Titus, marched down the hill toward the south end of Lawrence, dragging their cannon with them. They formed in a hollow square on the prairie, amongst the houses in the suburbs, where Atchison made a speech, which was reported to have been in these words:

Boys, to-day I am a Kickapoo ranger, by G—d! This day we have entered Lawrence with "Southern Rights" inscribed upon our banner, and not one d—d Abolitionist dared to fire a gun.

Now, boys, this is the happiest day of my life. We have entered the d—d town and taught the d—d Abolitionists a southern lesson which they will remember till the day they die. And now, boys, we will go in again, with our highly honorable Jones, and test the strength of that d—d Free-State hotel, and teach the Emigrant Aid company that Kansas shall be ours. Boys, ladies should, and I hope will, be respected by every gentleman, but when a woman takes upon herself the garb of a soldier by carrying a Sharp's rifle, then she is no longer worthy of respect. Trample her under your feet as you would a snake! Come on, boys! Now do your duty to yourselves and your southern friends. Your duty I know you will do. If one man or woman dare stand before you, blow them to h—l with a chunk of cold lead.

The posse formed into line and marched into the town. The first place attacked was the printing office of the newspaper called the *Free-State*. The posse entered the office, broke the press and other articles, and then took them out and threw them into the Kansas river, throwing books, papers, and other articles into the street, or carrying them away with them. The office of the other newspaper, the *Herald of Freedom*, was next treated in a like manner.

The next step was the destruction of the Free-State hotel, which, like the newspaper offices, had been indicted as a nuisance. The hotel had been described in the indictment as "the building known as the 'Free-State hotel' in Lawrence, constructed with the view to military occupation and defence, regularly parapeted and port-holed for the use of cannon and small arms, designed as a stronghold of resistance to law, thereby endangering the public safety and encouraging rebellion and sedition in this country."

The posse planted their artillery in front of the hotel, which was now cleared of people. Atchison aimed the first gun fired at it. He stooped over the gun; "A little higher, boys," he said, "a little lower —a little higher. That's it, boys; let her rip!" Bang went the gun, the ball missing the hotel altogether, going clear over it. The next gunner was rather more successful, putting a ball through the top corner at the right. Some fifty rounds were fired, when, finding it slow business, an effort was made with kegs of gunpowder to blow the building up. That failing,

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fire was communicated, and soon the building was a mass of flame. This done, the town was quite indiscriminately pillaged by the posse. It was estimated that nearly a hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of property was either stolen or destroyed. The closing act was the burning of Governor Robinson's * dwelling which stood upon the brow of Mount Oread, where the posse had assembled early that morning. This had been plundered through the day, and at night was set on fire; and the pyramid of flame from the mount lighted up the pathway of the retreating army. The University of Kansas now occupies the summit of Mount Oread.

The only personal knowledge had by any of our party of the events above narrated may be found in this incident: The writer had occasion to go to Lawrence on official business, and, of course, went on horseback, there being no railroads, and as he approached the place found himself suddenly within the picket lines of the military, was promptly arrested and taken to headquarters, where he was presented to the general in command and released, but advised to go back to Leavenworth, as it would not be safe to go to Lawrence at that time.

But to return to the work of the committee: When we arrived at Lawrence, the town was filled with earnest, intelligent people, all seemingly in favor of making Kansas a free state by lawful methods, representing undoubtedly in this three-fourths of the actual settlers in the territory. Two days after our arrival at Lawrence, when we were fairly at work, this same Sheriff Jones came down from Lecompton, as he said, to serve a process of some kind, and was accompanied by a military company, who pitched their tents for the night near the Free-State hotel. Jones was extremely unpopular and had made a great many enemies. He was an intense pro-slavery man, and in a vindictive manner had abused his official authority, was a terror to many, and hated by all. Unfortunately, during the evening, after dark, he was seated in a tent with his back against the side, and someone who undoubtedly had a personal grudge against him, seeing him, slipped up behind the tent, shot him in the back, and disappeared and was never discovered. It was a cowardly, brutal assault, and was disapproved of by every man there, but did not inflict a dangerous wound. Still it was called an attempted assassination committed by the "free-state horde," and served to increase the bitter feeling already at fighting heat. Jones was taken next day to Franklin. He recovered in a few weeks, but this was the last we saw of him.

It was claimed by General Whitfield and Mr. Oliver that it was not safe to

* It may be said in passing, that Dr. Robinson was a man of great ability, courageous and fearless, but withal was very prudent. His life was threatened. He had a handsome residence, where he lived, on the hill above described. He, accompanied by his wife, was going east. The congressional committee placed in his possession a considerable portion of the testimony that had been taken up to that time. He was arrested on some fictitious warrant, a few miles below Kansas City, and returned to the territory and placed in the jail at Leavenworth. His wife was permitted to go on her journey, the officers having no process against her. She fortunately had copies of the testimony concealed on her person, which fact was not known, and arrived safely at St. Louis, where both she and the testimony were safe.

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remain in Lawrence, and they insisted on adjourning to Fort Leavenworth, but the majority of the committee thought otherwise, that they had nothing to do with these personal quarrels and troubles, and continued right along until May 8, when another incident occurred that made things still more lively. Ex-Governor Reeder was most cordially hated by the extreme pro-slavery men who wanted to drive him out of the territory, or get rid of him in a summary manner, as he was aiding the committee in obtaining very many ugly-looking facts. Reeder had a good many personal friends among the pro-slavery people, who kept him advised of all that was being done.

It happened that the grand jury of the United States court, then in session at Lecompton, found some kind of an indictment against Andrew H. Reeder, and a warrant was issued for his arrest, and a deputy United States marshal by the name of Fain, a native of Georgia, who had been in the territory about two weeks, was sent to make the arrest. On the eighth of May, in the afternoon, Fain came after his man. The town was filled with people, and the large dining room in which the committee was taking testimony was crowded with men, when Fain elbowed his way in and told me that he had a warrant for the arrest of ex-Governor Reeder, and would like to see him.

Reeder was sitting at the table examining a witness. Fain looked a little shaky, as the house was so full of earnest men, and a murmur seemed to be passing around that he did not like.

I spoke to Governor Reeder, to whom Fain read his warrant, thus formally making his arrest. Reeder explained the matter to the committee and asked them to protect him from arrest under the constitutional provision which privileged members of congress from arrest except for treason, felony, etc., but the committee, after consultation, decided that they had no power or authority to protect him; that if he had such a right, under the circumstances he must enforce it himself.

Reeder then said to Fain that he understood from reliable sources that this was a set-up job to get him to Lecompton, where it had already been arranged to mob or hang him, or at least to incarcerate him in a prison; that he would not submit to arrest and warned Fain to keep hands off, as he was prepared to defend himself and would do so. He then took a pistol out of his pocket, cocked it, laid it on the table, sat down and resumed the examination of the witness.

Fain, white with fear, for which no one could blame him, now wanted only to get away without his prisoner. We helped him out at the side door and rode out of town with him to protect him, as he feared an attack. When he got beyond the corporation limits he put his horse to a run and, I suppose, never stopped until he reached Lecompton. That was the last that I ever saw of Marshal Fain. He, however, promptly made his return to the court, no doubt setting forth the facts strongly, which produced great excitement at Lecompton.

Judge Lecompte, a bitter partisan, fond of his cups, was furious, and ordered Marshal Donaldson to call immediately for a *posse comitatus* to aid him in arresting ex Governor Reeder at all hazards, dead

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or alive, as the law must be upheld. Marshal Donaldson issued an inflammatory circular that very evening, calling men to assemble at Lecompton to aid in arresting Andrew H. Reeder, who had attacked a deputy United States marshal and defied the laws of the territory. This call was quickly circulated all along the line of the Missouri river in the border counties in Missouri, and in less than twenty-four hours fifteen hundred men reported themselves to Marshal Donaldson as a *posse comitatus*. They promptly picketed all the crossings of the Missouri river and especially at Kansas City. Search was kept up for about three weeks.

While this was going on, however, Reeder was not idle. He was told by his pro-slavery friends the night after the attempted arrest that he must get out of the territory within twenty-four hours or his life would not be worth a straw. Reeder was a man of courage and hated to go, but his best and most trusted friends of both parties insisted upon his doing so.

That same night, about eleven o'clock, he started with a trusted friend in a buggy with one horse and drove thirty miles to Kansas City, arriving there just at daylight, none too soon, as Marshal Donaldson, anticipating such a move on his part, sent some officers to Kansas City that night, who, after circulating what they termed a proclamation for Reeder's arrest, went to bed and had not yet arisen at the time of his arrival.

The hotel where Reeder was left by his friend was kept by the Eldridge brothers, free-state men and great friends of the hunted governor. Colonel Eldridge took in the situation at once, told Reeder that he could not get away, and would be arrested in less than an hour if he did not disguise himself and stop right where he was. Reeder was a man about fifty-five years of age. His hair was silver gray, worn long, with side whiskers and mustache of the same color. He dressed neatly, and while not foppish was vain of his personal appearance and was really a handsome man. He was a Pennsylvanian and could talk "Dutch" like a native. This was most fortunate for him. In less than one hour his hair was cut short and colored black. His face was clean shaved, and his fine clothes gave place to a suit of blue cotton, such as is usually worn by a German porter recently from the old country. His nicely fitting, fine shoes were exchanged for a pair of heavy brogans. He looked like a first-class porter, ready to respond to the call of the landlord.

The disguise was effected none too soon. In less than one hour after Reeder's arrival, a detachment of well armed men rode up to the hotel and surrounded it with pickets, and demanded the surrender of ex-Governor Reeder. When told he was not in the house the commander "swore like a trooper," and proceeded to search the house from cellar to garret. In the meantime Mr. Reeder was playing porter, looking after the horses of those who were there to make his arrest. A guard was kept stationed at this house for several days, and the house was searched from top to bottom every day, Reeder still doing the work of a porter, talking Dutch, watering their horses, and taking a dime or quarter for it whenever he had the opportunity. He could not get away for

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three weeks. He then packed his little dunnage in a red cotton handkerchief, took an axe on his shoulder, crossed the river, and walked from there down to Fort Independence, about six miles, trying to get a job of chopping wood. Failing to find employment, he waited on the wharf at Independence until the arrival of a boat.

When one appeared he secured passage as a deck passenger, and on its arrival at St. Charles, on the Missouri, was again set ashore, and under the guidance of friends who happened to be aboard, proceeded across country twelve miles to the Mississippi, where he was ferried across to Illinois, where he proceeded by cars to Chicago and safety. It was never my good fortune to again meet him, although hearing from him frequently.

This dramatic episode of danger and flight, and of safety won only by cool courage, an adaptation of means to circumstances, and the loyalty of friends in an hour of need, illustrates somewhat the troubled and aggressive spirit of the time, and the dangers in which men were placed who attempted to confront the slave-power in any fearless discharge of duty. Governor Reeder had gone to the territory with full credentials of power, the representative in person of the government and the sovereignty of the people, backed apparently by all authority that could be thus conveyed, and expecting to administer the laws as he best understood them—the first man of the territory, and the last, apparently, against whom a threatening hand would dare be raised. But he fell under the displeasure of those who had staked everything upon the extension of slavery, and when he left the soil of Kansas it was as a fugitive, driven in desperate haste by night, with death the penalty of capture, disguised in a garb of the lowliest character, compelled even to forego the language of his native land, the pursuer upon his track with bloody purpose, and so hemmed in by danger that it was almost a miracle that he at last placed the broad Mississippi between himself and his foes, and reached a point where the flag could give him safety in fact as in name.

But to return to Lawrence. The morning after Reeder left, soon after sunrise, United States Marshal Donaldson, with about two or three hundred men—a part of his *posse comitatus*—arrived in Lawrence looking after Reeder. They were about as tough a looking set of men as one could find. Every man was armed with a Sharp's rifle, pistols and bowie-knife. I think there were arms enough in that party to satisfactorily equip a full regiment of Mexican guerrillas. They searched the hotel and the town. They could not be made to believe that Reeder was not hidden somewhere, and it is needless to say that they were very mad. A part of the force was left there for several days to watch for him.

The committee went right along with the investigation, taking no part in the outside events. A week later, having finished the investigation at Lawrence, we went to Topeka and then to Pawnee, and from thence to Leavenworth, arriving on the fifteenth of May and remaining until about the thirty-first. As would be expected, Leavenworth was stirred to fever-heat by what had been going on, and fears were entertained by some of the citi-

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zens that the members of the committee would be mobbed, or at least insulted. Evidences were given of a foundation for that fear, but no attack was made. The sessions of the committee were held in a large hall, where one day a company of about one hundred men, who styled themselves "regulators," dressed in red shirts and red pantaloons and slouch hats, armed with pistols and bowie-knives, marched in and broke into squadrons. It was evident that they intended to intimidate and drive the committee away and break up the session, but the committee kept right on at its work and paid no attention to them. Seeing that they did not scare anyone they marched out, went across the street, picked up a couple of fellows that had a store there, marched them down to a boat then at the wharf, put them aboard, and told them not to come back under the "pain and penalty of death."

A large number of the people in and about Leavenworth had formerly lived in Ohio and Michigan and knew both Howard and Sherman. Some of them belonged to the pro-slavery wing of the Democratic party, but did not approve of the course pursued by the leaders, and they kept the committee advised of all the movements that threatened trouble.

The committee by this time had taken a large amount of testimony, including copies of records and other documents containing valuable information connected with their investigation, and it was the purpose of the pro-slavery leaders to get hold of the testimony and destroy it. Had this been done I doubt if it could have been again obtained. The committee very wisely had duplicate copies made of much of it, and had quietly sent it away; but the leaders knew nothing of this and had organized a raid on the building or boarding-house where the members of the committee staid, and where all the papers were stored. The committee and the *attaches*, with the boarders, most of them free-state, numbered about forty. The house was a large, square, frame building, standing alone in the middle of about one acre of ground, and was supposed to be pretty easy of attack. Ample preparations, however, were made for defence, but the raiding party heard of it and never made the attack. Their purpose was to break in, set fire to the house, and in the general confusion get hold of the manuscript. This was the information conveyed to the committee by what was supposed to be reliable parties.

The pro-slavery leaders did all they could to create and keep up the excitement; men were assaulted right and left, intimidation was resorted to; many were notified to leave the town and territory within one day under pain of death, etc. A great many did leave. There lived in Leavenworth at that time a man by the name of Marcus J. Parrott, formerly a resident of Dayton, Ohio, but who had resided at Leavenworth since the organization of the territory. He had been a member of the Ohio legislature, elected from the Dayton district. He was a Democrat, but was not in favor of making Kansas a slave state, and for that reason was hated by his own political friends in the territory. He was a man of culture, a fine lawyer, had a good practice and was an eloquent speaker. He was notified by this band of

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what they called regulators that he must leave. There were about one hundred in this band; they wore red shirts, were led by bold leaders, were well armed, and made it their business to go around and notify people to leave. Parrott was notified by them that he must leave in three days. He refused. At the expiration of the time a squadron of men commanded by a trusted leader took him to a boat then at the wharf, put him aboard, and notified him that if he was found again in the territory within one year he would be shot without further notice. He did not return. A great many similar cases occurred while the committee was there.

Another departure from the territory at this time that came under my observation was that of one of the secretaries of the committee, Colonel G. T. Fogg of Concord, New Hampshire, a gentleman of education and high character. He was the editor of a paper at Concord when appointed, and just before leaving home to assume his duties as secretary took leave of his readers in a half column article stating, among other things, "that he was about to leave them for a few months, possibly forever, as he was going at the call of duty where he would not be free from danger; that he might fall by the ravages of disease, or by the dagger of the "border ruffian," but that he was firm in the belief

> "That whether on the gallows high
> Or in the battle's van,
> The noblest death that man can die
> Is when he dies for man."

This piece of pathos was, of course, intended for home consumption, but he found when he reached St. Louis that the papers there had copied it and it had been re-copied by some of the papers in Kansas by the time he reached there. This made the rabid fellows very mad, and they were looking out for that fellow, as they said, "that was so anxious to die for man;" that they would accommodate him, etc. Though it may be they had no intention of doing it, yet in the excited state of the country, it was uncomfortable, to say the least, for Colonel Fogg. He was advised by his friends on both sides that he had better quietly get away, as they were afraid some injury might be done him; that he was certain to be insulted if not assassinated, which latter was threatened. He quietly got aboard a boat one evening and dropped down to St. Louis, and that was the last of Colonel Fogg in Kansas territory while we were there.

Having finished the work at Leavenworth the committee went to Westporte, Missouri, and at the request of General Whitfield remained there several days. Great excitement prevailed and many threats were made. A number of the best citizens of the place called upon the committee and assured them that they were safe and that they would be protected. The investigating committee replied that they had no fears, that they were there in the proper discharge of duty and would remain until they got through, which they did the next day, and then went away. From there they went to Kansas City and shipped on board a boat for St. Louis, stopping at Independence to take the testimony of a few witnesses, and also at Jefferson City. These were mostly witnesses who had been driven from the territory. The committee arrived at St. Louis on the seventeenth; from there went directly

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to Detroit, the home of Mr. Howard, where they remained ten days preparing the report.

Mr. Howard was not in good health when he left home, and his labors and the excitement in Kansas had told upon him. He was sick and worn out. The preparation of the report fell to Mr. Sherman, who also had the laboring oar in Kansas. Mr. Howard manfully stated on the floor of congress that Mr. Sherman had prepared the report. Mr. Oliver did not go east with the other members of the committee, but went from Kansas City to his home in Missouri. The report was very full, was printed with all the testimony, and comprised a volume of twelve hundred pages, placing congress in possession of all the facts, which no one could gainsay, because they were taken from the records.*

What followed in the wake of these events is known to history, and needs no recital here. The story told by that report and the things of darkness upon which it threw a calcium light, foreshadowed and brought into distinctness the policy and purpose of the slaveholder; and yet more: it aroused and consolidated the north as never before, prepared the way for Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation, for Grant and Appomattox, for liberty in fact as in name, and for the creation of a Nation that has indeed been no laggard in the march of the world onward to a higher civilization and the enfranchisement of man.

And there is a material side to these results. Had slavery been allowed to take possession of Kansas and the other territories at that time ready to come into the Union—had such civilization and methods and views of things as prevailed in the slave states been deeply rooted in Kansas, Nebraska, and other divisions that have since blossomed as the rose, who can tell how much they might have retarded growth, and prevented such results as have been witnessed in the two decades past? Take this for illustration, in one word: While Kansas City, Topeka, Leavenworth, Lawrence and other places where Free-soil principles prevailed and Free-soil men were welcome have become great cities, and progressed straight forward from the day of beginning, Lecompton, the slave state stronghold and the headquarters of all

* But one member of that committee is now living. William A. Howard was six years in congress, when, by reason of failing health, he declined further re-election. He was appointed post-master at Detroit, and in 1877 appointed territorial governor of Dakota. He accepted with the hope that the climate would be beneficial to his failing health. He made a most valuable governor. He died in April, 1880, of a complication of diseases with which he had been afflicted ever since his work in Kansas. Few men have filled so many important public positions, and no one discharged his duties with more ability and strict integrity. Mordicai Oliver remained in congress some years, but he was not radical enough to meet the demands of his constituents, and so dropped out of public life. He died at his home in Missouri, honored by his neighbors and friends who knew him best, and respected by everyone. John Sherman, the surviving member of that committee, needs no introduction to the readers of these pages. He has been retained in public life by the state that has such good ground for pride in his work and reputation, from that day to this. The same cool courage, good common sense and industry that characterized his work in Kansas, have been displayed in all the years of his public life. He has constantly grown in strength and influence, and few there are who have made a deeper or truer impress on our National legislation, and none are better equipped in all the qualities that go to make a statesman and a good citizen.

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the plottings and evil designs of the border troubles, has been passed by, and now lies in effect unknown—a shadow of its former hope and promise; a village yet in size and influence. The slave hope upon which it was built became a curse rather than a help; the tide of emigration from north and east was not diverted toward it but rather sent elsewhere by the traditions and sentiments associated with its name.

Viewing all these things, let us confess to a share of the deepest gratitude to the men by whose courage and through whose blood the blessings of a free soil were secured to that virgin land beyond the Mississippi. They were martyrs as truly as those who lie at Gettysburg or in that dark acre by Andersonville. They faced danger and met death for their country's cause in all the essentials of purpose and deed, as surely as those who fell in the trenches of Vicksburg or on the heights of Lookout. The country is coming to realize that fact, and to award a homage too long delayed.

It seems, in one sense, but yesterday when the events above related occurred, and yet viewed in the light of results, the span stretches out almost beyond the point of realization. Look at the Kansas of to-day; her thousands and thousands of population; her scores of cities and hundreds of villages and towns; her wonderful and many railroad lines stretching to every point of the compass;* her rich productions of the soil; her manufactures; her wealth, energy, industry and enthusiasm; her rewards of the present and promises of the future; the sons she has sent forth to win their way in the world; the influence she has had in opening the great empire to the west. Great indeed were the perils of that brave struggle of a third of a century ago, when the inspired Quaker poet sang:

"On the lintels of Kansas
That blood shall not dry;
Henceforth the Bad Angel
Shall harmless go by;
Henceforth to the sunset
Unchecked on her way,
Shall Liberty follow,
The march of the day."

Viewed, I say, in the light of results, who shall regret the toil and danger through which they were brought about?

AMOS TOWNSEND.

* The marvel of growth, referred to in the above, may be better understood by a glance at the following figures: The number of railroads entering East St. Louis is thirteen; entering St. Louis, five; entering Kansas City, ten. The total mileage of lines completed west of the Mississippi river on the thirty-first of December, 1887, was *sixty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two*. Can any age of the world, or any country, show a development like that in the space of time covered in the above.

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THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

NATURE, THE FIRST ROAD-BUILDER.

WHEN Nature gave thought to the building of her highways, in the preparation of a habitation for man, she commenced far back in the hills of the inlands or among the reedy swamps of hidden forests, and broadened out her work as she went on. A spring here, a rivulet there, a mountain torrent yonder added volume and force to the ever-increasing stream; and by the coöperation of the many the broad river moved at last down toward the sea, carrying, in the early hours of mankind, the canoe of the savage and rude sailing craft, and at last the laden merchantman and great armed ships of iron and steel.

The river and the sea were the great and, at times, only highways of travel or transportation along which conquest or civilization, or the friendly exchanges of nations were carried for many centuries. The Roman sailed around the peninsula of Hispania and made his descent upon Britain, with favoring winds filling his sails and sturdy arms at the galley oars; but when he carried his eagles northward into Germany, years of toil and millions of expense were given to the building of that stone highway along which his army was to be led. The Norseman swept over the sea, fell upon England with relentless fury, moved westward, found Iceland and Greenland, and touched, long ere the days of Columbus, upon this far western coast.

It was by the sea that the Spanish barks at last brought the civilization of the old world to the new, and that added Mexico and Peru to the crown possessions of Spain. It was by the sea that the Portuguese found the Cape of Good Hope, and made his little country richer by far than many older and larger of the European kingdoms. It was by the sea that Cabot and Hudson and Drake made the name of England famous for exploration and discovery; and it was by the sea that the power of Spain was broken in a lost Armada, that Nelson wrote the word "Trafalagar" upon the banner of England, and John Paul Jones saved an infant republic in the hour of its sorest need.

It is by the way of the water-courses that civilization has always made its advance into any new land; and before the giant steam was harnessed to the bidding of man, safe ingress to any desired point away from the sea line was almost of necessity made by way of the navigable streams. It was around the shores of the Mediterranean that the ancient civilizations of the world clustered—Carthage, Egypt, Phœnicia, Greece and Rome—lands that had attained greatness when central Europe lay yet in barbaric darkness. Knowledge, culture, commerce,

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the improved arts of war and the improved arts of peace were wafted from one to the other by myriad sails upon this inland ocean, with no Alps to intervene and no German forests to forbid. No history of civilization can be written that does not follow closely along the lines of travel by which the ends of the world are brought together. Glance at those two little islands to the west and the east—England and Japan. The one opened all her gates of approach, asked the world to come in, a welcome guest, sent her sons afar whereever wind could carry a sail or the soil give vantage for a foothold, and to-day her flag is that of an empire and she stands in the van of the world's progress. The other barred out light and knowledge, made the waters about her a wall through which no man dare make ingress, sat silent and stupid in her insular pride and prejudice, and only awoke when the sun of enlightenment in this nineteenth century beat down her foolish pride and sent her, athirst for knowledge, to sit at the feet of younger nations across the sea.

The whole western coast of Europe, with France and Belgium and Holland as exponents of light, will carry out this illustration to demonstrated truth, when set against China, Corea and the walled-in nations of the jealous eastern coast of Asia.

Could an intelligent man, who had no knowledge of historic events, be set down with a map of this northern half of America spread out before him, he might demonstrate almost to a certainty the lines along which the European advance had been made to so much of the interior as was laid under subjugation before the genius of England and America had been set to the practical solution of the problem of the steam railroad. It was by the St. Lawrence that Jacques Cartier, La Salle, Champlain, Joliet and Marquette penetrated into the far west, found the headwaters of the Mississippi, and learned something of the extent of the mighty empire to which France laid claim; it was by the Mississippi from the south that De Soto and his Spanish followers made their advance north, to be followed later by such Spanish domain as was acquired in the fertile region of Louisiana; it was by the James river that the founders of the first English settlement in America reached the site upon which they built, and it was along the sea coast, the borders of the northern lakes, the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Hudson that the beginnings of America were found.

It is a profitless because unanswerable question to ask, yet none the less ask it men will: To what extent would the development of our country have been now carried had the steam road been left in that chaos of undefined ideas and speculations from whence it came? Progress must certainly have come, for the forces were there that would have produced it. Many strides forward were taken long ere the whistle of the first locomotive was heard, and the spirit that built Jamestown and Plymouth and New Amsterdam had not been content with the enunciation of an idea in Independence Hall or its demonstration and vindication at Yorktown. The wagon roads had been cut over the Alleghanies; the portages from headwaters of streams flowing eastward had been made across to those of streams flowing

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westward; the flatboatman's song was heard in every mile of that long expanse from Pittsburgh to New Orleans; the mineral and agricultural wealth of the country was being developed; states were springing up; the tide of travel rolled ever westward with the sun; the evolution of an empire was under way, and nothing of substance or theory could have prevented its accomplishment. We know that this Nation would have been built, because its construction was fully under way, and because Europe had been produced by the slow but progressive methods at work upon this side of the Atlantic.

Granting all this, no such advance as is witnessed by this year of grace 1888, could have been made by the stage-coach or the canal. The iron wings of the iron horse have not only lifted us onward in a material sense, but have quickened our methods and thought, have given us new ideas and shorter roads to results, have sent a quicker throb into our business and personal life, have given us more existence in a week than our forefathers had in a month. I read one critic who calls the railroad power a Frankenstein—a monster built by man, over which he has lost all control. It seems more fitting to name it the magic carpet of Houssain, which annihilated space, and carried its happy owner from zone to zone with the rapidity of thought. The evils that have attended its advent are counterbalanced over and over again by the good; and such as exist are within the remedy of man and will be removed by legislation, by experience, by mutual concessions and compromises, and by the keen-sightedness of invested capital, which does not permit itself to be long put in peril of the popular disapproval.

THE DAY OF THE CANAL.

The benefits secured from the natural waterways led men of a progressive and inquiring turn of mind to ask themselves and each other this pertinent question: Why not take a hint from nature and pattern ourselves upon her model? If she has given us the Rhine, the Thames and the Mississippi, why cannot we have our rivers of artificial water, to join those cities and aid those interests for which she has done nothing? All countries cannot be Holland and all cities Venice, but leaves can be taken from the book of experience recorded by each. So they set themselves to work; and how well they succeeded can be read somewhat by the results produced before the days of canal decadence, near the middle of the present century.

The canal is no modern idea wrought out by the students of recent commercial needs and advances. It is one of the earliest outgrowths of man's necessities. The grand canal of China, which makes one long navigable stream of the rivers Kiam and Hoambo, uniting Canton and Pekin, is one of the ambitious things of the ancient world; while "the first masters in science, the architects of the obelisks, the ancient Egyptians, who, with such efforts of industry, compelled the waters of the Nile to fertilize their plains and to form a communication between their cities, conceived a plan that might have changed the whole face of Europe, by shortening the distance between it and

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the East Indies and China."* They began the construction of a canal, which was to establish communication between Memphis and the Arabian gulf, and so to continue the navigation of the Nile and the Mediterranean—an idea that found partial fulfillment in Suez at the hands of the then barbarian Britain and Gaul to the northwest, long after the glory and power of Egypt had passed away. In Strabo, Diodorus and Herodotus we read of this dream, while the discoveries of recent travelers have actually shown us traces of the work. Rome had the energy and grasp of mind to plan great enterprises of internal communication, but never the leisure from war and politics to carry them into effect. It was the purpose of Julius Cæsar to lead a canal from Rome to Terracina, but the project was never realized. From the work above quoted we gain in a few graphic words a store of knowledge concerning these ancient and ambitious works: "Quintus Curius Hostilius made an opening into the Po from the Mincio, which joined the Tartaro and the ancient Philistine canal. Æmilius Scaurus drained the marshes of Parma and Placentia by means of navigable canals. Augustus by another canal united the different branches of the Po with the ports of Adria and Ravenna. . . . Odoacer has given his name to a canal which went straight to the sea from the River Montone before it reached Ravenna. The Moors opened a much larger canal from the city of Granada to the river Guadiana, now called the Guadalquivir. Charlemagne, in the vast extent of his expeditions, undertook the project of forming a junction of the Mayne and the Rhine with the Danube, and of the ocean with the Black sea; he even began the canal that was to join the Almutz, one of the tributaries of the Danube, with the Rednitz, which discharges itself into the Mayne. The two canals which form the communication of the Tesino with the Adda, and which unite at Milan, are the most perfect and most celebrated work of hydraulic architecture previous to the restoration of the arts and sciences."

The reasons that led to the creation of the artificial waterways described above were at work also in northern and western Europe, especially in Holland and France, where the continental traveler of to-day can discover abundant evidence of the toil and treasure thus expended. The real era of canal building in England may be said to have opened about 1761, although works in that direction had been commenced and carried forward ere that day. In the year named the duke of Bridgewater presented a petition for a bill that would permit the construction of the great canal that bears his name. The move met with strenuous opposition from landowners, from the traders of Warrington who were interested in the navigation between that town and Manchester, and also from the traders and others of the city last named, who contended that the natural navigation of the Mersey and Irwell were sufficient to accommodate all the carriage required. "There was for a long period," we are told,† "a fierce conflict of

* 'A Treatise on Rivers and Torrents.' By Professor Paul Frisi. London: page 182.

† 'Railway Problems.' By J. S. Jeans, London: 1887, p. 2.

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vested interests and prejudices. Dr. Johnson complained that canals would interfere with country seclusion, and make living dear where it used to be cheap by taking rural produce to crowded centers. It was also complained that they would displace pack-horses and wagons, which had up to that time served for cross country transport, and that they would injure the trade of towns near which they might be carried. These, with other objections equally short-sighted and, in the light of our present experience, equally ridiculous, were instrumental for a time in checking canal development." But like all influences that seek to check progress by mere inertness in the road upward, these prejudices were compelled to give way, and the various canal projects were carried forward with resistless determination and, at times, with wide-spread enthusiasm. As the people came to understand that markets were thus opened for their productions, and the carriage of commodities for their own use cheapened, they ranged themselves upon the side of the engineers, and the results, as recently stated,* were soon made apparent in a manner even the most obtuse could understand: "Parliament, by its furtherance of legislation for the development of canals and of agriculture, probably contributed more largely to the National prosperity than by any other group of public or private measures passed towards the close of the last century." The extent to which the new idea took hold upon England can be appreciated in the fact that over one hundred canal acts were passed before 1800, the years of 1791–94 furnishing a genuine mania for the building of new lines of water communication. The following statement† of the number and cost of canals in the three kingdoms in 1823, will be found of value in this connection: The number of navigable canals in the united kingdom is 103, of which 97 are formed in England alone—not including those whose length does not exceed five miles—five in Scotland and only one in Ireland. The total extent of these canals is 2,682¼ miles, viz.: 2,741 miles of English canals 149¾ miles in Scotland, and 69½ miles in the Dublin and Shannon canals. The sum expended in these constructions is estimated at thirty million pounds sterling; and, in some cases, the original shares have arisen to fifteen and even twenty times their original value. In the lines of these canals, forty-eight subterranean passages occur, the entire length of which is not accurately known, but forty of them, whose lengths are stated, give a total development of 57,051 yards, or more than thirty-two miles. It is deserving of remark that of the total length of English canals, more than fourteen hundred miles communicate with the grand navigable line between London and Liverpool, the length of this being above 264 miles, and it is connected in its course with 45 others, of which the united extent equals 1,150 miles. Such is the present state of English navigable canals, not a yard of which existed before 1755.

THE FIRST ROADS OF AMERICA.

The example of England was not lost

* 'A History of Private Bill Legislation.' By F. Clifford, Vol. I., p. 41.

† 'Niles' Weekly Register,' Vol. I., third series, p. 56.

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upon America, and as soon as independence was made secure, the Union placed upon a solid foundation by the Constitution of 1789, and foreign questions settled by the War of 1812 and the treaty of Ghent, the active brain of the American capitalist and law-maker was set to the solution of the question of more rapid and cheaper communication for commerce and travel between points not set upon the natural waterways. Internal trade in the early days of this century was a different affair from what it is to-day—the pack-horse, the wheeled vehicle where roads would allow, the canoe, the sloop and the bateau being the means upon which all depended. Set the foot back any distance from the settled districts, and the road gave place to a bridle-path or Indian trail. As the needs of the people who had gone forth to build up settlements in the distant west were made apparent, and as the infant mail service of the Nation began to expand its ambition to meet the demands upon it, the general government awoke to the need of post-roads, and made an effort to supply them. The post-roads at the beginning of the National career of the Republic in 1790, extended already eighteen hundred miles, and extensions were pushed with patriotic energy. National roads began to be marked out upon the crude maps of the country to the west. The most important of these early undertakings was the construction of a road from Baltimore, by way of the Cumberland, on to the Ohio river, and thence still onward through Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to St. Louis. Annual appropriations were made by congress for the carrying forward of this great work, while other important enterprises of a like character were undertaken—notably the highway between Washington and New Orleans. By 1811 the post-roads had been extended over thirty-seven thousand miles.

The good example set by the National government was soon emulated by the states. Money was contributed from the general funds for the building of highways along the natural lines of travel, while turnpike and plank-road corporations invested private capital in all directions which promised a return for the outlay. The laws were soon made to bear upon this important question, and all citizens were compelled to contribute so much of labor or money to keep the roads of their own townships in repair. "The turnpike companies," says one authority,* "generally had excellent roads, for the expenses of which, and for profit, they were authorized to collect tolls at gates placed across their highway at certain distances apart. Some of these companies, within the last forty or fifty years, covered their roads with planks, but this process has been abandoned as a failure. Others have macadamized their roads, a process invented and first put into operation on roads in England by J. L. Macadam, a Scottish engineer, who died in 1836."†

* Benson J. Lossing, in 'The American Centenary,' 1876, p. 374.

† The process of macadamizing, it may be explained in passing, consists of "covering the roadbed with stones broken into angular pieces about the size of a pigeon's egg, which, under the pressure of wheels, will, in time, combine into a compact mass, excluding all water, and consequently not subject to the action of frost, and becoming as solid as the original rock." Macadamizing was first introduced

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The aid given by these highways, National and state, to commerce, emigration and internal development was of immeasurable value, extending from Maine on the one hand to Louisiana and Florida on the other; and the spirit that caused their creation was soon extended to the removal of obstructions from streams and the improvement of the inland harbors. When over thirty million dollars had been thus expended, objection arose upon the ground that the Constitution gave no power to expend the public money for such purposes, and the question became one of politics. Work in that direction was suspended because of the exercise of the veto power by President Jackson, but the question was one that was debated in party councils and declared upon in party platforms for many years to come.

THE AMERICAN CANALS.

While a diversion from the main subject to be treated in these pages cannot be taken sufficient to give a full history of the American canal, some inquiry must be directed thereto as illustrating and introducing the improved method of travel that was to come in its wake. The railroad man of course knows, as the general reader in the main does not know, that the steam road when first proposed was intended as a link connecting the waterways together, and by no means to displace them—to bind this lake to that, or this river to the other, but never to attempt the foolish feat of competing with either by laying a track upon their banks, It was only after a practical trial of the steam line and a development of its power, that even those who had built it and had its operation in charge came to understand the capacity of the slave who had been harnessed to do their will. Those who first began to realize the power of steam hesitated to urge their theories upon a doubting people, and put forth their ideas as a suggestion rather than a declaration. I have found in the Baltimore *Federal Gazette* of 1823, a curious communication that suggests a dawning prophecy of belief in that direction. "If," declares this writer, "a railway can be constructed in any country where a canal could be made, and in many situations where canals are impracticable through want of water; if loaded boats and wagons have been let down two hundred and twenty feet on some of them; if they can be completed and kept in repair for far less expense than canals, and do not occcupy one-fourth part of the room; if they cause no bilious or intermitting fevers in the country through which they pass; and if five or six wagons, each loaded with twenty hundredweight, can be impelled with a velocity of ten or twelve miles per hour by means of one of Perkins' steam engines, expending two or three bushels of coal from Pittsburgh to Baltimore; if these things be so, and they can all be demonstrated, is it not time to abandon impossibilities and think seriously on a subject of the greatest importance?"

To whom the honor belongs of originating the canal system in America, would

into this country in 1820. It was readily adopted in England; and a few years after its introduction there, out of the twenty-five thousand miles of public roads in Great Britain, nearly seven-tenths were macadamized.

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be a question difficult to determine. Perhaps no one man can be pointed out as occupying so distinguished a relation to a work in which so many had part—each suggesting or performing something to-day, or making the way plain for the labors of others to-morrow. The weight of evidence seems to lie in favor of General Philip Schuyler,* who certainly was one of the original movers in that direction, and contributed much to the bringing about of important results. In 1761 he was sent to England to settle the accounts of General John Bradstreet, colonial quartermaster-general, and while there examined the Bridgewater canal which had been but recently completed. He was deeply impressed with the various things he saw and heard amid England's excitement over her new works completed or under way, and gave such study to the subject as his time and opportunities permitted. Upon his return home he dwelt with enthusiasm upon the theme, and naturally cast about for directions in which a like enterprise and triumph of engineering could be brought into play for the development of America, and it was not long before he was suggesting an artificial connection between Lake Champlain and the Hudson river, and we have this memorandum from a gentleman who became his guest at about this time: "General Schuyler informed me that an uninterrupted water carriage between New York and Quebec might be perfected at fifty thousand pounds sterling expense."

The war came on, and during it and the period of recuperation of energy and finances that followed, not even so earnest a canal disciple as Schuyler could find the heart to suggest much beyond an occasional note, that the matter might not be lost sight of altogether. Others had ere this given the theme an attention not wholly of a speculative character, and among these was one Elkanah Watson, who paid a visit to Mount Vernon in 1785, where he "found the mind of Washington engaged in a project for connecting the waters of the Potomac with those west of the Alleghany mountains, by a canal, in order to divert the extensive fur trade from Detroit to Alexandria, which was then almost exclusively enjoyed by Montreal." The result was a renewed interest and energy on the part of Watson and the production of some practical results.

In 1788 Watson proceeded to the head of navigation on the Mohawk river, at Fort Schuyler, now Rome, New York, and was there impressed with the feasibility of an artificial water connection between the Hudson river—which meant a direct route to the ocean—and Lake Ontario, which opened the whole basin of the great lakes, by the following route: A canal from Wood creek to Oneida lake, into which it flowed, and thence down the Onondaga river to Oswego, on Lake Ontario.

The idea was slowly but surely worked out through calculations, conferences with General Schuyler and other enthusiasts,

* General Schuyler was of Holland descent, and born at Albany, New York, on November 22, 1733. He was given a thorough education, served in the French war, in the Continental congress, and in the Revolutionary army with honor to himself and his country. He was a member of the United States senate, occupied a number of responsible civil positions, and died on November 18, 1804.

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and the sounding of the opinions of those by whose private capital any such undertaking must be achieved. By 1792 public and private opinion had arrived at a point to permit the taking of a definite step, and accordingly the legislature of New York passed an act by which two companies were chartered—the Western Inland Lock Navigation company and the Northern Inland Lock Navigation company. General Schuyler was made president of both of these organizations.

Both proposed routes were explored and work upon them commenced in 1793. The western canal was never completed according to its original design, but a greater than it was opened to commerce along the same route at a later day. Gouverneur Morris was one of the inspiring spirits that carried forward the work begun by Schuyler and Watson, and it was largely by his influence that New York was led, in 1810, to appoint a board of canal commissioners, of which he was made chairman; and the work which ended in the completion of the great Erie canal was practically commenced and from thence pushed with no hesitation as to the amount of energy, toil and money needed in the completion of the task.

Meanwhile the people to the southward were not idle nor insensible of the benefits to be derived from the new methods of transportation. In 1774 Washington had procured the passage of a law by the legislature of Virginia, granting the right for the building of works to connect the Potomac and Ohio rivers. The war deferred the attempt to carry this project into action, but upon the return of peace it was revived, in the creation of the Potomac company, of which Washington was made president. The charter of this organization was extended from time to time, but the purpose for which it was formed was never carried into effect. In 1820 a less ambitious but more successful effort was made, when a new company was formed for the construction of a continuous canal from Georgetown on the Potomac to Cumberland, a distance of 184 miles, which event marks the origin of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal. Pennsylvania by this time had also appointed commissioners whose duty it was to explore routes for connecting the tidewater of that state with the northern lakes, who reported in favor of a route by the Juniata, partly by a canal and partly by slack water of that river. As a result of these measures the Schuylkill and Susquehanna company was formed, in 1789. One year later the Delaware and Schuylkill company was organized.*

The building of the Erie canal marked the most important step yet taken in this direction; and amid the general and almost National celebration of the opening of that great channel between the east and the west, the conclusion was fixed in the minds of the majority that human skill

* "The oldest works of the kind in the United States, made for navigation, are the South Hadley and Montague canals in Massachusetts, undertaken in 1792 by a company for passing the rapids at South Hadley and Montague Falls, in the Connecticut river. Their united extent is only five miles. The Middlesex canal, authorized in 1787 and intended to connect Boston harbor with the Merrimac river at Chelmsford, near Lowell, was not completed until 1804. These works are now abandoned as waters for navigation. In 1802 the Santee canal, in South Carolina, was finished."—'The American Centenary,' p. 380.

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and enterprise had reached their culmination in the building of this model, cheap, rapid and perfect highway, by which natural obstacles were surmounted, and which took up and completed the work of nature where she had left off. It was the earliest completed of the various great canals projected, and one which, from its location, length and the great systems of natural waterways it connected, was certain to exert a marked influence upon the commerce of the country. From the Hudson river, at Albany, it strikes westward to Buffalo, on Lake Erie, and even in these days when trunk lines by the score tie east and west so closely together, it is no inconsiderable factor in the solution of the problems of transportation.

Upon the appointment of the canal commissioners of New York, above referred to, they found an efficient and able ally in De Witt Clinton,* who, with others, was appointed in 1812 to lay the matter of the proposed canal before the general government, with a view that congress should undertake it as a National work. The suggestion was not adopted, while the declaration of war with England delayed the pushing of the enterprise by the state, the most interested in the results. When Clinton was elected governor in 1816 he found his occasion, and made the most able and earnest use of the power and influence thus placed in his hands. He worked day and night, was zealous in season and out of season, and saw the great enterprise not only commenced but completed and dedicated forever to the public use. The cost of the canal was $7,602,000, all of which was borne by the state of New York.†

The mood in which the public received the dedication of these great works built from time to time—a detailed account of which need be carried no further in this connection—can be judged somewhat by the generation that had no part therein, by a glance at the ceremonies by which the Erie canal was opened to the public use, and the comments and speculations indulged in by the press of the day.

"Wednesday of the present week," says the *New York Commercial Advertiser* of October 11, 1822, "was not only a proud day for New York, but for the Union, for,

* While the name of Mr. Clinton is so connected with the canal systems of America that the one can hardly be mentioned without the other, and while many do him injustice by giving him that which he never claimed—a connection with the Erie canal that excludes all others—it is but just to grant to General Schuyler, Mr. Watson, Mr. Morris and their early coadjutors the due meed of praise that is theirs by right. Mr. Clinton was born at Little Britain, New York, on March 2, 1769; held many important public positions, among which was the governorship of New York, and died on the eleventh of February, 1828.

† The following facts, tersely stated by Benson J. Lossing, the historian, will be of interest in this connection: Untold wealth has been won for the state and the city of New York by its operations, for over its bosom has floated products of the northwestern states and territories, valued at billions of dollars. In the year 1872, before the panic depressed business, the value of property transported in that canal, notwithstanding a three track railway is laid parallel with it, was about one hundred and sixty-eight millions of dollars. The value of all freight that had passed over it from 1837 to 1872, inclusive, was $4,795,215,078. The Erie canal has been enlarged, and is now seventy feet wide on the surface east of Rochester, and larger westward of that city; fifty feet wide at the bottom, and seven feet in depth.

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although the joyous festival at Albany was a celebration of an event in the achievement of which New York has exerted her enterprise and physical energies single-handed and alone, yet the stupendous object is not the less important in a National point of view. In addition to the incalculable benefits it will confer on our state in respect to commercial affairs, the canal will long serve as a chain to bind together rich and populous territories, far distant from each other, and whose real or imaginary diversity of interests might, otherwise, and at no very remote period, cause a dissolution alike injurious and disastrous to all. By means of this great artificial river, and others which will be formed in consequence of our example, the Atlantic states and the rich and widely extended regions of the west will become neighbors, and a close community of interests will induce them to cling together with a degree of tenaciousness and constancy which even a daily recollection of their consanguinity would not otherwise have produced. The celebration of the completion of the northern canal and of the eastern section of the great western canal and the passage of the first boat from the latter into the Hudson . . . took place on Wednesday, the eighth instant, agreeably to the arrangements previously made by the corporation and the citizens of Albany." The description of the outward form and movements of the occasion is next given, and shows that the capital city of the Empire state was fully aroused to the greatness of the event and disposed to give it due honor. "The lower gates of the lock were then opened," continues the narrator, on arriving at that important point in the ceremonies, "and the boat entered the basin amidst the roar of artillery and the loud and oft repeated huzzas of thousands of freemen. She was towed through the basin into the river and up again in the channel by twelve full manned barges. . . As she passed the line of packets and steamboats the *Clinton* was often saluted with the most enthusiastic cheers by the male, while thousands of white handkerchiefs fluttered in the air from the hands of the females. . . . Having arrived at the upper end of the mole, the canal commissioners and their associates landed and the procession formed."

An occasional passage from the many addresses of that occasion will impress upon us something of the importance of the event and the certainty with which the people believed that the problem of cheap and rapid communication from point to point had at last been solved—unmindful, apparently, of Trevithick and his Pen-y-darran locomotive, already constructed; of Oliver Evans, traversing the streets of Philadelphia in his odd steam wagon, or "boat on wheels;" or of that prophecy uttered as early as 1813, that the time would surely come when a carriage would "set out from Washington in the morning, the passengers will breakfast in Baltimore, dine at Philadelphia and sup at New York." *

* Evans published in 1813 a small volume in which he began a translation of the future, in the following words: "The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam-engines, from one city to another, almost as fast as birds can fly, fifteen or twenty miles an hour. Passing through the air with such velocity, changing the scenes in such rapid succession, will be the most exhilarating exercise. . . . To accomplish this, two sets of railways

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"Impressed with feelings of gratitude," said the mayor of Albany, Charles E. Dudley, in the course of his extended address to the canal commissioners, "to the Divine Ruler of the universe, the citizens of Albany have assembled this day for the purpose of testifying their joy on beholding the magnificent spectacle of the union of the waters of the Erie and Champlain canals with the Hudson river, and of the passage of the first boat from the grand canal through the lock at this place. In behalf of the common council and citizens of Albany, I tender you the most cordial congratulations on this propitious event, and on the successful completion of the canal connecting Lake Champlain with the Hudson river, and of the Erie canal, from Rochester, on the Genesee river, to the tide waters of the Hudson at this place. . . . The citizens of Albany have full confidence in the signal benefits which the inhabitants of this state will derive from the completion of canal navigation from lakes Erie and Champlain to the Hudson, and they are not insensible to the happy location of their own city at the termination of the grand canal, and on the margin of a noble river. It is with feelings of pride that they have witnessed the development of the physical, financial and moral energies of this state, manifested in the commencement and accomplishment of the greatest work of art in the western world—a work which elevates the character of the state, advances the glory of the Nation, and contributes to the preservation and permanency of the union of the states, which was considered by the immortal Washington as 'the primary object of patriotic desire.' The present will form one of the most important eras in the annals of this state, the anniversary of which, next to that of our National independence, will ever be remembered with emotions of gratitude and celebrated with demonstrations of joy, for, so long as our fields shall be cultivated, so long as our cities and villages shall be inhabited, and so long as the waters of the majestic Hudson shall mingle with those of the Atlantic ocean, will these canals continue as imperishable monuments of the wisdom and public spirit of those illustrious men, who, by the influence of their talents, gave the first impulse to the undertaking; of the skill, energy and perseverance of the commissioners and engineers under whose direction the work has been executed, and, more especially, of the patriotism of the people of the state of New York, who, by their approbation, sanctioned the munificent appropriations made by the successive legislatures for carrying into effect the grand design."

De Witt Clinton declared that "futurity will disclose the benefits that it will produce;" William Bayard pronounced it "a great enterprise," destined to "connect

will be laid (so nearly level as not to deviate more than two degrees from a horizontal line), made of wood or iron, on smooth paths of broken stone or gravel, with a rail to guide the carriages, so that they may pass each other in different directions, and travel by night as well as by day; and the passengers will sleep in these stages as comfortably as they now do in steam stage-boats. Twenty miles per hour is about thirty-two feet per second, and the resistance of the air will then be about one pound to the square foot, but the body of the carriages will be shaped like a swift-swimming fish, to pass easily through the air. . . . The United States will be the first Nation to make this discovery, and her wealth and power will rise to an unparalleled height."

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the valleys of the Ohio and the Mohawk," "create a home market for our products," and "unite a large portion of our people in strong ties of a community of commercial interest, and, under God, as we trust, secure and consolidate the union of these states;" while William James of Albany declared that "we this day commence an epoch which posterity will consecrate to the honor of the distinguished instruments of providence who have conceived and promoted a work equally splendid and beneficial, and which will be a lasting monument of glory and a source of wealth to the state."*

"Thus," declares the exulting editor, in conclusion, "has closed one of the greatest, happiest, proudest, most propitious scenes our state has ever witnessed. Excepting that day on which she joined the National Confederacy, there is none like it in her history; nor is there like to be, saving that which will commemorate the completion of the same grand design, now so near its consummation."

THE FORESHADOWINGS OF STEAM.

The question of which the canal was a portion of the answer—that of cheap and rapid transportation for goods and travelers—was one of the foremost under consideration in the days now under review, and many curious things can be culled by the student of history, as he goes over the record and discovers how near the people were to the practical solution hidden yet only a few years beyond, and yet so unconscious of that fact. "Rivers, canals and roads," we find it written in 1823,† "are the arteries and veins of a country and cause everything to centre into the common good, as to the human heart, the seat of life." "A letter from the west," continues the same narration, "informs us that a gentleman traveled from Baltimore to St. Louis, more than twelve hundred miles, in twelve successive days. Persons arrive at St. Louis in the same time from New Orleans, and may return in less than five days. After a time people will travel all the way by water from New York to New Orleans, by an interior route, or, if they like it better, may make a continuous voyage from the latter to Quebec, passing through Erie and Champlain, lakes famous in story." "A few years ago," writes the startled editor of a Mobile paper, in the same year, "intelligent men would have been as likely to believe that a canal would be cut along the Alleghany ridge, and supplied with rum and molasses from the old lady's rivers and lakes to float barges upon, as that flour and bacon should be brought to Mobile, all the way by water, from the back of Virginia, as they now frequently are. Indeed, such wonders have been worked in a few years, in the way of steam power, canals, etc., that there is some probability of our being enabled,

*Some of the toasts proposed at the banquet which was a part of this celebration, must have more than a curious interest in this connection: "Our sister states beyond the mountains—Though distant, the canal will make us one family;" "The contemplated canals in various parts of the United States—Their completion will open new sources of wealth to our highly favored country;" "The canals of the United States—Links in the great chain, they will be the bond of our union;" "Canals and steamboats of New York—Two ligaments formed to bind an empire together;" "Our antipodes—Whom the improvements of our age have made neighbors."

†Niles' Register, No. 24, June 14, 1823, p. 235.

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ere long, to make passages from the Mexican gulf, along the Atlantic coast to New England, in steamboats, and return, by way of the western states, in the same vessel we start in, without being subjected to a single mile of jolting."

"We lately noticed," adds another, in surprise as to the reckless speed with which the world was moving, "a journey in a stage from Utica to Albany and back, two hundred miles, in seventeen hours and twenty-eight minutes. This excited the zeal of some at Buffalo, and a party of seven persons performed eighty miles in six hours and twenty-six and a half minutes. It appears that there was some time lost on the road for the want of information; one set of horses had to make two stages in one day. Why the necessity of this waste of horse flesh? of traveling nearly thirteen miles an hour on a party of pleasure, and at every moment in danger of running a foul of other carriages on the road? But it is well to recollect that Buffalo was in the wilderness twelve years ago—a place so distant that an inhabitant of the city of New York would make his will and kiss his wife and children, as for the last time, before he ventured on such a journey. Now he puts up three or four changes of linen and as many neckcloths and returns before they are soiled by use. Such is the effect of schools, roads, bridges and canals"—the marval of it! In relation to the cost of freightage, as estimated under the new order of things, we have the testimony of De Witt Clinton himself in these words:* "The boats which have been built expressly for the canal will carry from thirty to forty tons, and I presume that vessels may be used conveying one hundred tons. The transportation of a ton of flour from Buffalo to Albany, by the canal, will not cost more than ten dollars, freight and toll included. By land it would cost one hundred dollars."

To quote at random, here and there, from the newspaper expressions of the day:

"By the line of steamboats and stages, a person has lately traveled from New York to Boston, 270 miles, in 25½ hours! and without fatigue, being able to take a whole night's sleep in a comfortable bed, on the way! If anyone, thirty years ago, had said that such a thing was possible, he would have been thought of as nearly insane."

"A sloop called the *Gleaner* has arrived at New York from St. Albans, in the state of Vermont, with a cargo consisting of twelve hundred bushels of wheat, and other articles. She will carry sixty tons of merchandise, and does not appear to have had any difficulty in passing through the northern canal. It is supposed she will safely navigate the Hudson, and she is designed as a regular packet between St. Albans and the city of New York. Look at the map! an uninterrupted sloop navigation from one place to the other. When the Green Mountain vessel arrived at New York, the veteran artillery were ordered out and she was saluted from the battery. It is impossible to hear of such things without feeling proud of the success that has crowned the public spirit of our brethren

*In a letter from De Witt Clinton to James Riley of Van Wert county, Ohio, under date of Albany, New York, September 6, 1823.

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of New York, or without being thankful for the glorious examples that they have given to the people of the rest of the states."

"Hitherto it required twenty-five or thirty days and an expense of from twenty-five to thirty dollars per ton to transport goods from New York to St. Albans; the time now needful is from ten to fourteen days, and the expense of transportation about ten dollars per ton. What a saving of time and labor!"

"A steamboat passed Palmyra on the fifth instant steering for the west, at the rate of about four miles an hour. The agitation of the water caused by its wheels was thought not to be so injurious to the banks of the canal as the swell of a boat drawn by horses at the same speed."

"The whole route between Baltimore and Louisville was lately traveled, by stages and steamboats, in five days and twelve hours, exclusive of twenty hours lost by being detained at various places."*

"It is stated in one of the New York papers that a barrel of flour can now be transported from Albany to New York, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, for twelve and one-half cents, and that one individual offers to do it for seven cents."

"A gentleman may take an early dinner in Philadelphia and arrive at Washington next morning to breakfast, and comfortably sleep six or seven hours of the time. The distance by land is 137 miles, but, as traveled by the stages and steamboats, about 164—to-wit: 110 by water and 54 by land. The passengers (with the mail) who leave Philadelphia at twelve o'clock in the day, reach Washington at nine o'clock the next morning."

Illustrations of this tenor might be continued to an indefinite extent, as serving to show that rapid transit was recognized as one of the prerequisites to commercial and National advancement, and that improved methods were sure to meet with warm welcome and generous support if they could but prove themselves worthy thereof.

Even while newspapers, financiers and lawmakers were seeking means by which the stage-coach, the canal-packet and the steamboat might be made to furnish all the carriage needed by land and water, and while many believed that the maximum of possible dispatch had been reached, quiet men of the two great English speaking nations were thoughtfully and patiently working their way toward the grand achievement of modern days; toward a result far beyond their wildest dreams; toward the awakening of a power that should in one sense revolutionize the world, and that should, in the sight of men then living, gird the globe with iron bands and bring the uttermost parts of the earth together.

J. H. KENNEDY.

[*To be continued.*]

* The *National Gazette*, in October, 1823, gives a list of seventy-nine steamboats employed on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, with the following average of time consumed in travel between the points named: Cincinnati to New Orleans, 8 days; return on same, 16 days; Cincinnati to Louisville, 15 hours; return on same, 30 hours; Cincinnati to Pittsburgh, 5 days; return, 60 hours; Cincinnati to Wheeling, 5 days; return, 2 days.

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THE CANADIAN REBELLION OF 1837.

II.

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT arrived in Cleveland on the fifth of December, and with his aids made his headquarters at the American house. On the sixth one of his officers called on Collector Samuel Starkweather, requesting him to invite such of the leaders and sympathizers of the rebellion named by him, to call upon him at his quarters at the American house, for a conference and friendly talk. Collector Starkweather, in pursuance of that request, called upon and introduced to the general Dr. A. D. Smith, John R. St. John and Samuel Underhill as "Patriot orators who had committed no overt acts." He received them with true soldierly politeness and dignity, and, after an appropriate introduction of the subject in hand—the troubled state of the frontier and the anxiety of the government authorities to bring these unlawful troubles to a peaceful end—he invited each to express his views to him freely and without reserve. This each proceeded to do with subdued eloquence, as if glad of the chance to be let down and out of what then appeared to be a lost cause. The general's patriotic, eloquent and unanswerable response (it seemed like a father's lecture to erring and misguided children) was received with great satisfaction, and with such hearty approval that they all joined in an earnest request that he would express similar sentiments in an address to the people at a meeting to be called in the large dining-hall of the American house, in the evening. To this General Scott readily assented. Posters were hastily printed announcing the "address by General Winfield Scott at the American house dining-hall, on the Canadian rebellion," and willing efforts were made to spread the news and fill the hall, by the leaders, so that all might see that the heavy hand of the governments of the United States and Canadas had opened the way to a safe retreat from all further participation in the rebellion, and return to their homes and peace.

The hall was crowded; the noble warrior, the hero of Lundy's Lane, standing erect in full uniform, like Saul, head and shoulders above the multitude, delivered one of the most thrilling, eloquent and patriotic addresses amid deafening cheers ever listened to in this city. About ten o'clock in the evening, General Scott and suit went on board the United States steamer *Constitution*, bound for Detroit, accompanied by Captain DeHart in command of over one hundred United States troops.

Some of the details of the raid under General Bierce in the steamboats *Constellation* and *Constitution* were reported to an officer of the customs by one of the Patriot aids of General Bierce. He said the officers in command of the expedition were; General Bierce, General Scott,

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Captain Lewis (killed), Colonels Finny, Burnet and Harvelle; a six and a half feet Kentuckian, a brave fellow, worthy of a better cause (also reported killed) crossed over to the Canada side in a steamboat with about two hundred men and commenced an attack on the barracks at Windsor before being discovered. They soon set fire to the barracks and killed nearly all the men quartered there as they came out.

One British officer was ordered to surrender. He asked, "To whom?" That was a poser! The "Patriots" had not thought of that question, and no one was prepared to give him an answer. He, seeing them hesitate, drew a pistol, fired at the men and ran, but was, unfortunately, shot down by the unerring riflemen of the "Patriot" army. A fine gold watch, a handsome gold-mounted sword and some money were taken from him.

The "Patriots" were soon forced to retreat and most of them passed over to the United States. It was said the American steamboat *Erie* fired into them while crossing over to Hog island.

It was reported that many of the "Patriots" were arrested by the United States authorities, put under bonds to appear for trial in the United States court at Detroit, and those who escaped arrest concealed themselves or fled precipitately to their homes.

The excitement and unsettled state of things caused by the rebellion and its attendant evils had become a serious burthen to the people, and on all sides and among all classes there was unmistakable rejoicing when the end came.

To show by what means the end was hastened and the expeditions and plans of the "Patriots" so cunningly matured in the secret lodges of the "Hunters" against the upper province of Canada were defeated, the following narrative will not fail to be interesting:

At the very outbreak of the Canadian rebellion, as has been before stated, our government through its proper authorities sent confidential instructions to the collectors of customs and their officers to be vigilant in noting and reporting all overt acts tending to a breach of the peace and the neutrality laws between the United States and Great Britain, especially along the Canadian frontiers.

It was soon known "Hunters'" lodges had been established by refugee Canadians called by Americans sympathizers, in all the principal towns and cities along the borders. At quite an early date a very important and active one was inaugurated in Cleveland. Its work was secret and guarded, but many were known, as well as their place of meeting, by some of the officers here. Strangers appearing on the streets in close confab with known "Hunters," especially known when traced with them to the lodge rooms, were noted and watched. Such a stranger, openly claiming to be a cruelly persecuted Canadian refugee, made his appearance in Cleveland and was taken into the lodge of the Hunters and warmly welcomed. He was a man about thirty years old, about five feet six in height, strong built, sandy hair and complexion, white, regular teeth and a splendid talker. The Hunters best known to the community were proud of his acquaintance, introduced him to many of their friends outside of their members, and seemed to glory in recount-

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ing his deeds of valor in the "Patriot" cause. He claimed to have been a "Patriot" officer in the Navy Island army when the *Caroline* was burned. Was at the battle of Point au Pelee and had been wounded. These proud records gave him a high standing among the members of the "Hunters'" lodge. He claimed to be formerly a merchant of Toronto and agent for several respectable merchants in importing and selling their goods in the United States. (In these dull and distracted times many goods were sent to the United States.) With this understanding he came and went, ostensibly on business, from time to time, without question or suspicion.

Some time in August, 1838, information came to the collector's office that a large invoice of superior and assorted broadcloths were being exhibited and offered for sale below the market value of such goods, and the merchant informer hinted that they might be smuggled. In the absence of Collector Samuel Starkweather, his deputy soon traced the goods to the warehouse of Standart, Griffith & Co., on the wharf near the foot of Superior street, nicely stored away with one large and one smaller satchel, full and heavy, awaiting the owner, who, it was said, would leave port with them by the first steamer. Circumstances were found sufficiently suspicious to warrant their seizure. On the arrival of the owner, who gave his name as John McManman, and on informing him of the seizure, he appeared cool but highly indignant; told the officer he knew the goods were duly entered at the custom-house at Detroit by the firm of Curren & Cosgrove, of whom he bought them, and the duties paid. He demanded that the goods and his private satchels should be delivered to him immediately, or he would make it hot for somebody and they might get hurt. He was requested to await the answer to a letter to be written immediately to the Detroit collector, and if his claim was true the goods and satchels would be cheerfully given up. But until such information arrived the property seized would remain at the custom-house, no matter who "got hurt." The goods were taken to the custom-house and a letter written describing the goods fully and asking whether such goods had been entered in the month of July, as the owner claimed. This letter was placed in the postoffice at Cleveland by the writer with his own hands, and he saw it stamped for Detroit.

In the meantime John McManman did make it hot for the officers. He brought an indignant host of the most influential members of the "Hunters'" lodge to prove his good character, his undoubted innocence of the charge of smuggling, and peremptorily demanded that the goods and his private property (satchels) be immediately delivered up. He was recognized by the officer as the "patriotic stranger" who had been wounded at the battle of Point au Pelee by the Canadian Tories, and an officer in the "Patriot" army on Navy island and a boon companion of the "Hunters." Had they not been so boisterous and he so threatening, there is no knowing what sympathy and a faint hope that the report would come from Detroit that the goods had been properly entered might have accomplished. But the officer's heart was

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hardened, and he concluded to await the answer to the Detroit letter and the return of Collector Starkweather from Erie. On telling them and McManman this they all went away mad. The letter written to Detroit was dated the eleventh of August. On the morning of the fourteenth (the day when the "Patriots" were making it "hot" for the officer) a letter from Detroit, purporting to be an answer to the one dated the eleventh, and from John Largee, deputy collector, was received through the postoffice at Cleveland, stating, in substance, that the letter of the eleventh instant had been received and in compliance with its request he gave below an abstract of all the goods entered by the firm of Curren & Cosgrove during the month of July. In the abstract "below," purporting to have been taken from the custom-house books, all the articles only described in the letter of inquiry of the eleventh were given. This letter was dated the thirteenth and it had not been in the hands of the officer ten minutes before in popped McManman, backed by two or three "Patriots," who, with an air of defiance, demanded to know "if a satisfactory answer from Detroit had been received." The manner in which he spoke and the tenor and appearance of the letter had strong suspicions of foul play in the mind of that officer. He slipped the letter slyly into his pocket, and, to gain time until the collector returned, told him as firmly and as politely as a bare-faced lie can be told by a truthful man, that he had not received any such communication, nor did he expect any under a day or two. This seemed to stagger him for a moment, but he replied rather emphatically: "If you do not get one before that time you will get none at all."

Mr. Starkweather did not return until the sixteenth. In the meantime the precaution had been taken to call on Melancthon Barnett and William Milford to inventory and appraise the goods and to place them where they would be safe—in Levi Johnson's cellar. On the return of Collector Starkweather he showed a letter dated Detroit, August 15, 1838, from Deputy Collector Vallee, two days later than the one purporting to have been written by John Largee, deputy collector, reporting the entry of the goods in question by Curren & Cosgrove. This letter from Deputy Collector Vallee to Mr. Starkweather, dated the fifteenth, said: "Rumors have reached here that you have seized goods belonging to one McManman. If so, write me immediately." The plot was now plain to be seen. The letter of the thirteenth, purporting to have come from John Largee exonerating the goods from seizure, was handed to the collector, who hastily read it, and from its explicitness in describing the goods and the entry at the custom-house by Curren & Cosgrove, he supposed all was settled, but on a moment's reflection, after reading the letter carefully the second time, he exclaimed, "It is singular that Mr. Vallee, the deputy collector, should know nothing of all this two days after it was said to have been copied from the custom-house books!" He was then told of the previous convictions of his deputy that the letter of the thirteenth was a forgery. To this, on a more critical examination, he readily agreed. In-

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stead of answering Mr. Vallee's letter of the fifteenth, he took all the papers and started immediately for Detroit, taking his inspector, Mr. Clark Warren, with him. While they were absent persistent efforts were made by McManman and his brother Hunters to obtain possession of the goods and the two hand-satchels. McBride, the drayman who was employed to remove them from the custom-house to a place of safety, reported that he was offered a heavy bribe to disclose where they were, but refused to tell—rare honesty that did not go unrewarded. Demands and threats were made for the return of what they termed his private property, the two hand-bags, but he and the angry "Hunters" left the office without them. During all the time of these threats and negotiations to obtain the property seized, it is but just to say that the "Hunters" believed McManman innocent and a worthy member of their order. The officers had disclosed nothing to them and it was evident that McManman dared not.

In the evening of the next day, Inspector Clark Warren returned from Detroit with a letter from the collector, Mr. Starkweather, to his deputy (Starkweather having stopped at Turtle island on official business), with several affidavits showing that "John Largee did not write the letter dated the thirteenth of August concerning the entry of the goods by Curren & Cosgrove, nor had he, or any other officer or person at the Detroit office, to his knowledge, received any letter from the deputy at Cleveland, dated the eleventh of August; that the letter in answer to it, which was exhibited to him by Mr. Starkweather, was a forgery; that a Mr. Curren had called at the custom-house and asked if goods that were already in the United States could be entered and duties paid; being answered in the affirmative, he produced an invoice of these same goods seized at Cleveland; that Deputy Vallee made out the entry and gave Curren the amount of duties to be paid (between four hundred and five hundred dollars) and waited half a day for Curren to return, sign the entry and pay the duties. He did not return, but skipped to Canada with all speed."

On the receipt of these dispatches from the collector, the deputy collector with Inspector Warren immediately repaired to John McManman's room at "Fuller's tavern," taking the two satchels with them. It was about half past nine in the evening, and on entering his room they were not received with the usual forced smiles of the diplomat, but with the distorted and stormy face of a d—l.

Being told that the object of the untimely visit was to examine the contents of the two hand-satchels and to return them to him if nothing contraband was disclosed, he was requested to unlock them. He protested most vigorously that we had no right to seize or examine his private property; that they contained nothing dutiable, but simply wearing apparel, etc., and demanded their release without opening. This peremptory "demand" was politely but firmly refused. His face then changed from a thunder-cloud to sunshine and as politely requested that the inspector, Mr. Warren, should leave the room while he and the deputy should make the examination.

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This was assented to, and as Mr. Warren left he received a whispered injunction not to leave the hall, but keep within calling distance. He feared the sunshine more than the cloud. A nod and a wink were all the assurance needed. While communicating with the inspector an eye was kept on the two now mysterious articles which had caused so much anxiety and contention. He was now requested to unlock the satchels. Without heeding the request he stepped to the door and locked it; the deputy stepped to the door and unlocked it, putting the key in his pocket. The sunshine disappeared and a black cloud darkened his handsome face. He said nothing, but, seated on his bed, placed the larger satchel before him, tipped it toward himself and opened it. With a movement like a flash of lightning he slipped something under a pillow behind him; almost as quickly the watchful deputy had it in his hand leveled at his head. It was a loaded pistol.

The deputy then told him that he was well armed, had plenty of help within call, that if he made any further unfriendly demonstrations and did not quietly and peaceably submit to a full and critical examination of the contents of these satchels, he would be immediately surrendered to the proper officers and taken to prison. He was told that the officers had "heard from Detroit" and knew all. This seemed to settle him, and when he was further assured that if he behaved himself and acknowledged the truth already known to the collectors of Detroit and Cleveland, he would be treated leniently, the dark cloud gradually subsided and the sunlight again illumined his striking countenance.

This satchel was soon thoroughly examined piece by piece, and as nothing of material value was found except his several changes of wearing apparel (no doubt for the purpose of disguising himself), the smaller satchel was opened and its search began by the deputy. Another pistol, loaded, was found in this, some articles of toilet and many papers and documents. Among the first of these was an envelope containing two large buck-shot. He earnestly begged that these might be returned to him (seeing they had been laid aside for further examination), as he held them in great value; he then showed wounds in his neck, whence they had been extracted, and claimed he had received the wounds by the d—d Loyalist at the battle of Point au Pelee in the Patriot war for freedom. The bullets were returned to allay suspicion, but the officer felt sure that his story was a lie. He had learned that the "Patriots" in that early battle had loaded their guns with a bullet and nine buck-shot; that the Loyalists used no buck-shot in that battle. But nothing further was said and the examination went on.

Presently an official-looking document was taken out, and before the officer had time to examine it, he hastily snatched it from his hands; in a moment a cocked pistol in the hand of the deputy was pointed at his head. He instantly dropped on his knees and exclaimed: "I give up, but let me explain. This is a commission from Sir Francis Bond Head, governor of Upper Canada, appointing me an officer in the provincial army. The papers connected with it also contain evidence that I am a spy. Now you know all. I appeal to your sympathy and generosity. Should you dis-

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close these facts my life would not be worth the snap of my finger. The Hunters would kill me on sight; take all; take the goods; take everything but my secret until I can get safely away from here. You have seen that the 'Hunters' are not friendly to you nor any of the goverment officers. Help me now! I ask only that you keep silent until I can escape beyond their reach."

Further examination confirmed the truth. He was a spy, an officer in the provincial army of Upper Canada, was wounded as a Loyalist at the battle of Point au Pelee and expected to receive promotion and a pension. This accounted for his anxiety about the two buck-shot.

Nothing further of material interest was disclosed. His private property was returned, and at twelve o'clock that night he was seen by the officers for the last time. Subsequently, diplomatic correspondence on record in Washington revealed the fact that a *spy*, in the service of Sir Francis Bond Head, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, had reported to him the secrets of the "Hunters' Lodges," the plans and movements of the Patroit army in the west, giving the names (mostly incorrect) of the officers of the Provincial Patriot Government, and the leading officers in the Rebellion armies. As all the principal officers in Cleveland were mentioned, there can be no doubt who the spy was.

No pledge of secrecy or promise of silence was given, but his terrible secret was never divulged to the misguided "Hunters."

Immediately growing out of this disastrous, miserable rebellion, there were recorded several incidents more or less tragic in their character. One was the attack on the American vessel, *Stephen Gerard*, Captain J. C. Hugunin, in the Welland canal some time in April, 1839, and another was the sensational death of John Parker, a young man well known in Cleveland.

Captain J. C. Hugunin reported to the collector of customs for the district of Cuyahoga, Ohio, "that on his passage from Oswego to the port of Cleveland, his vessel, the *Stephen Gerard*, while on the last lock at Gravelly bay in the Welland canal, was attacked by a lawless band of over one hundred and fifty soldiers under the command of a mounted British officer, who ordered his men to board the vessel and 'tear down the d—d Yankee flag.' This order they obeyed, insulting, knocking down and maltreating her crew and cutting the rigging, amidst deafening yells and cheers. That having taken possession of the American flag, waved it on a pole in derision and then tore it into a thousand pieces.

"They then endeavored to stop the vessel by shutting the gates of the lock, but it was so far advanced that they only caught the small boat, hanging on the davits, which was broken in pieces. They then swore they would kill the first man who took the helm. Seeing that she was about to escape, the captain gave orders to 'crack on all sail,' which moved the vessel off so far from the lock that the order of the ruffians to jump aboard and secure her could not be carried out. The captain, notwithstanding the threats, rather than see his vessel run ashore, took the helm, but not without great risk of his life, as thousands of stones, brickbats and clubs were hurled at

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him with great fury, but fortunately with little effect."

This disgraceful affair was duly reported to government by Collector Starkweather, and was subsequently amicably settled by prompt acknowledgment and payment of damages on the part of the provincial government.

The circumstances and facts about the death of John Parker were about as follows: In the evening of June 8, 1839, about six o'clock, the whole city was thrown into an unusual state of excitement occasioned by the discovery of the dead body of John Parker, a well-known young man, about twenty-five years of age, born and brought up in Cleveland.

Mr. Parker took a very active part in the insurrection in Canada, joined the Patriot army, crossed over with a part of it and was engaged in the battle at Windsor on that occasion. It was reported that it was P. and G. M. who killed the British surgeon, Dr. Willson, at the attack and burning of the barracks at Windsor. On the defeat and breaking up of the "Patriot" army soon after the raid on Windsor, Parker narrowly escaped with his life; was taken prisoner by the United States authorities, examined and bound over, under heavy bonds, to appear before the United States district court, to be held in June, 1839, in the city of Detroit.

After being released on bail he returned to Cleveland, where he continued to live in rather a loose and dreamy way up to the time of his death. He was a fine looking young man, over six feet high, strongly built, well proportioned, always well dressed, and popular among those who knew him, for his good-hearted and social qualities.

For several days before his disappearance he appeared to be disturbed and in very low spirits. He wrote his name on the Washington house register, and added these words: "Bound for a better place." On the morning of the third of June, Monday, his hat, neck-tie, shoes and a letter were found on the dock near Richard Winslow's warehouse. The latter read as follows:

To the friends of John Parker: This is to let you know that we have killed him; tied a pig of lead to his neck and thrown him into the river. We are Tories of Canada, were well prepared for the act, and would have served George Millon the same "sass" if we could have caught him. You may all go to hell and catch us if you can.

This letter produced a tremendous excitement throughout the city, especially amongst his quondam friends, the disbanded Patriots. Many thought he had really been murdered, but others thought he had done this to deceive the authorities in Detroit and discharge his bondsmen. Some of his relatives, however, made a thorough search for his body, but without effect. Finally, the general opinion settled down to the belief that he had run away and had taken this method to deceive and invite retaliation against his Tory enemies.

Thus matters rested, some believing in the letter and some not, until the sixth day after his disappearance, about six o'clock P. M., his body was discovered floating on the surface of the river near the place where his hat, letter, etc., had been found. When drawn out upon the dock a most horrible sight was presented. Mangled,

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swollen and distorted he lay stretched out upon the dock, a lifeless mass almost beyond recognition! About his neck was noosed a rope to which was attached a pig of iron weighing about thirty pounds. Great excitement stirred up the people, and thousands flocked to the wharf to view the murdered remains of John Parker, as all were now convinced.

A jury of inquest was summoned and the body removed to the old court-house on the public square. Before the jury many little circumstances were brought to light tending to throw doubts as to the cause of his death. His body was thoroughly examined by Doctor Horace Ackley, who pronounced that no violence had been used to cause his death; that the slight bruises on his face were caused by the working of the surge made by the paddle wheels of steamboats, which would naturally sway the body and produce the abrasures on his face by rubbing against the pig-iron, etc. The verdict of the jury, after thoroughly examining of all the evidence that could be produced, was that John Parker came by his death by strangulation, by some cause unknown.

Many were the divided opinions on this mysterious case. Some still believed he had been murdered; others that he killed himself.

On Saturday his body was buried, a large and respectable concourse of citizens and friends attending.

On Monday, June 10, there was discovered in the pocket of his overcoat, which he had left with his tailor a short time before his death, a letter, written by himself, dated the twenty-sixth of May, 1839, in substance as follows: "I am about to leave the world. That by dissipation and 'training' I have become an outcast, and despised by all who used to be my friends. I have once been in good business. I warn my friends who have lately been traveling the same road to beware of my example and profit by it. I would write more, but my hand trembles so I cannot.

"Tell Hopkins to engrave my name on the breastpin I gave him and keep it. To my friends I say, God bless thee.

"You will find my body near the old framed warehouse, where I shall jump off, at the end of the street. God bless you—good-bye." Signed, John Parker.

This letter set the whole matter at rest.

Nearly half a century has elapsed, and more, since the occurrence of the events narrated in this paper. Time, with friendly and commercial intercourse between the Canadian provinces and the United States, has tended to soften the asperities naturally growing out of such a rebellion, in which the sympathies (misguided though they may have been by the unprincipled and selfish, or by honest and patriotic motives) of many of the Canadian and American people were aroused in its behalf.

It was summarily put down, as it ought to have been, by the joint action of the authorities of the two friendly and neighboring peoples. It is to be hoped and believed that, in this enlightened age, the love of peace and the wisdom of their rulers will forever preclude the necessity for a similar occurrence between the English speaking people of these two great nationalities.

D. W. CROSS.

[*Concluded.*]

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THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

II.

THE next session the question came up again, and for a time it looked as though the old plan of two capitals might still prevail, than which no scheme better adapted to perpetuating sectional feeling and weakening the Union could have been devised. But since the last session new interests had declared themselves and new conditions had arisen. Hamilton had brought forward his famous financial measures—the assumption by the Nation of the state debts contracted to carry on the war, and the funding of the National debt. The south was opposed to assumption and in favor of a southern site for the National capital; the north was in favor of assumption and of a northern site for the capital. The southern members and the Pennsylvanians appear to have come to an understanding to act together on three points—to vote down assumption, to locate the government at Philadelphia for fifteen years, and then to locate it permanently on the Potomac. Assumption was voted down, twenty-nine votes for to thirty-one against it, but about the same time Philadelphia was struck out of the Seat-of-government bill and Baltimore inserted by a majority of two. At this stage the heads of two executive departments stepped upon the scene. The secretary of the treasury, almost in despair at the loss of the Assumption bill in the house, went to the secretary of state and asked if a compromise could not be in some way carried. It was arranged that Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris should meet some Virginia gentlemen the next day at Jefferson's dinner-table. Here it was arranged that two of Mr. Jefferson's friends should change their votes on assumption, and two of Mr. Hamilton's should vote for a proposition to carry the capital to Philadelphia for ten years and then to the Potomac. This bargain was carried out in good faith. On July 9, 1790, the Seat-of-government bill, in the form agreed upon, carried in the house of representatives by a majority of two, and three weeks later assumption carried by the same majority. Thus early did "log-rolling" find its way into the National congress, introduced, too, by the two highest officers of the President's cabinet. Jefferson afterwards defended himself in his "Ana" (that peculiar diary in which he wrote down so many things which he had better never written anywhere) on the ground that, "having at the time just arrived in New York, he was most ignorantly and innocently made to hold the candle to the intrigue, being duped by Hamilton into forwarding his schemes, that were not then sufficiently understood." Whether Jefferson deserves the compassion for which he pleads, we do not inquire; but we should observe that

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great results turned upon the action then taken, some of which we shall have occasion to touch upon. The Union question was as prominent in this debate as in the earlier one. Jefferson says distinctly that it was the eastern and New England threat of secession, reported at his dinner-table by Hamilton, that induced his two Virginia friends to change their votes.

The Seat-of-government act, approved July 16, 1790, provided that a district of territory, not exceeding ten miles square, to be located as Washington should direct, on the River Potomac, at some space between the mouth of the eastern branch and Conococheague, be and the same is hereby accepted for the permanent seat of the government of the United States. The act authorized the President to appoint three commissioners, who should, under his direction, survey and define the district, purchase land for the public use, and, prior to the first Monday in December, 1800, "provide suitable buildings for the accommodation of congress and of the President, and for the public offices of the government of the United States." The states of Virginia and Maryland had anticipated the action of congress, by making together a tender of the amount of territory contemplated by the Constitution. Hastening to carry out their promises, they ceded jurisdiction, the cession to take effect when the district should actually become the seat of government. Of course the titles to the land were in no way disturbed. Virginia also agreed to advance one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and Maryland forty-eight thousand dollars, to the Federal treasury, with which to prepare for the coming of the government. Congress authorized the President to accept grants of money that might be made for this purpose, but appropriated not one penny to make surveys, to buy land or to erect buildings. So there was nothing to begin with but the Virginia and Maryland loans.

The law of 1790 clothed the President with large powers. He directed where the district should be located. His predilection for the site chosen dated from the days when he was a youthful surveyor in the employment of Lord Fairfax, and particularly from the time when Braddock's army encamped on the hill where the National observatory now stands. The commissioners named the district Columbia and the city Washington. The land owners made large concession of lands for public uses. But the commissioners, although they had ten years in which to do it, with the very greatest difficulty made ready, even in a rude and primitive fashion, for the arrival of the government. They were constantly cramped for money to carry on the work. The Virginia and Maryland advances were exhausted, and Washington applied to the second state for further help. Such appropriations as congress made from time to time were inadequate. Resort was had to that familiar financial device in those days—the lottery. We read of "Federal Lottery No. I." and "Federal Lottery No. II.," not always knowing, perhaps, the object for which they were drawn.

We shall the better appreciate the situation if we clearly grasp what was involved in the enterprise. When the

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capital legislation of 1790 was had, the United States was practically confined to the Atlantic slope, the larger part of which was still an unbroken forest. This strip of territory contained many towns and cities that have since become great centres of population, trade and commerce. Some of these then gave promise of future greatness. But the government was passing these all by, and going into the wilderness to build a Federal city. All the great political capitals of Europe are also capitals of population, industry and wealth. Almost always, too, the political capital and the industrial and commercial capital have grown up together. With a single exception, there is no modern example of a nation or a ruler passing by cities already built to create a capital *de novo*. Nobody "located" London or Paris, Vienna or Berlin. The exception is St. Petersburg; but Peter the Great had no city that answered the purpose of "a window through which he could look into western Europe," and so was compelled, to carry out his plan, to abandon Moscow, and to lay new foundations in the swamps of the Neva. We shall soon remark upon the ideas that led the young Republic into the wilderness of the Potomac to make a capital; but here we observe that, while in Europe man and nature were primitive together, in America man imposed upon nature a civilization that he brought from an older seat of habitation. It seems less absurd for a government to direct a capital city to be laid out.

For the ten years, 1790–1800, Philadelphia was the seat of government. At the end of June of the latter year the public offices were removed to the new Federal town, and congress convened there in November following. Hildreth sees in the removal a sort of forerunner of the transfer of Federal control from the north to the south, and says "a fanciful man might also discover in the contrast between Philadelphia and the new city of Washington a symbolization of the differences between Federal politics and those of the opposition." Probably it was not unnatural that the majority of Americans of that day had a strong antipathy to cities as seats of government. Had not their minds been filled from infancy with tales of the wickedness of great cities? Had they not been fed on stories of the vices of courts, the corruption of cabinets, the intrigues of great capitals? They knew little of dense populations but what seemed to them bad. They thought the country was the chosen habitation of virtue, the city, of vice; the breath of the country was laden with health, the city tainted with disease. They were not willing to trust their congress and President in New York or Philadelphia. This was the sentiment that led members of the Federal convention to say that the majority of the people would not consent to the capital going to a great political or to a great commercial city. This was the sentiment that took the seat of government to a wilderness, much to the disgust of the most cultivated classes. Moreover, the fact that the majority of those who had this simple idyllic faith in woods and streams and farms were of Mr. Jefferson's political school, while the Federalists generally thought better of marts and ports and centres of population and

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wealth, explains Mr. Hildreth's fancy that Philadelphia and Washington in 1800 symbolized the two political parties.

Summaries of three or four familiar letters, written by well-known people of that day, will give interesting facts and pleasing glimpses of the Washington to which the Federal government went in the summer and autumn of 1800.

Oliver Wolcott, secretary of the treasury, on his arrival in the Federal city, found one good tavern, several other houses built or building, but did not see how the members of congress could possibly secure lodgings unless they would consent to live like scholars in a college or monks in a monastery, crowded ten or twenty in one house and utterly secluded from society, or go to Georgetown, three miles distant, over a bad clay road. There were but few houses in any one place and most of these were miserable huts, presenting an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people were poor and lived, as far as Wolcott could judge, like fishes, by eating one another. Magnificent land schemes were afloat. All the land for several miles around was thought too valuable for cultivation, and so remained unfenced. There was a confident expectation that Washington would soon exceed any city in the world. One of the commissioners spoke of a population of one hundred and fifty thousand in a few years as a matter of course. "No stranger can be here a day," he said, "and converse with the proprietors, without considering himself in the company of crazy people. Their ignorance of the rest of the world and their delusions with respect to their own prospects are without parallel." Immense sums of money had been squandered on unfinished buildings badly located. Wolcott regretfully remarks, "There is no industry, society, or business;" but he should have remembered that it was to escape industry, society and business that the seat of government had been pitched in this wilderness.

John Cotton Smith, a member of congress at the time, recorded his impressions. He found that one wing only of the capitol had been erected. He could not recognize one of the avenues or streets laid down on the "plan," with the possible exception of New Jersey avenue, having two buildings on each side of it. The Pennsylvania avenue of later times was, throughout its whole length, a deep morass, covered with alder bushes, through which, however, the street was cut the intended width from the capitol to the Presidential mansion. On the ensuing winter many members of congress, particularly southerners, took lodgings at Georgetown. But Mr. Smith was charmed with the advantages of the site, and saw in its selection by Washington "a striking exhibition of the discernment, wisdom and forecast which characterized that illustrious man."

No doubt the description given by Mrs. President Adams in her familiar letter to her daughter is better known than any other contemporary account. "Woods are all you see from Baltimore until you reach the city, which is so only in name. Here and there a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing a human being. . . . . The President's house is upon a grand, a su-

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perb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in order and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables—an establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary." The house was unfurnished; fires had to be kept burning all over it to keep off the ague; there were no bells; wood could not be bought, although the city was in a forest; coal could be had but no grates. "We have indeed," said Mrs. Adams, "come into a new country." The great unfinished audience room—the "east room" of after times—she used as a drying-room. And yet Mrs. Adams, like Cotton Smith, was delighted with the spot.

Gouverneur Morris wrote that nothing was wanting to make a perfect city "but houses, cellars, kitchens, well-informed men, amiable women and other trifles of this kind." "We can walk here as in the fields," he said. And yet he found limestone abundant; excellent bricks could be burned; there was no want of sites for magnificent hotels, and the contemplated canals would bring a vast commerce.

Very naturally the wags from the northern cities cracked many a joke at the expense of the new Federal town. The familiar name, "city of magnificent distances," was probably the coinage of one of these, and not of Dickens, as some suppose. Naturally, too, propositions to abandon the new seat of government, at least for a time, came before congress. In 1803 and 1804 it was proposed to move out until the infant city should reach greater maturity. Even as late as 1808 a proposition in favor of removal came within a few votes of carrying in the house of representatives. Notwithstanding the power that a thing accomplished has over the Saxon mind, a majority of congress were at one time in favor of going, and were kept from going only by a failure to agree upon a place to go to. In all the removal discussion, Philadelphia was the main competitor of Washington for Federal honors; and it is tolerably certain that she would have won and worn them had not the anti-slavery sentiments of the Quakers made the city so obnoxious to the southerners. The idea that a city made in the forest for a seat of government was not likely to reach great maturity unless put to that use, may or may not have occurred to the prescient minds of 1803, 1804 and 1808.

When the Hamilton-Jefferson bargain was made in 1790, the north got money and the south political power; the Assumption bill stood for one and the Seat-of-government bill for the other. All the states south and southwest of Washington were slave states, and so were Maryland and Delaware that lay at its back. Most of the early population of the city came from slave states, and those who came from the north fell under southern influences. Washington grew up a southern city and continued a southern city until the Civil war changed its character. This extract from General Garfield's address on Joshua R. Giddings gives a glimpse of the slave influence in Washington society before the war:

> For many years there was in Washington a most brilliant and attractive social organization, controlled absolutely by the slave power. Cabinet ministers and members of congress from the south lavished their wealth to add to its attractiveness. And the one indispensable condition of admission was sup-

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port and defense of the peculiar institution, or at least silence in regard to it. This influence was all the more potent, because it was private and silent in its operation. Those who were not admitted to this circle were quietly treated as though unworthy from lack of culture or moral excellence. From the moment that Mr. Giddings had avowed his hostility to slavery, he was not only shut out from the society of which I have spoken, but was treated with marked incivility and coldness by his fellow-members.

In 1841 there were not more than a dozen slaveholding members of the house of representatives who recognized Mr. Giddings when they passed him on the street or met him in the hall of the house. How mighty the slave influence upon all the great questions of government was, for a full generation, cannot and will not be here even sketched; but it is pertinent to remark that it never, in the worst days of northern subserviency to slavery, could have begun to be as great in a northern capital as it was in Washington.

Washington in 1800 was a miserable, straggling village, lost in the Potomac wilderness. Washington in 1888 is a city of more than two hundred thousand people, with material improvements second to none in the country. It is a most attractive city, and every day becoming more and more attractive. The population steadily increases. Some of those who flock there go because they are interested in contracts or in official people; some, because it is the National centre of politics; some, because the public business and supplying of the population give employment; some, because the society is very attractive. Scholars and scientific men go because they find there excellent companionship, good collections and admirable libraries. The majority go, no doubt, from a variety of reasons. The "society" that was lacking in 1800 has been abundantly supplied. But relatively the "industry" and "business" are as wanting now as they were then. Save the Georgetown flour, one can think of nothing that Washington sends to the markets of the country. Nor is there any commerce. The people consume but do not produce. Of course there are the exchanges that such a population calls for. A few large fortunes originated in the treasury operations of the War of 1812, of the Mexican war and the Civil war; others originated in government contracts; many fortunes are represented there that originated in other places; but there is not one great fortune that grew up on the spot in manufacturing, in commerce or in transportation. The employés of the government, of all kinds, are fifteen thousand in number; seventy-five thousand men, women and children live directly upon wages paid from the National treasury; and of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand or more who do not live directly upon the treasury, nearly the whole number live upon it at only one remove, that is, by serving those who serve the government. Accordingly, Washington is a political, an official and a social city.

And yet none of the politics belong to Washington. The city is governed by a board of commissioners appointed by the President and confirmed by the senate. The people vote for nothing; the ballot box is unknown to the District of Columbia. Congress votes the taxes and regulates the appropriations. It may be strange that the capital of the greatest

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representative government of the world should be in form a tyranny or despotism, but such is the fact.

The mental character of the city is also peculiar. Such dependence upon the government cannot be healthy in any way. In the days of political assessments, some men in the departments contributed to the treasuries of both the great political parties. On the change of the National administration, men cry "Long live the king!" with a unanimity heard nowhere else. Men have not the same kind of interest in politics that they have in Cleveland or Chicago. The newspapers, if published somewhere else than in the National capital, would be unknown one hundred miles away. The writer was in Washington in 1873, when the increase of salaries was enacted by congress. There was no outcry, no opposition on the part of the Washington people so far as he could hear. On the other hand he heard much approval, and some complaints because the "raises" had not been greater and more numerous. Larger salaries meant more money to those who received them, brisker trade for the shop-keepers and brighter society. However it may be with the country, Washington is sure to favor liberal appropriations by the government. The most reflective man who has occupied the White House in recent years, in private conversation once spoke of some of these features of Washington society, and remarked that it was often difficult for these and other reasons for a President to find out the truth concerning matters of public duty. That public interests have suffered from the peculiar character of the capital city cannot be doubted. Of course a great capital means a large official population and large influence from that quarter. But suppose that this population were simply a constituent of a larger population; suppose that there were present industry and business as well as society and politics; suppose that men representing manufactures, commerce, business, insurance, railroads, steamship companies, etc., were a part of the society that surges around the capitol and the White House, and mingles freely with legislators, judges and executive officers—who does not see that the social environment would be much more healthful? Another phase of the subject is touched in the following article:

The difficulty of bringing persons of the Brady-Dorsey type to justice in Washington furnishes one of the strong objections to the practice, to which the country now seems irrevocably committed, of making political capitals, or seats of government, separate from the social and commercial, or, in other words, real capitals of the Nation and the states. The result is not only to isolate the class engaged in the work of legislation and administration from the rest of the country, but, by throwing its members mainly on each other for society, to intensify their prejudices and dullness and ignorance. Their mental condition becomes very much that of the garrison of a remote fort, or of the crew of a man-of-war. They get to have an *esprit de corps* and a morality of their own, and a scale of proportion of their own. Their own controversies assume enormous dimensions in their eyes; the objections of the outside world to practices with which they are familiar seem finical or "Sunday-schoolish," and they secretly resent an attack on a man in office as a sort of impertinence, and make common cause with him, as a soldier might with a professional brother who had got "into trouble" through a youthful escapade. Public opinion is represented to them by the correspondents of distant newspapers, and they are not much troubled by it, because it seems to them to express simply the personal feelings of Smith or Jones of Newspaper Row, whom they know well and don't like. The

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illustrations of all this, afforded by the senatorial "deadlock" in Washington and by the action of the assembly at Albany on the street-cleaning question, are very striking. Neither of them, undoubtedly, would have occurred if the legislators in either case sat in a real capital, and were in contact with the currents of public thought and feeling, and when they left the capital, instead of brooding over their own performances with brother politicians in their hotels and boarding-houses, mingled with men of other callings and occupations, and got glimpses of the great legislative "crises" from the ordinary tax-payer's point of view. Massachusetts is better off in this respect than almost any other state. Its legislature sits in the moral and social and commercial centre of the state.*

We do not know that pious Washingtonians pray with their faces turned to the White House, as Daniel prayed with his face towards Jerusalem; but the White House is more emphatically the centre of Washington than the queen's palace is of London.

We have seen how fearful the fathers were of cities, how determined they were to seclude the National capital from the great civilizing forces of the time; and we have also seen that in carrying out their plan they caused another large city to be built whose dominant influences are politics, society and officialism. If, instead of the government's directing a city to be laid out in the wilderness, one of the large cities of 1790 had been made the National capital, history would have been different and the National life better.

B. A. HINSDALE.

* *The Nation*, May 5, 1881.

MARIETTA, OHIO, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.

THIS city of near ten thousand inhabitants is situated among the beautiful hills of southeastern Ohio, where they look down upon the valleys of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers. Secluded in this wayside nook of happy contentment, it is only disturbed by every-day affairs, and greets the busy world outside by means of the many railroads centering here.

The thrilling events and greatest activity of Marietta transpired one hundred years ago, when the state was clothed in dense forests, with not even a well-made roadway for man, or beast of burden. Hidden away, as it is, from the main thoroughfares, the common verdict of the disinterested wayfarer is, "that he is surprised to find a jewel with so fine a setting."

In the pleasing panorama that the third state in the Union has in preparation for her people, Marietta will be placed first upon the canvas, as this was her honored place at the beginning of the century just closing. The laurels gathered then have been scrupulously guarded and well preserved; these will not be laid aside, even to-day. The transactions that gave to this city the notable prominence in the early history of the state are now covered with one meagre sentence in the written history of the present time, viz.: "The first settlement in the state of Ohio was at Marietta." The

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statement has two merits in its favor—truth and brevity. For the sake of the former, more must be said of the existing events and transactions that brought about that settlement, in which all histories would be incomplete if the sentence was omitted. In doing this, the brief outline in history will be destroyed, though the prominent events for many years will be condensed to small proportions.

Let the search for causes and motives lead directly to the exciting period of the War of the Revolution—the seven years' war which culminated in 1783. Be assured that war was no play-spell for the thirteen colonies then hovering along the Atlantic sea-coast. The history of these states, a part of them, dated back for more than a century, but continued trials, with small beginnings, gave them no surplus funds, and each trial was more keenly felt and the severity greater than the one preceding.

These states had grown weary, and were discouraged with all their revenues reverting to a foreign nation in support of government ruled by a king. When independence was declared, men knew it meant war. The "minute men" of that exciting period exerted an influence of unbounded confidence upon the government, for its soldiery. The American army was soon in action with its ranks complete in the lines of the different states.

The triumph finally came, and this Nation was possessed of a government such as the world had never known, secured by its soldiers, and its rights vested in its people.

The heart-rending truths of how these soldiers suffered for food and raiment, many of them giving up their lives to the cause of their country, need not be repeated. When they were disbanded, in sorry plight, they returned to their homes, or, rather, to the firesides of friends, destitute of everything except dependent wives and children, and the true manhood and courage that had led them to battle. They were men of strong convictions and daring, and in the fulfillment of duty, believed in the protection of their government and which would in return protect those dependent upon them. The government was powerless, in its poverty, to do anything to relieve its supporters, or in any way remove the embarrassment of the situation, which must have been mutual. These soldiers had been schooled in trials most severe, and by discipline had learned endurance and submission, and for a time waited patiently for a satisfactory adjustment of their claims, or pay for services rendered.

Their homes had been swallowed up in the sustenance of their families; their trades had drifted into the hands of those less patriotic. Though congress was beset continually with their pleadings and petitions, yet as many times were their hopes delayed and the suspense almost beyond endurance. Some measures had been promulgated for the government of a tract of land, called the Northwest Territory, situated in what was then known as the Western Empire. The transactions of congress were watched with much interest, and

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the opinions of leading men were exchanged as to the feasibility of gaining possession of a portion of the lands under consideration, for the unpaid officers and soldiers of the American army. The text of the following petition is found to be the foundation of an association afterwards formed in Massachusetts, and known as the Ohio Company of associates.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT, AND HONORABLE DELEGATES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

The petition of the subscribers, officers in the Continental line of the army, humbly showeth

That by a resolution of the honorable congress, passed September 20, 1776, and other subsequent resolves, the officers (and soldiers engaged for the war) of the American army, who shall continue in service till the establishment of peace, or in case of their dying in service, their heirs are entitled to receive certain grants of lands according to their several grades, to be procured for them at the expense of the United States.

That your petitioners are informed that the tract of country bounded north on Lake Erie, east on Pennsylvania, southeast and south on the River Ohio, west on a line beginning at that part of the Ohio which lies twenty-four miles west of the mouth of the River Scioto, thence running north on a meridian line till it intersects the River Miami which falls into Lake Erie, thence down the middle of that river to the lake, is a tract of country not claimed as the property of, or within the jurisdiction of any particular state in the Union; that this country is of sufficient extent, the land of such quality, and situation such as may induce congress to assign and mark it out as a tract of territory suitable to form a distinct government (or colony of the United States) in time to be admitted one of the Confederated states of America.

Wherefore your petitioners pray that, whenever the honorable congress shall be pleased to procure the aforesaid lands of the natives, they will make provision for the location and survey of the lands to which we are entitled within the aforesaid district, and also for all officers and soldiers who wish to take up their lands in that quarter.

That provision also be made for further grants of lands to such of the army as may wish to become adventurers in the new government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchases for public securities as congress shall judge most for the interest of the intended government, and rendering it of lasting consequences to the American Empire.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

[Signed] BY TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT OFFICERS OF THE CONTINENTAL LINE OF THE ARMY.

June 16, 1783.

By the date of this document it is seen that it was devised and placed before congress soon after, or simultaneous with the disbanding of the soldiers, so, as before stated, any act or law affecting lands in said territory was noted with intense interest. The years dragged slowly by while reconstruction was going on in way of adjusting the claims of the different states, and the ceding of tracts of lands back to the general government that had been claimed; a portion in the territory by Virginia, other tracts by New York and Connecticut: these eventually came into the possession of the government and the boundary between England and the United States established through the chain of lakes. Still soldiers were allowed to go upaid, and each state, or most of them, rebelled against state taxation for the liquidation of the debt.

Treaties had been made with the different tribes of Indians of the territory, and the government surveys had already begun in the Ohio country. At this juncture, 1786, at the outset of that year, the newspapers of the day teemed

* Honorable William P. Cutler in Appendix I. in his late work, 'The Ordinance of 1787.'

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with a public announcement which read as follows:

INFORMATION.

The subscribers take this method to inform all officers and soldiers who have served in the late war, and who are, by an ordinance of the honorable congress, to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio country, and also all other good citizens who wish to become adventurers in that delightful region, that from personal inspection, together with other incontestable evidences, they are fully satisfied that the lands in that quarter are of much better quality than any other known to New England people; that the climate, seasons, produce, etc., are, in fact, equal to the most flattering accounts which have ever been published of them; that being determined to become purchasers and to prosecute a settlement in this country, and desirous of forming a general association with those who entertain the same ideas, they have to propose the following plan, viz.: That an association by the name of the Ohio company be formed of all such as wish to become purchasers, etc., in that country (who reside in the commonwealth of Massachusetts only, or to extend to the inhabitants of other states, as shall be agreed on).

That in order to bring such a company into existence, the subscribers propose that all persons who wish to promote the scheme should meet within their respective counties at ten o'clock A. M., on Wednesday, the fifteenth day of February next, and that each county or meeting there assembled choose a delegate or delegates to meet at the Bunch of Grapes tavern in Boston.

[The names of places for the meetings given.]

[Signed] RUFUS PUTNAM,
BENJAMIN TUPPER.

Rutland (Massachusetts), January 10, 1786.

At the meeting of the delegates in Boston the following explanation was given:

The design of this association is to raise a fund in Continental certificates for the sole purpose and to be appropriated to the entire use of purchasing lands in the Northwest territory (belonging to the United States) for the benefit of the company, and to promote a settlement in that country.

The Continental certificates had been issued by the government as a temporary measure for satisfying the demand of its soldiers. Being at the time bankrupt, its treasury without a dollar, but little hope rested in their future value, or that they would ever be redeemed at par.

The first agent sent to negotiate with congress for lands for the company, in 1787, was General Samuel H. Parsons. He remained in New York city, where the congress was in session, until its adjournment. While much advancement was made for the cause he represented, he failed to bring it to a close, and the purchase was not made. It is the opinion of local historians that this gentleman favored a selection of lands in what was then called the Connecticut Reserve, afterwards known as the Western Reserve. The location of the lands in that section did not coincide with the opinions of a majority of the agents and directors of the company, possibly the reason being that some knowledge of the lands "on the Ohio and Muskingum" had been gained, while those in the Reserve they knew nothing of whatever.

When congress re-assembled, Rev. Manasseh Cutler acted as agent for the company, and was instrumental in the careful wording of the ordinance then pending, having been twice read, and liable to a final reading at any hour. Between the ninth and thirteenth of July the ordinance was revised, amended, had its proper hearings and passed by a unanimous vote of all the states present, viz.: Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

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The famous ordinance for the government of the northwest territory passed as it now stands, July 13, 1787, the redeeming or notable clauses being found in article third: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Also article sixth: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory," etc. This was the "still small voice" that sent a thrill through the heart of every lover of liberty. The Nation paused to know of the result. It was this that rent the chain of slavery asunder, but which was not wholly cast aside for three-quarters of a century thereafter.

In the very hours that the Continental congress, in the city of New York, was framing those words of wisdom, for all time imperishable—its last best gift to the great commonwealth of this country—at this same time, men powerful in debate and possessing masterly minds were assembled in Philadelphia on a no less important document—the Constitution of the United States. The ordinance then has the peculiarity of being the last act of any importance by the Continental congress—the pivotal point between the old *regime* of the thirteen united colonies and the new reconstructed United States, under the Constitution, which was made public the seventeenth of September of that year, 1787.

Marietta, in connection with the transactions of that year, stands as the gateway between liberty and oppression, between colonies and United States under one general government. It need not be recorded, then, that the primitive settlement in the western empire was watched with intense interest. Upon the success of the Ohio company more depended than pen can portray.

Soon after the passage of this ordinance the negotiations for the Ohio company, by their agent, terminated in the purchase of one and a half million acres. Of this transaction, Dr. Manasseh Cutler, in his journal, says: "It was the greatest private contract ever made in America." This, for officers and soldiers of the American army, was to be paid for in the government's own coin, or rather its equivalent in paper promises, called Continental or final certificates; the lands were located on the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, athwart the Indian trails and on the border, which, from that time on, was the dividing line between slavery and freedom.

The cause, the preliminary steps, the long delays, the suspense and the final purchase must all be kept in mind, to show the importance attached to the settlement at Marietta, as the negotiations had been pending in different forms since 1783.

The first of December, 1787, men were sent forward from Danvers, Massachusetts, under the charge of Major Haffield White, who were instructed to spend the winter at Sumrill's ferry, on the Youghiogheny river, in the construction of boats. They experienced a perilous journey and a severe task, as the severity of the winter retarded the progress of their work. They were joined by another party, under the su-

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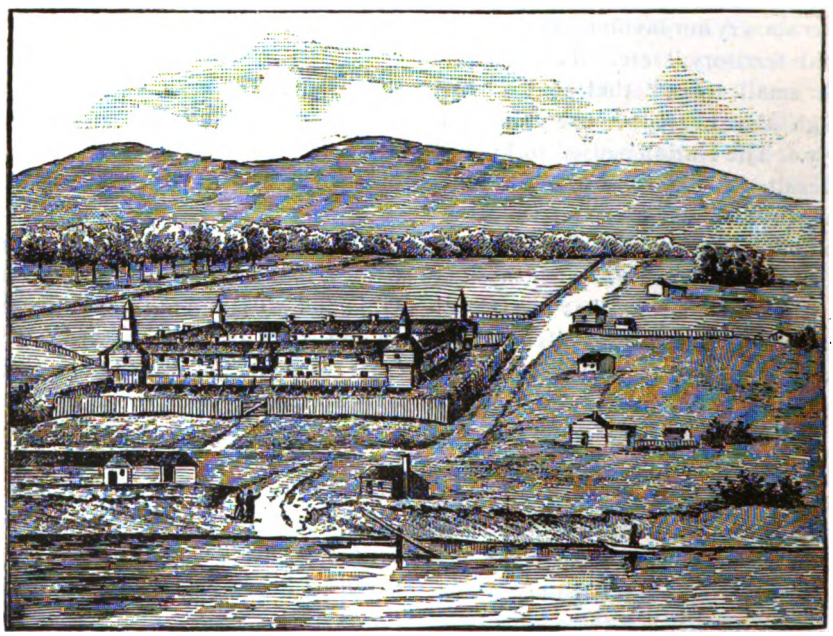
perintendence of General Rufus Putnam, who left Hartford, Connecticut, in January, 1788, and reached the ferry the middle of February. The combined efforts of the two forces completed the boats, and on April 2 they descended the rivers "Yough" and Ohio, landing with forty-eight men at what is now Marietta, April 7, 1788. Though many shareholders. Some of these never came west. Others who did, finally ventured farther, so that these shareholders did not fail to exert an interest in many directions, and in this way the whole northwest, especially the five great states formed from the territory, look to Marietta as their foster-mother, their starting-place.



MARIETTA IN 1792.

of these men were employed by the company as laborers, they were under the superintendence of the agents and directors of the company, and Rufus Putnam, one of the men instrumental in the formation of it, landed with them, so that all history connected with the settlement of Ohio, either general or local, dates from this event. There were in all eight hundred and sixteen

The men who sought this wilderness, this retreat, for homes for their families, with the expectancy that peace and prosperity would greet them, were sorely disappointed in the years that followed. In their stead they found the dreary wilderness occupied by a defiant race of savages, with scalping-knife in hand, ready to destroy the white man or anything he should undertake. Former

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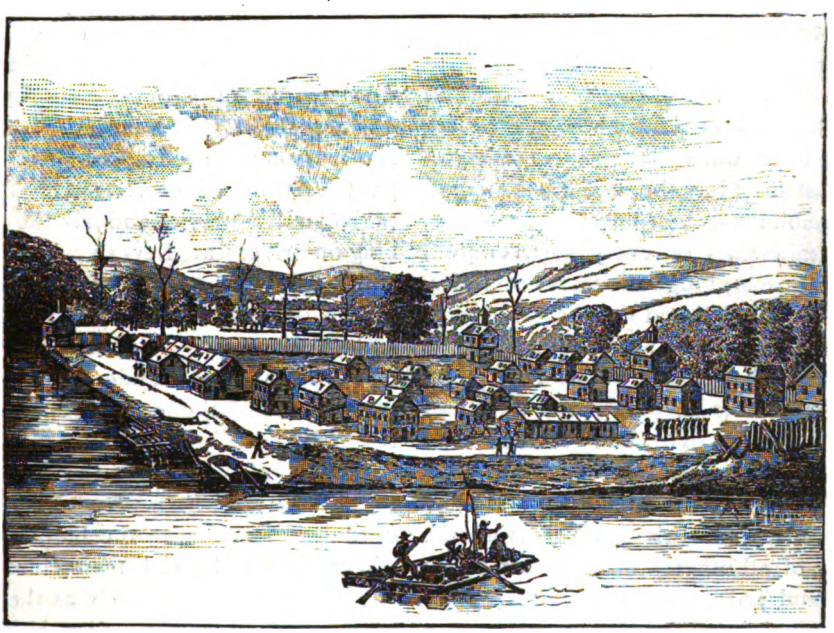
treaties with them seemed to savor of safety, and history tells us the pioneers were made welcome and very graciously received by the chiefs of the nations holding treaties with the agents of the government at Fort Harmar. On their occasional visits during the following summer they manifested much dissatisfaction regarding the rude cabins and garden-patches. These indicated to them that the white men had come to stay. They returned to their camps to hold counsels with their people, which, in time, culminated in councils of war, which was declared in 1790.



CAMPUS MARTIUS.

General Putnam was not surprised at their action. He had noted their dissatisfaction and immediately set to work for the construction of a strong defense, in the erection of Campus Martius; his wisdom was verified, inasmuch as all haste had to be made for its completion. This afforded protection for the settlers who resided within its walls or in such close proximity that they could make a quick and hasty retreat if the signal gun was fired, or the alarm bell pealed forth its notes in rapid succession.

For more than four years, often over two hundred persons were compelled to dwell within the fort for protection, while many of them had their homes there permanently. Among these were the governor, General Arthur St. Clair and his family, Major

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Winthrop Sargent, his secretary; General Rufus Putnam, General Benjamin Tupper, and many other men of prominence; the directors, agents and shareholders in the company, with their wives and children. The men were kept under constant military discipline and drill.

The variety of transactions of local and general interest enacted within this garrison would, if recorded, fill volumes of interesting history. Locally considered, it was the place for retreat by all the settlers who chose to hasten within its walls in time of danger. One of the block-houses was reserved for public use for funerals, weddings, entertainments of every sort, church, school-room, lodge for secret societies, court-room, jail and even a "house of entertainment," as a tavern or hotel was called at that time. This was kept by the proprietor of one of the buildings which these individuals were allowed to erect at their own expense.

What is of more general interest is the fact, that this garrison was the place of all others, through the governor and judges of the territory, where the principles embodied in the famous ordinance were first put into action or fulfilled. Any and every form of religious worship could be expressed and carried out from the temporary pulpit in the block-house of Campus Martius. Every feature of the law, local or general, was transmitted through these walls, not by the speedy servants such as we now have, but by messengers, footmen or horsemen.

Many historians join in saying that the War of the Revolution did not close until General Wayne's successful campaign and victory at Greenville, Ohio; that the Indians were instigated in their continued depredations against the settlers by the British on the northern frontier.

From 1790 to 1795 every transaction of the entire frontier, from Fort McIntosh to the Miami country at Fort Washington, was guarded by the military within the Ohio company, except the handfuls of soldiers kept by the government at Fort Harmar across the Muskingum from Marietta. The company established garrisons at Belpre twelve miles below, and up the Muskingum river at Beverly, Waterford and Big Bottom. Rangers and sentries were constantly employed. The fields and gardens were cultivated with the rifle lying upon the undecayed stumps of the trees of the forest. The call to religious worship was by the beating of the drum, summoning the men first to military drill, from whence they proceeded to services at the block-house, where they embraced their rifles during the service as closely as they adhered to their religion. Dr. Hildreth, in his 'Pioneer History,' says "that probably one of the first Sunday-schools in America was taught by Mary Lake, in 1791, and continued for several years during the Indian war, at Campus Martius in Marietta." There seemed no time during the busy days of the week for religious instruction for the children, so, in obeyance to the ordinance and the dictates of her own conscience, the children were gathered into

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the one room that her family had as their living room, and there they attentively listened to instructive words each Sabbath afternoon from this lady.

The pitiable truth that must ever remain in history is, that the men who founded the state of Ohio had to undergo the trials that met them on every hand. They had hoped for a retreat from the scenes and severities they had formerly experienced, a place where they might spend their leisure hours in freedom from care, where their wives might sing "The Battle of Brandywine" or "Marching to Yorktown" as lullabys to their children's children. Instead, men were compelled to fight their battles over again, and frail women and timid children scarce had the necessary comforts of life. The glorious results of to-day date from the events in connection with the settlement at Marietta, so that city will be remembered and searched out while others will remain wrapped only in the local events of former times.

Some local historical preëminence attaches an interest in that city not usually found in such unobtrusive quarters. The associations that linger about the location of three garrisons—Fort Harmar, Campus Martius and the "Point"—where the houses were built in close proximity for better protection—have been repeated by parents to children so often that the thrilling events are household stories of unusual familiarity.

The first settlement of Ohio began where the government survey was discontinued. The surveyors for the government had outlined seven ranges west from Fort McIntosh, but the annoyance and danger from the Indians decided them against continuing their work, although Fort Harmar had been established for their relief and to encourage emigration to the frontier as soon as the surveys were completed. The Ohio company in its purchase agreed to do their own surveying, adhering to the rules of the government survey. But a few miles east of Marietta the survey was begun by men employed by the company and for the company. The city plat was defined or laid out in Boston before the agents and shareholders left Massachusetts, over five thousand acres being at first reserved for the city called Adelphi, afterwards changed to Marietta, an abbreviation of Marie Antoinette, for the queen of France. At the close of this year, 1787, there were only one hundred and thirty men in what is now the state of Ohio, and these were at Marietta.

No wonder, then, if more reverence and veneration manifests itself for the forefathers in that city than is often found at the present day, for every nook and corner is closely allied to their lives in events not easily effaced. The many hills that hem it in, in its seclusion, teem with family history in which exploits of the Rangers have oft been recounted. These were noble, courageous men, who scouted the forests in all directions to meet and check the enemy, or in haste report the advance of the foe that the settlers

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might prepare for an attack. They sometimes gave up their lives in their hazardous duties.

Along the banks of the Muskingum were the well-beaten trails of the Indians, where they gathered at its mouth to go to their hunting-grounds in the mountains of Virginia, so that this was a point to them of much importance, as they believed they would have as much difficulty here in maintaining their rights —as they considered them—as they often had in Virginia with the Long-knives, as they called the white settlers there.

Here are earthworks which were once the habitations of a people versed in skill in advance of the ages that followed, as shown in the geometrical precision in the construction of mounds, elevated squares and covered way. These are scattered in close proximity within the city limits, and only speak in silence of the ages past. The classical names of some of these date their christening with the arrival of the first settlers: Campus Martius, just outside of the city of prehistoric man—so named to perpetuate the name of the principal camp so called in the palmy days of Rome; Sacra Via, or sacred way, once found here as in old Rome; Capitolium and Quadranaou—the latter probably Quirinaou—for two of the seven hills of Rome. Even the "Tiber," that winds its way through a goodly portion of the low grounds, has its significance in its name, if not in any natural beauty, so "There are sermons in stones and texts in the running brooks."

The first sermon was preached in Campus Martius from the text, Exodus, chapter xix., verses 5 and 6: "Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine, and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation," delivered by Rev. William Breck, July 20, 1788. In that audience were men who had listened to the peals of Independence bell, when it struck the notes distinct and clear, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." The trusty handmaid that carried this message to the wilderness, to the far west, was the Ohio company. It hid the infant state of Ohio, clad in the ordinance of the preceding year, among the reeds of the Tiber, "on the banks of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers," guarded by men of high rank among the soldiers of the American army, many of them giving up their lives rather than see it perish.

To-day, in the oldest cemeteries of the northwest territory, sleep more than fifty officers of that army, and the heroes of four wars lie around about them.

May this historic gateway—Marietta—remain a cherished spot to posterity. Millions of people now enjoy the principles of government secured to them by men who settled here, not as the youth from over-crowded families, but men mature in thought through a severe experience, nurtured in the best New England homes, schooled on the farm and in the work-shop, and prepared for their life-work by a collegiate edu-

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Jacob Geiger M. D.

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cation, and who had their plans for the future well matured when war and its consequences burst suddenly upon them.

They fulfilled their duties, searched out "the Ohio country," quelled the savage, checked the progress of slavery, established churches, founded schools, and put the machinery in motion for a grand result.

With their garments folded about them, they passed to their reward almost a century ago. May the city in which their ashes lie be remembered, and also the name—Marietta.

L. A. ALDERMAN.

ST. JOSEPH.—II.

DR. JACOB GEIGER.

TO MEET Dr. Jacob Geiger and talk with him, one would not suspect that he is German, and yet he has a face marked with the strongest German characteristics. His use of the English is the misleading peculiarity, for he has the language so perfectly and speaks with such an utter absence of an accent, and, indeed, with so much of what might be termed the American patois as to give the impression that he is "to the manner born." The fact is that he first saw the light in Obernau, Province of Wurtemberg, Germany, July 25, 1848, and was the youngest of the five children of Anton and Mary Geiger, both natives of the same place. In 1851 Anton Geiger died, and in 1856 Jacob, with his sister and her husband and their mother, came to America, landing in New York, but they settled in Champaign county, Illinois. Thence up to the time when Jacob was nearly ten years old he was sent to a country school in the neighborhood—that is, during portions of the two years in which the family resided there. In 1858 they removed to Brown county, Kansas, where shortly afterward his mother died, and Jacob was left at the tender age of ten to tussle with the world, a penniless orphan and a stranger in a strange land. His brother having returned to Illinois, he followed him after a short sojourn in St. Joseph. He was rugged and ambitious, and anxious for his future. Aspiring to all that a youth could be expected to desire in this land of great possibilities, his greatest fear was that of growing up in ignorance. To obviate this he applied himself diligently to the attainment of knowledge, and during the summer months found employment among neighboring farmers, and thus obtained sufficient funds to defray the expense of his tuition at Homer seminary in the winter. The taste of knowledge thus acquired served to awaken a desire to drink deeper at the "Pierian Spring," and as he grew in years, this ambition grew in intensity. He worked like a hero, and bent all the energies of his strong nature during his leisure to the obtainance of knowledge that would serve him in the future. Carefully he hus-

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banded his small earnings, obtained by the most diligent labor and economy, for the purchase of books and for other expenditures necessary in the matters suggested.

In 1865 he returned to St. Joseph where he took a course in a business college, and while pursuing these studies he became acquainted with Dr. Galen E. Bishop. Having received a serious injury to one of his feet, Dr. Bishop performed upon it a very delicate surgical operation which interested young Geiger far beyond the pain produced, and during the leisure imposed by his inability to be about, he began the study of medicine and surgery, with Dr. Bishop as his preceptor. Having fully recovered and being without financial resources otherwise, he went into the drug-store of Penick & Loving of St. Joseph as a prescription clerk, and there continued his medical studies, and was finally admitted to a practice, through which he accumulated sufficient funds to enable him to graduate at the University of Louisville in the medical school, from whence, in 1871, he came with a diploma to St. Joseph again, and quickly succeeded in building up a large and well-deserved practice.

He at once joined the local medical societies and became an active worker in the cause of science. During this time his pen was not idle, and he contributed many valuable articles to the medical periodicals. In the early part of his professional career he had to contend with extreme poverty, and to his indomitable energy and untiring ambition is due the success with which he has met. In 1877 the St. Joseph Hospital Medical college was organized, and Dr. Geiger was selected to fill the chair of anatomy, which position he filled satisfactorily for one year, when he resigned. In 1879 the College of Physicians and Surgeons was founded, and Dr. Geiger was chosen to fill the chair of Principles and Practices of Surgery and Clinical Surgery, which he filled until these colleges were consolidated into the St. Joseph Medical college, when he was assigned to the chair of Operative Surgery, Orthopœdic Surgery and Genito-urinary Surgery.

In 1883 Dr. Geiger was elected dean of the faculty, and his chair was changed to that of the Principles and Practice of Surgery, and he is now administrating both of those important places with credit to himself and colleagues. Dr. Geiger was one of the founders, and for many years the secretary of the District Medical Society of Northwest Missouri. He has also been president of the St. Joseph Medical society; vice-president of the Missouri State Medical society; and is a member of the Mississippi Valley Medical society and of the American Medical association, and filled acceptably a term of office as president of the board of health of St. Joseph.

An old friend and fellow student and practitioner, writing of Dr. Geiger in a medical journal, says of him:

> He represents a perfect prototype of a self-made man. He has not been nursed in the lap of luxury —the day-dreams of his youth pictured to him, by no means, a ready and easy harvest. He had to earn his daily bread for many years before he was prepared to cope with the stern realities of life. Untiring ambition, combined with rich gifts of nature, have made him a fitting example for the emulation of our young physicians and students. As a teacher, he is calm, dignified and instructive; as a surgeon, he is bold, yet cool and methodical, and has proven himself to be equal to the most trying emergency. He has performed the major operations of surgery, a number of these repeatedly, with a success which

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pays high tribute to his skill. He is original and suggestive, and thoroughly to be relied on in consultation, a relation in which our leading physicians esteem it a pleasure to meet him. The doctor has been successful financially as well as professionally, and has accumulated a large fortune.

Dr. Geiger has one of the handsomest offices in the city of St. Joseph, with a superb library and all the modern appliances of surgery, to which branch of his profession he has paid unusual attention with eminent success. Aside from this he is a gentleman whom his city and state delight to honor; warm-hearted, social, genial and entertaining, he is one of the most companionable of men, and none speak of him but to praise him.

He has remained a bachelor, in fancy free as to those affairs, until lately he was married to Miss Louisa Kollatz, one of the loveliest and most interesting young ladies of St. Joseph.

Dr. Geiger is, all in all, a warm-hearted, true-souled, enterprising and accomplished gentleman. His popularity in the city of his adoption is unbounded, and he is an ornament to the profession which he has espoused, and in which he is zealous almost to infatuation. He is yet comparatively a young man, and with his professional devotion, remarkable attainments and clear intelligence coupled with his ambition, the medical and surgical world will gather richly from his labors.

WILL. L. VISSCHER.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

THE State Historical Society of Wisconsin, as we know it to-day, was born on the eighteenth of January, 1854; but it did not spring into existence without a parentage. It has a brief line of feeble ancestry. As is related that "some time in the fall of 1845" Richard H. Magoon, an early settler of what is now La Fayette county, Wisconsin, suggested to C. C. Britt, editor of the Mineral Point *Democrat*, the advisability of organizing an historical society "to collect from the pioneers then alive, such facts in regard to the early history of Wisconsin as they might possess, as well as to treasure up those concerning the future." So far as is known, Mr. Magoon appears to have been the original promulgator of the idea which grew slowly, but finally developed into the stalwart corporation. Editor Britt, in an article in his paper of the date of October 22, 1845, forcibly seconded the motion and asked his brethren of the press "to keep this ball in motion until the object is attained."

The Madison *Argus* of October 28 fell in with the idea, and very soon all of the papers in the territory favorably responded to the call, while General William R. Smith, a distinguished pioneer of Mineral Point, privately urged the matter in his neighborhood.

It was hoped that, as a consequence of this agitation, something would be done in this direction during the forthcoming session of the territorial legislature at Madison; but the session was a brief one,

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lasting only from January 5 to February 3, 1846, and other affairs occupied the minds of the representative men gathered at the capital during that period.

But in September, 1846, Mr. Britt renewed his editorial advocacy of the scheme, in the Milwaukee *Courier*, with which he had become connected, and advised that, during the convention that had been called to frame a state constitution, a meeting be held to perfect the historical society scheme. The Madison *Democrat* and several other journals followed the *Courier's* lead in this suggestion.

The first constitutional convention opened at Madison, October 5, 1846, most of the principal men of the territory being chosen as delegates to the body. Judge Thomas P. Burnett of Grant county, one of the members, was nine days late in reaching Madison, owing to illness, but upon his arrival he proceeded amid his other duties to do what he could to carry out the project of an historical society. He called a meeting of a few prominent delegates at his room in the American hotel, among those present being Governor J. D. Doty, General William R. Smith, Thomas W. Sutherland, George Hyer, A. Hyatt Smith and D. A. J. Upham. Judge Burnett, who was among the most eminent of the early jurists of Wisconsin, addressed the meeting, and it was resolved to organize such a society. A more formal meeting was held in the state library room of the old capitol, a few evenings later, both conferences being held between October 14 and October 25: no record exists of the exact dates, and the local newspapers of the time failing to report the affair. A. Hyatt Smith of Janesville is reported to have been chairman of the second meeting and to have been elected president of the society; Judge Burnett and Governor Doty were selected as vice-presidents, E. M. Williamson as treasurer and Mr. Sutherland as secretary. A constitution providing for life and active members was adopted, and the officers were to hold until the first annual meeting in January following. Governor Doty was selected to deliver the first annual address. But at this annual meeting in January, 1847, held soon after the commencement of the legislative session, the governor failed to make the requested address. New officers were chosen, Morgan L. Martin of Green Bay being selected as president, while Sutherland and Williamson were reëlected to be secretary and treasurer respectively. There were, however, neither records kept nor money paid into the treasury, and the new president did not deliver the address he had been invited to prepare.

So the year passed without progress or the performance of any official duty. In January, 1848, during the second constitutional convention, another meeting was held, General William R. Smith being elected president. But the gathering was a failure, both as to numbers and interest, less than a dozen persons being present, and the first organization of the society may be considered as having died when the gavel sounded for adjournment.

There was, in after years, when the society became successful, some dispute as to whom the honor should be awarded for reviving the historical society idea a twelvemonth later. The parties to the dispute have now passed away and we may safely

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inquire into its merits. To Eleazar Root, Wisconsin's first state superintendent of public instruction, is doubtless chiefly due the credit of "the first efficient movement" in this direction. From this time forward the records of the society are complete, and from them we gather that, on the twenty-ninth of January, 1849, nineteen days after the opening of the first session of the state legislature in Madison, a number of citizens and members of the legislature held a meeting at the American house to take the project of forming a state historical society into consideration, the previous existence of the old society, now defunct, being ignored. Of this meeting John Y. Smith of Dane county was chosen chairman and E. M. Williamson, also of Dane, secretary. Eleazar Root of Waukesha explained the object sought. It was voted to organize such a society, and George Reed of Waukesha and Mr. Root were appointed a committee to draft a constitution and circulate a call.

The following evening, as a result of this call, a well attended popular meeting was convened in the senate chamber in the state house. Mr. Root was called to the chair and General William R. Smith of Iowa county officiated as secretary. Judge Charles H. Larrabee of Dodge, Samuel Crawford of Iowa, Alfred Brunson of Crawford, General Smith and John Y. Smith made explanatory speeches. It was again formally decided to organize a society, and George Reed, John Y. Smith and I. A. Lapham of Milwaukee were appointed a committee to draft a constitution. This constitution, a brief and simple document, which was unanimously adopted, gave the name of the organization as "The Historical Society of Wisconsin." About one hundred and fifty persons, chiefly members of the legislature, signed the roll. Governor Nelson Dewey was chosen president of the society, as a compliment to his official station. The list of vice-presidents comprised one from each county in the state. I. A. Lapham, the distinguished scientist and antiquarian, was elected corresponding secretary; Rev. Charles Lord of Dane was appointed recording secretary; E. M. Williamson, treasurer, and John Catlin, Beriah Brown and Alexander Botkin, all of Dane, constituted the executive committee. The other business of the meeting consisted solely of the passage of two resolutions: the first inviting General Smith to deliver an address at the next annual meeting, and the second asking the surveyors of the state to furnish to the society "actual measurements of the ancient mounds and artificial earthworks in their vicinity."

On the evening of Tuesday, January 15, 1850, General William R. Smith delivered, in the assembly chamber, the first annual address before the society, the judges of the supreme court and the regents of the State university being present as invited guests. The recording secretary has entered upon his journal that "the discourse was elaborate in its researches, felicitous in its style, classical in its tone, and pervaded throughout with a spirit of accuracy and of beauty and by a warm sympathy with the truth uttered and the events and persons described." And, indeed, the printed copy of the address, which lies open before me as I write, warrants this warm encomium; it carefully

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mapped out, for the first time, the general course of early Wisconsin history, and after explorers in that sea have but added to the details.

On Tuesday evening, January 21, 1851, Morgan L. Martin of Brown delivered the annual address; and March 16, 1852, Lewis N. Wood of Walworth was the third annual speaker. But beyond these three addresses, nothing of importance was done during this period. The pamphlet discourses were sent out to perhaps a dozen other learned societies, and a library of fifty volumes was accumulated—all of these books being state laws, legislative journals, miscellaneous public documents, two volumes of the 'Transactions of the American Ethnological Society,' and a volume on American bibliography. The meagre library was contained in a small glass-faced case, kept on a table in a corner of the governor's office.

This slow rate of progress did not suit Judge Larrabee, who was one of the founders of the society, and early in 1852 he began corresponding with Lyman C. Draper, LL. D., then of Philadelphia, inviting his assistance in the management of the institution. Dr. Draper* had been a college-mate of Larrabee's, at Granville, Ohio, as far back as 1834, and in later days the two friends had "roughed it" together for about a year, in a windowless hut on a tract of wild land in northern Mississippi. Since that time Dr. Draper had devoted himself to the accumulation of materials for western history, and had achieved such remarkable success in his manuscript and book collections as to attract the attention of scholars throughout the eastern states. He was the man of all men calculated to make the new society a success, and Judge Larrabee knew it. This faith in Dr. Draper the judge communicated to Honorable Harlow S. Orton—now an associate justice of the supreme court of Wisconsin and one of the most active of the society's workers from the start—Governor L. J. Farwell and others; and these gentlemen heartily coöperated in an invitation to Dr. Draper to come to Madison and reside, and give the Wisconsin society the benefit of his counsel.

About the middle of October Dr. Draper arrived on the scene of inaction, and at the first meeting of the society held after that time—January 19, 1853—he was elected to membership and at once made chairman of the executive committee, his associate members being Dr. John W. Hunt and Samuel Marshall, both of Madison. The other officers chosen at this meeting were: President, Governor L. J. Farwell (*ex-officio*); corresponding secretary, I. A. Lapham of Milwaukee; recording secretary, Rev. Charles Lord of Madison, and treasurer, A. C. Ingham of Madison. We find in the records of this meeting the first signs of life yet visible—the immediate result of Dr. Draper's influence—in the passage of resolutions increasing the membership fee from fifty cents to one dollar per annum, declaring delinquents erased from the membership roll and authorizing the executive committee to devote the surplus funds to "the purchase of rare books illustrative of the history of Wisconsin, or of the west in general."

On the twenty-eighth of January the

*See MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY for January, 1887, for biographical sketch of Dr. Draper.

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society agreed to the form of a charter, to be asked of the legislature. Judge Larrabee presented a draft and J. T. Lewis (afterwards governor), General William R. Smith and Dr. Draper were selected as a committee to perfect it and present it to the law-makers. The charter was passed by the legislature and approved March 4, being the same document under which the State Historical Society of Wisconsin operates to-day, as a body politic. Everything at first appeared to be going on swimmingly, but some differences of opinion soon arose as to the scope of the institution and the manner in which it should be conducted. As a result, nothing was done until the next annual meeting.

In the meantime, Dr. Draper had been educating the public in the matter by means of a series of letters in the Madison press, and by the close of the year had won his fellow members to his way of thinking.

At the reorganization meeting of January 18, 1854, the old constitution was discarded and the one in vogue to-day adopted. General Smith was elected president; Cyrus Woodman, Mason T. Darling, I. A. Lapham, John W. Cary, Morgan L. Martin and Nelson Dewey, all of them prominent in the affairs of the state, were chosen vice-presidents; Dr. Draper was elected corresponding secretary; Rev. Charles Lord retained his recording secretaryship; O. M. Conover, LL. D., was chosen treasurer and Dr. John W. Hunt, librarian; and the following curators were appointed: S. H. Carpenter, H. A. Wright, Beriah Brown, David Atwood, Simeon Mills and Leonard J. Farwell.

Thus commenced the active career of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Librarian Hunt moved his little bookcase with its fifty volumes of public documents to the office of the secretary of state, but it was not many weeks before the case—now preserved as a curiosity in the museum of the society—had grown too small. Secretary Draper had entered into his work with joyous enthusiasm, and by the close of the year he was enabled to report to the society the acquisition of one thousand volumes and one thousand pamphlets and documents—certainly a remarkable showing as compared with the fifty books which had been the product of the five years preceding his active administration. The most of the acquisitions were stored in Dr. Draper's residence, for want of library room, but in August, 1855, a small room in the corner of the basement of the Baptist church was secured for the use of the society. From year to year the collections grew apace, until nearly the entire basement was occupied. These apartments were, however, dark, damp, dingy and but little suited to the purpose. In January, 1865, the society petitioned the legislature for the use of the whole of the then new south wing of the state house; the prayer was readily granted, the building commissioners were directed to prepare the rooms to the satisfaction of the society, and in January, 1866, the institution was removed to its new quarters, where apparently ample room for its library, portrait gallery and historical museum had been provided. The rooms were dedicated with impressive ceremonies on the evening of Wednesday, the twenty-fourth.

But such was the rate of increase, that

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in less than ten years' time the enlarged quarters were a somewhat tight fit, and by 1881 cords of books, documents and antiquities were piled in out-of-the-way corners and rooms throughout the state house, with no space to display them. Secretary Draper then commenced a vigorous campaign for a new building; he awakened a spirit of enthusiasm not only in the society but among the leading men of the state, and the Wisconsin Editorial association to a man, and in January, 1882, brought a pressure to bear upon the legislature which forced action on the part of that body. A separate building, however, could not be procured, but two hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for the erection of two transverse wings to the state house—the north wing to be devoted to additional offices on the first floor for state officials, and the three upper floors to the uses of the supreme court and the state law library; the entire south wing was at first designed for the State Historical society, but subsequent changes in the plans resulted in the lower floor being reserved for the executive and state departments. The completion of the building was greatly delayed by the collapse of the south wing, November 8, 1883, while in process of construction, with great loss of life and property.

It was, therefore, not until December, 1884, that the transfer could be made to the new quarters, and at the annual meeting in January following, there were appropriate speeches made in honor of the occasion.

The present quarters of the society, in the new south wing of the state house, consist of three floors, readily accessible by a passenger elevator which was ordered put in by the legislature of 1887. The second floor of the building—the first of the tier occupied as the historical rooms—is devoted to the two large reading rooms, the offices of the chief librarian and the second assistant (in charge of the catalogue department) and that portion of the library which is in most frequent demand; the first assistant librarian has charge of the delivery counter, where his desk is located; on the floor just above this is the office of the corresponding secretary, and the heavier books, such as bound newspaper files, British patent office reports, the Tank library, etc. Still above this, with ample skylights, are three large halls devoted to the society's art gallery and historical museum.

The library now numbers one hundred and twenty five thousand books and pamphlets. It is especially rich in Americana, being only surpassed in this particular by two other historical libraries—both of them on the Atlantic coast. I think it is not claiming too much to say that, of printed material for the history of any of the states west of the Alleghany mountains and south of Pennsylvania, the library of the Wisconsin society has probably a larger collection than is contained anywhere within that state itself—in some cases, many times more. Specialists in that field, coming to Madison from other western and southern states for consultation of the library's resources, unanimously concede this, so far as known, and statistics seem to prove it. In the matter of bound newspaper files, the Wisconsin library has one of the largest and finest collections in the country—perhaps in some periods it is

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the best. Some of the files are London papers as early as 1656, while after 1750 the leading American papers come down in almost unbroken succession to the present day.* As newspapers are the fountain-head of history, the strength of the library in this direction is worthy of especial mention, the entire number of volumes being considerably over five thousand. There are about five thousand volumes of British and American patent reports; some fifteen hundred volumes of genealogy and heraldry; nearly one thousand volumes of Shakespearean literature, embracing some of the best and rarest editions of the plays; over one thousand maps and atlases, and so on. The library—its managers construing the term history in its broadest sense—aims to meet almost all branches of serious human inquiry, philosophy, economics, arts, science, travels, geography, education, bibliography etc., and is quite strong in each department and well-abreast of the times. Of the periodicals, for instance, covered in Poole's Index, the library has about one hundred and seventy-five complete sets—many of them exceedingly rare—and regularly subscribes to about one hundred of the leading periodicals and journals of the day, English, French and American.

The general public use the large, comfortable and well-lighted reading rooms, where the leading encyclopædias are kept open to their inspection, and the seven volumes of the library catalogue easy of access. Books are inquired for at the counter where the first assistant librarian holds sway. Specialists are permitted, under certain rules, among the shelves and given ample table accommodations in the

*Following is a list of early bound newspaper files, nearly complete for the years mentioned, in possession of the Wisconsin society, published previous to and during the American War of the Revolution:

	DATE.
Holland Mercury (Dutch), 112 vols	1650-1790
London Public Intelligencer	1656-1665
London Gazette	1680, 1694, 1712, 1767-80
London Loyal Protestant	1681-82
Miscellaneous English newspapers	1681-1799
Reim's Gazette (French)	1691-92
London Mercury	1691-94, 1713-15
London Gazette (20 nos.)	1695-1705
London Post Boy & Post Man (10 nos.)	1696-1707
Paris Gazette (French)	1696-97
London Rehearsal	1704-09
British Apollo, London	1709-10
London Examiner	1710-11
London Spectator	1711
Philadelphia Independent Whig	1720
London Journal	1721-27
British Journal, London	1722-24
N. E. Courant, Boston	1722, 1727-28, 1730, 1738
True Briton, London	1723-24
Boston Gazette	1724-36, 1741, 1747-49, 1753-60, 1764-90
Edinburgh Courant	1727
New England Journal, Boston	1727-28, 1730, 1738
Pennsylvania Gazette, Philadelphia	1728-29, 1739-40, 1742-47, 1750, 1753-64, 1770-76, 1789-91, 1793
Pennsylvania Post, Philadelphia	1776-77
Pennsylvania Journal, Philadelphia	1773-74, 1777, 1785
Pennsylvania Packet, Philadelphia	1781-83, 1785-90
Northampton (Eng.) Mercury	1730-35
London Country Journal	1728-33
London Universal Spectator	1730-35
London Grubb Street Journal	1730-35
South Carolina Gazette	1735, 1753
Boston Evening Post	1741, 1750-75
Boston Journal & Advertiser	1739-49
Boston Independent Advertiser	1749
New York Gazette	1749-50
Boston News-Letter	1750-59
London Adventurer	1752-54
London World	1753-55
London Monitor	1755-57, 1759-62
London Evening Post	1758-59
London North Briton	1762-63, 1768-70
Maryland Gazette	1760, 1763 67
Edinburgh Advertiser	1765, 1772-73, 1779
Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser	1766 67
Boston Chronicle	1768-69, 1776-77
Pennsylvania Chronicle, Philadelphia	1768-70
New York Chronicle	1769
Middlesex Journal, London	1770-72
London Chronicle	1768 73
London Whisperer	1770-72
Essex Gazette, Salem	1768-73
Pennsylvania Ledger	1775
London Crisis	1775 76
Gloucester (Eng.) Journal	1775-80
Boston Continental Journal	1778-80
Miscellaneous English newspapers	1681-1799
Massachusetts Spy, Worcester	1772-74

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alcoves. While historical students come from long distances to use the library, and many readers from outside of Madison are in the rooms daily, perhaps the majority of those whose faces are familiar in the outer precincts of this temple of knowledge are the young men and women in attendance on the University of Wisconsin, to whom the library is an exceptionally great boon; it is regarded by students and faculty alike as one of the chief attractions of student life at the Badger capital.

The museum has grown into proportions almost equally stalwart. The collection of prehistoric copper implements is still, I believe, as it certainly was up to a few years ago, the largest in the world, if we except the one at Dublin, and nearly all of the specimens were dug up in Wisconsin soil. There is a large and imposing collection of stone implements, also Wisconsin finds. A collection of articles of native dress, domestic utensils and weapons, gathered from Wisconsin Indians by the late Governor Doty, attracts marked attention, as do hundreds of other Indian and mound-builder curios. There are hundreds of relics of the late War of the Rebellion, including several captured Confederate flags, coins, articles of dress, etc., illustrative of early Wisconsin history; curiosities in natural history; specimens of Wisconsin mineralogy; old parchment documents; the first printing-press used in the state, and so on; while upon the walls are nearly one hundred and fifty oil portraits of Wisconsin and northwestern worthies—pioneers, statesmen, and others who have achieved marked distinction in various walks of life. There are also several busts in marble, plaster and gypsum, paintings of old Wisconsin battle-fields and famous Indian chiefs, and copies of celebrated portraits of Columbus, De Soto and Pocahontas. Only a few weeks ago the society received notice that Mrs. Otto Tank, a talented pioneer lady of Fort Howard, who gave to the library in 1866 some five thousand old and rare volumes in the Dutch language,* had, in her eighty-fifth year, just executed a codicil willing her large collection of oil paintings to the society's art gallery. This collection was imported from Holland by Mrs. Tank, at various times, from thirty to fifty years ago, and is composed of really fine specimens of art. Their acquisition will do much to enhance the reputation of the gallery, and to Mrs. Tank is due the cordial thanks of the people of Wisconsin—for nowhere else could they be seen and appreciated by such large numbers of her fellow-citizens, for all time to come. Her two splendid donations—the Tank library and the Tank picture collection—will secure for her the lasting gratitude of our people. To the society's art gallery and museum come about thirty-five thousand persons each year, and as its popularity grows so do its collections increase.

*This is by all means the largest library of Dutch books in the United States. Many of them are splendidly bound and illustrated, and in the collection are numerous old Dutch atlases and official charts, and some books in other languages. The Tank library, though as yet not well known, is among the most precious of the treasures of the Wisconsin society. Old editions of the classics, printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and very early lexicons in Bohemian, Dutch and other continental languages are among the features of this Tank library. It was collected by a scholarly and wealthy Amsterdam minister, Mr. Van der Muelen, father of Mrs. Tank.

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The publications of the Wisconsin society now consist of its 'Wisconsin Historical Collections,' of which volume ten will be issued within a few weeks from this date; its catalogue of the library, of which volume seven is now ready for distribution; its class lists—the one on Rebellion literature, issued last May, attracting wide attention; and its 'Proceedings'—the report for 1888 having already been distributed.

Of the work of the society in amassing a great general reference library for the use of the courts, the state officials, the legislature, scholars and the people generally; in maintaining a historical museum and art gallery; in correspondence and exchange with other learned bodies and specialists in this country and in Europe; in gathering material of every sort for the illustration of Wisconsin history; in interviewing old pioneers and aged Indian chiefs; in furnishing information to historians elsewhere relative to Wisconsin, and in conducting a series of useful publications, doubtless the readers of THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY are well informed.

The state legislature early began to look with favor on the Wisconsin society. In 1854 a small annual appropriation was voted it to carry on the work. In 1855 the corresponding secretary was placed upon the official pay-roll at a modest salary. By degrees, as the state developed and the work of the society with it, this annual appropriation grew to five thousand dollars, to which are added free rent and care of rooms, stationery, postage and printing, with salaries for the corresponding secretary, the chief librarian and his first assistant—the second assistant being paid by the society from its annual appropriation. These four persons devote their entire energies to the conduct of the institution.*

In 1867 Secretary Draper instituted a binding fund, the income of which was not to be spent until the principal reached ten thousand dollars. This limit was afterwards advanced to twenty thousand dollars, and at the annual meeting in January, 1887, after twenty years of persistent solicitation on the secretary's part, the fund was declared practically completed, counting in the actual worth of a section of grazing land in Coleman county, Texas, which was bequeathed to the society in 1877, and a bequest of one thousand dollars not yet available. The long deferred work of binding pamphlets, etc., has been at last undertaken. An antiquarian fund was started a year ago, and has reached about four hundred dollars. The income of this fund, when it reaches the income-producing stage, will be devoted to securing old historical manuscripts, portraits and miscellaneous Wisconsin antiquities for the library, the art gallery and the museum. These special

* By act of legislature, approved March 4, 1875, all the miscellaneous books in the state library were transferred to the society's library, leaving the former purely a law library. The State Historical society holding all of its property as the trustee of the commonwealth, and all "state officers, judges, attorneys and suitors of the supreme court and members of the legislature" are allowed every privilege in examining the books, the society's library is, to all intents and purposes, the miscellaneous state library, and is so popularly regarded and used. All duplicates can be either sold for the benefit of the special funds or used in exchange with other libraries.

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funds are the results of private benefactions, membership dues and sales of duplicates. The annual state appropriation forms the society's general fund. This appropriation has been found, of late years, to be too small to satisfactorily meet book-purchasing and miscellaneous requirements, for the output of the press in every department of human research is increasing in extent, and the library has a reputation to sustain and a wide variety of demands to satisfy, with the growth of culture in the state. It has been the aim of the officers to relieve the pressure on the general fund by the cultivation of the special funds, for it is not considered desirable to ask increased legislative assistance except as a last resort. Citizens of moderate means have from time to time been generous to the society—the binding fund is largely a monument of mites; the society has as yet, however, received no large benefactions. But these benefactions must come, if it is to achieve its greatest possible success. Large endowments would enable the society to erect its own building on the best available model; to manage its own affairs without the possibility of political meddling; to conduct historical enterprises on a large scale and secure original material for literary investigators in every branch of knowledge. The legislature has certainly been generous to the society; with a few notable exceptions, its relationship with the governing body has been harmonious, and it must be confessed that the society could not have been successfully maintained in this state—far removed from the intellectual centers of the Nation, and thereby laboring under peculiar difficulties—without liberal state aid. But lack of independence is, in a certain degree, the inevitable price of such aid, however necessary and well intended the subsidy, and the conditions incident to this are not altogether healthy. Therefore the truth of the assertion, which all thoughtful friends of the society must recognize, that it cannot hope to enter upon its highest possibilities until private munificence adequately endows the institution and enables it to stand forth from the shadow of the public wing.

But these are future possibilities. The condition of the present is what we have been seeking to know, and we find it creditable alike to the society and the state. In contemplating the accumulations of the Wisconsin society to-day, and reflecting that it has all been accomplished in the comparatively brief period of thirty-four years; that it occupies a position side by side with institutions of a century's growth, one may well stop to inquire what have been the causes of this almost phenomenal success under conditions apparently adverse. First of all, Lyman C. Draper; second, generous state aid; third, earnest coöperation on the part of fellow officials and members. But the first, with indefatigable energy and the happy faculty of communicating to others the enthusiasm that was in him, was the efficient force in procuring the remaining conditions of success. This is why we say, here in Wisconsin, that the State Historical society is Lyman C. Draper's monument. Could any man have a prouder one? Could any man have more justly earned such a memorial of himself? On the sixth of January, 1887, Dr. Draper,

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admonished by his seventy-one years that the remainder of his earthly term should, in justice to himself, be devoted to individual literary labors which had been too long delayed in his enthusiasm for public duties, laid down the office which he had filled with such signal success, and the society into which he had blown the breath of life and to which he had brought honor and fame tendered him a thankful tribute such as few men have received but none more richly deserved.*

To Dr. Draper's official associates, in the practical conduct of affairs, a few closing lines may be properly devoted. Daniel S. Durrie was elected a member of the society March 18, 1854, and librarian on the first of January, 1856. Mr. Durrie had been long connected with the book trade previous to his engagement in this capacity. He is the author of 'Durrie's Index to American Pedigrees' (Munsell's Sons, Albany, New York), which has run through several editions. He has published several well-known genealogical works; prepared the historical portion of 'Tuttle's History of Wisconsin,' Tuttle & Durrie's 'History of Iowa,' and Davis' & Durrie's 'History of Missouri. He is the author of Durrie's 'History of Madison and The Four Lake Country,' the best history of the region we have yet had; has written many articles in the 'Wisconsin Historical Collections;' has devoted much time to the study of local history in Wisconsin and other states; is a graceful writer and one of the oldest librarians in the country in point of experience. His counsel was of great value to Mr. Draper throughout, and he deserves grateful mention at the hand of anyone who attempts to outline the career of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Miss Isabel Durrie, the second assistant librarian, was elected to the position she now holds on the twenty-ninth of March, 1870. She has charge of the cataloguing and has acquired marked efficiency in that department. Isaac S. Bradley, the first assistant, is, like Miss Durrie, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin; he came to his position on the ninth of April, 1875. His services are indispensable in the conduct of the institution, he having an accurate knowledge of the shelves, a keen appreciation of public needs and a happy faculty in at once directing readers to the most available sources of information; in short, he is one of the few who are born librarians. There are those, too, who hold unsalaried connections with the society—members of the executive committee, lay members and those who are not members at all—who, possessing the true spirit of historical enthusiasm, have all along been present with their counsel and active with their aid, smoothing over rough places, helping broaden the relations between the institution and the people, pointing out new fields of usefulness

* The society elected Mr. Thwaites, the writer of this article, as Dr. Draper's successor. Mr. Thwaites became identified with the society December 30, 1876, when he was elected to active membership. In January, 1885, he was unanimously chosen assistant corresponding secretary and thereafter had an active share in the management. January 6, 1887, he was unanimously promoted to the position left vacant by Dr. Draper's resignation. Mr. Thwaites is a native of Boston, was educated at Yale college and is thirty-five years of age. We take the liberty of adding this explanatory note, for our author appears to have studiously omitted all reference to his own connection with the society as its present executive officer.—EDITOR MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY.

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and giving freely of their knowledge and influence. But to name them would be to institute invidious comparisons; indeed, it would be impracticable, from mere lack of space, for in reflecting upon these thirty-four years of growth, it is surprising to find upon what broad foundations the society has been built and how far-reaching have been the forces which have contributed, in at least some degree, to its splendid success.

REUBEN G. THWAITES.

HISTORY OF OHIO.

XIV.

BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION—CIVILIZATION REACHES THE OHIO.

THE expedition to be commanded by Colonel Bouquet, the object of which was to bring to terms the savages upon the Muskingum, and to the westward of that river, in what is now the state of Ohio, was to be made up of a part of the Forty-second and Sixtieth regiments of English regulars, two hundred friendly Indians and one thousand Pennsylvanians — the Virginians pleading their inability to furnish any men. The Indians never came. On the fifth of August Bouquet was at Carlisle, one hundred and eighteen miles to the westward of Philadelphia, with his new levies and regulars. Before the tenth two hundred of the Pennsylvanians had deserted, whereupon the colonel wrote for a like number of Virginians to take their place. Fort Loudon was reached on the thirteenth. It will be remembered that the day following the one on which Bradstreet had concluded a treaty with the Indian deputies, just before reaching Presquisle, he dispatched an express to Bouquet with the news. The communication reached the colonel before leaving Fort Loudon, and, claiming to perceive that the savages thus treated with were not sincere, he determined to proceed until he should receive further instructions from General Gage. Fort Pitt was reached on the seventeenth of September.

That the commander-in-chief, upon the representation of Bouquet, should peremptorily disavow the treaty made by Bradstreet, might be looked upon as a certainty, for the gallant colonel did not propose to be stopped by a younger officer in so summary a manner. General Gage promptly declared the treaty null and ordered Bouquet to advance. It proved to be a wise determination, but not (as has been insisted upon) because of the weakness of apprehension, and of the disobedience of orders on part of Bradstreet.

At Fort Pitt Bouquet was joined by a body of Virginia volunteers, who had been raised to make good the loss

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caused by the desertion of Pennsylvanians; and "having at length, with great difficulty, collected his troops, formed his magazines and provided for the safety of the posts he was to leave behind," he was ready, on the second of October, 1764, to proceed into the wilderness with an army of about fifteen hundred men.

The experience already gained by Bouquet in dealing with savages prompted him to the utmost caution in his order of march. He was determined, if human foresight could prevent it, not to be ambuscaded or taken by surprise. His arrangements were admirable, notwithstanding which his progress was slow, for he was marching "into a wilderness which no army had ever before sought to penetrate. Encumbered with their camp equipage, with droves of cattle and sheep for subsistence, and a long train of pack-horses laden with provisions, their progress was tedious and difficult, and seven or eight miles were the ordinary measure of a day's march."

Ten days from Fort Pitt brought Bouquet and his army to the Tuscarawas, then known as the Muskingum. "A little below and above the forks of this river," is the language of one who wrote a daily account of the march, "is Tuscarowas [Tuscarawas], a place exceedingly beautiful by situation, the lands rich on both sides of the river, the country on the northwest side being an entire level plain, upwards of five miles in circumference. From the ruined houses appearing here, the Indians who inhabited the place and are now with the Delawares are supposed to have had about one hundred and fifty warriors."* It was now the thirteenth of October. The next day the army remained in camp. While here, two men, who had been dispatched by Colonel Bouquet from Fort Pitt with letters for Colonel Bradstreet, returned and reported that, a few miles away, they had been made prisoners by the Delawares and carried to one of their towns, where they were kept until the savages, knowing of the arrival of the army at the Tuscarawas, set them at liberty, ordering them to acquaint the colonel that the head men of the Delawares and Shawanese were coming as soon as possible to treat for peace.

A movement down the Tuscarawas of "two miles and forty perches" brought the army to a point on a very high bank; and here Colonel Bouquet rested, ordering a small stockaded fort to be built to deposit provisions for the use of the troops on their return, and to lighten the convoy. It was erected near where Fort Laurens afterward stood.† Meanwhile (that is on Tuesday, the sixteenth of October), six Indians made their appearance to inform the colonel that all their chiefs were assembled about eight miles from camp and were ready to treat with him; that their earnest desire was for peace. He arranged to meet them the next day in

* 'An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians.' (Cincinnati Re-print). p. 50.

† 'Washington-Irvine Correspondence,' p. 28. This was Bouquet's thirteenth camp since leaving Fort Pitt. Compare, also, as to its locality, Hutchins' map, in 'Bouquet's Expedition,' before cited.

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a bower, to be erected for that purpose not far away. It was understood that the Mingoes, Delawares and Shawanese would send deputies to the proposed council. As the army had now fairly reached the Indian country, it is necessary to a full understanding of events which followed, to step aside from the regular course of our narrative, that the different tribes having villages within what is now the state of Ohio be localized.

The recital of the incidents of Bradstreet's expedition has shown that there was not, in 1764, a single Indian village upon the south shore of Lake Erie; and there were but very few savages upon the right bank of the Ohio at that date, between Pittsburgh and the mouth of the Great Miami river—but one town in fact, and that a small one, of Senecas (frequently, as we have seen, called Mingoes), on the west side, a short distance below what is now the city of Steubenville, Ohio. The interior, however, between the river and the lake, was not wanting in Indian occupants. He who, at this time, would make the circuit of their villages by commencing his tour at Fort Pitt, would first reach Logstown in traveling on the north side of the Ohio by the path, "seventeen miles and a half, fifty-seven perches;" but this village he would find, as did the army under Bouquet, without inhabitants. Since it was vacated, as before described, it had never been re peopled.*

About one mile below the mouth of the Big Beaver, the traveler would also see a few remains of the Indian village, on the north bank of the Ohio, already explained as having the name of Sakunk. Like Logstown, this village was wholly deserted, and was never again occupied by Indians.

Entering upon what is now the territory included within the boundaries of the state of Ohio, the first point of importance to be reached was another abandoned Indian town—Tuscarawas, before described. Now, as Bouquet's objective point was the Indian country—of what, at present, is the south half of Ohio—we will turn our eyes to the southward and southwestward. Taking a southwest course down the Tuscarawas river (known then as the Muskingum) no Indian town would be found until after the mouth of the Walhonding was passed and the Muskingum proper was reached, when, at a distance of six miles, a Delaware village, known as Bullet's Town, situated on the east side of the stream, would appear. Ten miles farther down the river, but on the opposite side, there was, at that date, the Indian village (inhabited mostly by Shawanese) of Wakatomica. Across from this village, in a southwesterly direction, to the headwaters of the Hockhocking river, about twenty-seven miles distant, was "King Beaber's town," peopled by Delawares. Forty miles farther on, in the same general direction, to the Scioto river, and what was then the "Lower Shawanese town" was to be seen; there were, also, other villages of the same nation be-

* Should the reader desire further evidence of the exact locality of Logstown than what has already been given, he can consult, with profit, MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. IV. pp. 861, 862.

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yond. Twenty-five miles up the Scioto —as the distance was then computed— to where Columbus, Ohio, is now situated, was a village of Mingoes located on the west side of the river and known as the "Salt Lick town." Such, in general, was the occupation of what is now the south half of the state of Ohio, when, in 1765, Colonel Bouquet marched his army against the Ohio savages. Of course, throughout all the limits of the state, as at present defined, there was no settlement of civilized man; nor was there, in any of the Indian villages, an English trader, although many prisoners (captured mostly in Pennsylvania and Virginia) were held in them.

The Indians that Colonel Bouquet had to deal with, as previously intimated, were the Delawares, Shawanese and Mingoes (the latter mostly Senecas). The colonel erected a bower a short distance from his camp and notified the chiefs and warriors, who were so desirous of peace, to assemble on the seventeenth. On that day Bouquet, "with most of the regular troops, Virginia volunteers and light horse," marched from the camp to the appointed place of meeting. As soon as the troops were stationed so as to appear to the best advantage, the Indians arrived and were conducted to the bower. Being seated, they began in a short time to smoke their pipe, or calumet, agreeable to their custom. This ceremony being over, their speakers laid down their pipes and opened their pouches, wherein were their strings and belts of wampum. The Indians present consisted of two chiefs and twenty warriors of the Delawares; one chief and six warriors of the Shawanese; one chief and fifteen warriors of the Mingoes. The general substance of what they had to offer was, excuses for their late treachery and misconduct, throwing the blame on the rashness of their young men and the nations living to the westward of them; suing for peace in the most abject terms, and promising severally, to deliver up all their prisoners. *

It may be presumed that Colonel Bouquet, now that he was master of the situation, did not fail, while responding to the speeches of the savages, to impress them with the utter hopelessness of their prospects of success against the force under his command. The immediate result was the delivery, by the Delawares, of eighteen white prisoners to the colonel, and the promise to bring in, as soon as possible, the residue, eighty-three in number. Twelve days were given the savages to deliver up all the captives at Wakatomica — "Englishmen," said Bouquet, "Frenchmen, women and children, whether adopted in your tribes, married, or living amongst you under any denomination and pretense whatsoever, together with all Negroes. And you are to furnish the said prisoners with clothing, provisions, and horses to carry them to Fort Pitt." "When you have fully complied with these terms," he added, "you shall then know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for." To give emphasis to these declarations, it was

* 'Bouquet's Expedition' (Cincinnati re-print), p. 53.

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resolved by the commander to march farther into the country of the savages, "knowing that the presence of his army would be the best security for the performance of their promises." He also required some of each nation to attend him in his march.

By the twenty-fifth of October the army had reached a point within a mile of the mouth of the Walhonding; and this place was fixed upon instead of Wakatomica as the most central and convenient one to receive the prisoners. By the ninth of November most of the captives were arrived that could be expected, amounting, in all, to two hundred and six. Of these, thirty-two males and fifty-eight females and children were Virginians; forty-nine males and sixty-seven females and children were Pennsylvanians.

The arrival of the captives in Bouquet's camp was the occasion of scenes "which language indeed can but weakly describe," says an eye-witness; "and to which the poet or painter might have repaired to enrich their highest colorings of the variety of human passions; the philosopher, to find ample subject for his most serious reflections; and the man, to exercise all the tender and sympathetic feelings of the soul." "The scene, I mean," continues the writer, "was the arrival of the prisoners in the camp, where were to be seen fathers and mothers recognizing and clasping their once-lost babes; husbands hanging round the necks of their newly-recovered wives; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after long separation, scarce able to speak the same language, or, for some time, to be sure that they were children of the same parents! In all these interviews, joy and rapture inexpressible were seen; while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others [who were] flying from place to place in eager inquiries after relatives not found; trembling to receive an answer to their questions; distracted with doubts, hopes and fears, on obtaining no account of those they sought for; or stiffened into living monuments of horror and woe, on learning their unhappy fate!"

"The Indians, too," continues the narrator, "as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this most affecting scene. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance; shed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard for them continued all the time they remained in camp. They visited them from day to day, and brought with them what corn, skins, horses and other matters they had bestowed on them while [residing] in their families, accompanied with other presents and all the marks of the most sincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not stop here, but, when the army marched, some of the Indians solicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort Pitt, and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the road. A young Mingo carried this still farther, and gave an instance of love which would make a figure in romance.

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A young woman of Virginia was among the captives, to whom he had formed so strong an attachment as to call her his wife. Against all remonstrances of the imminent danger to which he exposed himself by approaching to the frontiers, he persisted in following her at the risk of being killed by the surviving relatives of many unfortunate persons, who had been captured or scalped by those of his nation."

"Among the captives," are the further words of the chronicler of these affecting incidents, "a woman was brought into the camp at Muskingum, with a babe about three months old at her breast. One of the Virginia volunteers soon knew her to be his wife, who had been taken by the Indians about six months before. She was immediately delivered to her overjoyed husband. He flew with her to his tent, and clothed her and his child in proper apparel. But their joy, after the first transports, was soon damped by the reflection that another dear child of about two years old—captured with the mother and separated from her—was still missing, although many children had been brought in. A few days afterwards a number of other prisoners were brought to the camp, among whom were several more children. The woman was sent for, and one supposed to be hers was produced to her. At first sight she was uncertain, but viewing the child with great earnestness, she soon recollected its features, and was so overcome with joy that, literally forgetting her sucking child, she dropped it from her arms, and catching up the new-found child in an ecstasy, pressed it to her breast, and bursting into tears carried it off, unable to speak for joy. The father, seizing up the babe she had let fall, followed her in no less transport and affection."*

The terms of peace granted the Ohio savages, who had sued for it in such effective words, were coupled with certain provisions, such as would insure the most reasonable probability of their being carried out. Hostages were demanded and promptly delivered, to be taken to Fort Pitt to remain there as security that the Indians treated with should commit no further hostilities or violence against any of his majesty's subjects. Peace could not be fully concluded by Colonel Bouquet. Only Sir William Johnson was empowered to do that, who would treat with them when all prisoners had been brought in, and who would adjust all matters concerning trade with them. When this was done—when there should be a final treaty entered into—then the hostages were to be returned to their homes. To this the Ohio Indians agreed; and the mission of the army, in its march into their country, was ended.

"I have the pleasure to inform you," wrote Bouquet to John Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, on the fifteenth of November, "that the Mingoes, the Delawares and the Shawanese, after a long struggle, have at last submitted to the terms prescribed to them, namely (1st) to deliver all prisoners without exceptions; (2d) to give fourteen hostages

* 'Bouquet's Expedition' (Cincinnati Reprint), pp. 75-79.

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to remain in our hands as a security for the strict performance of the first article; and that they shall commit no hostilities against his majesty's subjects. Upon those conditions they are permitted to send deputies from each nation to Sir William Johnson, to make their peace. The Mingoes have given two hostages; the Delawares, six; the Shawanese, six."

"We have already," added the Colonel, "upwards of two hundred captives delivered, and many of them have remained so many years amongst them [the Indians] that they part with them with the greatest reluctance. We are obliged to keep guards to prevent their escape; and unless they are treated with indulgence and tenderness by their relatives, they will certainly return to their savage masters. The Delawares and Mingoes have not only delivered all their prisoners, but even their own children born from white women. The Shawanese have been very obstinate, and nothing has prevented the chastisement they deserved but the certainty that if they were driven to despair they would massacre one hundred and fifty prisoners then in their hands. However, their pride has been humbled and they have been forced to submit to the same conditions as the other nations. The troops of our government have carried on the service with great zeal and cheerfulness, and their conduct does them honor in every respect. I shall immediately send them to Carlisle, with the prisoners belonging to the province. As several of them [the captives] are not known, I beg you will appoint a person to receive them at that place and provide them with the necessaries of life till they are claimed."*

A number of captive children having reached Carlisle, public notice was given of the fact, so that those who had lost their dear ones and had not yet recovered them could go there, and, if possible, identify their own. Among those who came was a German woman. Two of her daughters had been captured, but so long previous that it would be impossible, it was supposed, for her to identify them, even should they be present. The children's names were Barbara and Regina. The mother came but saw none that caused, in the least, the faintest suspicion they were her lost girls. She related sadly her despair, and at the same time gave information that, years before, she used to sing to her daughters hymns, of which they were very fond. She was requested to sing one of these to the assembled group of captives. This she did in these words:

Allein, und doch nicht ganz alleine,
Bin ich in meiner Einsamkeit;
Dann wann ich gleich verlassen scheine,
Vertreibt mir Jesus selbst dri zeit:
Ich bin bei ihm und er bei mir,
So kommt mir gar nicht ensam fluer—†

* See "Colonel Henry Bouquet's Journal and Conferences with the Western Indians, Etc., at Fort Pitt, Tuscarora and Muskingum, in 1764—September 20—November 12:" in 'History of Western Pennsylvania.' pp. 143-166 of the Appendix.

† Alone, yet not alone am I,
Though in this solitude so drear;
I feel my Saviour always nigh,
He comes my dreary hours to cheer:
I'm with him and he with me,
Thus, I cannot solitary be.

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And Regina, one of her long-lost daughters, rushed into her arms. Barbara was never restored.

On Sunday, the eighteenth of November, the army began its return march, reaching Fort Pitt in ten days. The regular troops were immediately sent to garrison the different posts on the communication, and the provincials, with the captives, to their several provinces. Thus ended Bouquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians, "in which it is remarkable that, notwithstanding the many difficulties attending it, the troops were never in want of any necessaries, continuing perfectly healthy during the whole campaign," in which only one life was lost.*

The agreement of the Delawares, Shawanese and Mingoes (Senecas) with Colonel Bouquet to send deputies in the spring of 1765 to Sir William Johnson at German Flats, in the interior of what is now the state of New York, to conclude a final peace, was not complied with by those tribes, whereupon they were summoned to Fort Pitt to meet Major William Murray, who was deputed to hold a council with them and the Sandusky Indians. By the ninth of May of the year just mentioned, a large number of chiefs and warriors of these nations assembled and were addressed by Major Murray. "His Excellency, General Gage," said he, "has ordered me to inform you that he expects you will immediately perform all the engagements you made last fall to Colonel Bouquet, one of which was to deliver up all the English prisoners and Negroes which were in your several villages. This article, in part, you then performed, and [you] were to deliver the rest here early this spring. I hope, as you have delayed so long after I sent for you, that you have brought them agreeable to your promises."

"At the same time," continued Murray, "you promised solemnly to Colonel Bouquet that you would send deputies of your nations fully empowered to settle a peace with Sir William Johnson and at the same time leave a number of hostages here till their return. How you have complied with this article I need not inform you. You have sent but one man to Sir William Johnson, and he is not chief of any of your tribes; and the hostages you delivered to Colonel Bouquet have all shamefully run away except three, though they were all as well used here as any of our own people and never confined. This conduct, brethren, has given all your brethren, the English, a suspicion of your sincerity; therefore, his excellency, General Gage, expects that you will immediately send proper deputies to Sir William Johnson to ratify and confirm a lasting peace, and [that you will] replace hostages here till that is done, as, till you perform those—your engagements to Colonel Bouquet—no trade can be opened to your nations." Thereupon, after a number of speeches by the savages had been made in reply, the rest of the prisoners held by them (all of whom they had with them) were delivered up;

* 'Bouquet's Expedition' (Cincinnati reprint), p. 81.

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other hostages were left, and promises were solemnly made to send deputies to Sir William Johnson as required. Then the council ended.

And here we may say that "the Delawares and the Shawanoes [Shawanese], mindful of their engagement and of the hostages which they had given to keep it, sent their deputies, within the appointed time, to Sir William Johnson, who concluded a treaty with them, stipulating, among other terms, that they should grant free passage through their country to English troops and travelers; that they should make full restitution for the goods taken from the traders at the breaking out of the war; and that they should aid their triumphant enemies in the difficult task which yet remained to be accomplished—that of taking possession of the Illinois and occupying its posts and settlements with British troops."* The result was that a final peace was established with all the savage tribes within the bounds of what is now the state of Ohio.

To aid in getting possession of the Illinois, George Croghan, already mentioned as deputy Indian agent at Fort Pitt, was dispatched down the Ohio soon after the breaking up of the Fort Pitt council, to go to Fort Chartres, in that country, with some speeches to the Indians there, taking with him a number of deputies of the Senecas (Mingoes), Delawares and Shawanese.† Upon Croghan's arrival at the mouth of the Hockhocking river, he sent an Indian to the plains of the Scioto—to the "Lower Shawanese town"—with a letter to certain French traders among the Shawanese, requiring them, without delay, to join him at the mouth of that river, in order to proceed with him to their country—the Illinois—"and to take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, as they were now become his subjects and had no right to trade there [among the Shawanese] without license." Croghan, at the same time, sent messages to the Indians just mentioned, to oblige the French traders to go to him in case they gave no heed to his letter. On the evening of the twenty-sixth of May (Crogan having some days before reached the mouth of the Scioto) a body of Shawanese with the traders came to the camp of the deputy Indian agent. It was thus that the way was paved for English-speaking adventurers to traffic with the Ohio Indians to the exclusion of those of

* Parkman's 'Pontiac,' Vol. II., pp. 243, 244.

† The following extract from 'Taylor's History of Ohio,' p. 166, is singularly confused and erroneous: "In the spring of 1765, late in April, Sir William Johnson was seated in council at German Flats, far in the interior of New York, and around him gathered the representatives of all the western tribes. What the armies of 1764 had accomplished on the waters of Muskingum and Sandusky was then consummated by the negotiations of the sagacious superintendent. At this meeting two propositions were made: one to fix some boundary line, west of which Europeans should not go; and the savages named as this line the Ohio or Alleghany and Susquehannah; but no definite agreement was made, Johnson not being empowered to act. The other proposal was, that the Indians should grant to the traders who had suffered in 1763, a tract of land in compensation for the injuries then done them, and this the Indians agreed to do. With the returning deputies of Senecas, Shawanese and Delawares, George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's sub-commissioner, embarked at Pittsburgh on the fifteenth of May, 1765, intending to visit the Wabash and Illinois."

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other nationalities. And here it may be remarked, that Croghan did not reach the Illinois. He was taken prisoner by hostile savages and marched to the Wabash, making his way, finally, to Detroit, where he held frequent conferences with the different nations of Indians assembled there, settling matters with them to their general satisfaction, and reaching home by way of Niagara.*

Now that there was peace in the Ohio country with its savage inhabitants (for Croghan had, at Detroit, treated with the Wyandots upon the Sandusky and the Ottawas upon the Maumee), so that an Englishman, whether soldier, trader or traveler, could venture to the northward and westward of the Ohio river with impunity, let us glance for a moment at the progress civilization had made, up to this time, in its march towards this region. At Pittsburgh, there was "some kind of a town" to be seen outside of Fort Pitt, although during the siege of that fort, all the houses had disappeared. This was the nearest approach to the eastward of white men as settlers, at the beginning of 1766, to any part of the present state of Ohio. On the north was Detroit with its large stockaded fort, enclosing about eighty houses, with the country, especially upon the river, thickly settled with French, their plantations generally laid out about three or four acres in breadth on the stream and eighty in depth. The people were "poor wretches," consisting of three or four hundred French families, lazy and idle, depending upon the savages largely for their subsistence. Before the conflict brought on by Pontiac and his Indian hordes, there resided at Detroit three Indian nations: the Pottawattamies, whose village was on the west side of the river, about one mile below the fort; the Ottawas, on the east side, about three miles above the fort; and the Wyandots, whose village was located on the east also, but about two miles below the fort. The two first-mentioned nations had, in 1766, removed to a considerable distance from their former places of abode.

There were civilized residents at the head of the Maumee river, at what is now Fort Wayne, Indiana, the nearest of any to the present boundaries of Ohio. There was a Miami village situated on both sides of the St. Joseph, not far above its confluence with the St. Mary's forming the Maumee. On the east side of the St. Joseph stood the stockade fort, already mentioned in this narrative, which was now "somewhat ruinous." The Indian village consisted of about forty or fifty cabins. There were nine or ten French houses, "occupied by a runaway colony from Detroit." The occupants having been concerned on the side of the Indians in Pontiac's war, removed to this post, being afraid of punishment by the English; and there, ever since, they had spirited up the savages against the latter.

* For Croghan's journal of his venturesome trip, see 'The Olden Time.' Vol. I., pp. 404-415; Hildreth's 'Pioneer History,' pp. 68-85; Butler's 'History of Kentucky' (2d ed.), pp 459-470; also Monthly Amer. Jour. of Geology and Natural Science, for Dec., 1831. Compare, in addition, Parkman's 'Pontiac,' Vol. II., pp. 275-298.

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Crossing from the head of the Maumee, in 1766, to the waters of the Wabash, at the portage, then a little over two hundred miles, brought the traveler to Weatanon, where, in the fort, on the north side of the Wabash, were living about fourteen French families, near which were two Indian villages, occupied by Kickapoos and Mascoutins; but the Weas had their village on the opposite side of the river. Going down the Wabash another two hundred miles, and Vincennes would be reached, the site of the city of the same name, in what is now the state of Indiana. Here were eighty or ninety French families and a village of the Piankeshaw Indians.

Southwestward of what is now included within the boundaries of the state of Ohio, there was no trace of civilization until the lower Mississippi was reached; and, to the south, none until arriving at the Gulf. However, notwithstanding this isolation, there were causes already operating—movements already on foot—which, in the end, broke the barriers that divided civilization from barbarism, and let in upon the Ohio country a current of emigration, which, even to this day, has not ceased to flow.

As early as 1764 instructions were sent from the king of Great Britain to John Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, giving the latter information that several persons from his province and the back parts of Virginia had crossed the Alleghany mountains and located on lands lying not far from the Ohio, in express disobedience of a proclamation issued on the seventh of October of the previous year, prohibiting all governors from granting warrants for lands to the westward of the sources of the rivers which run into the Atlantic, and forbidding all persons purchasing such lands or settling on them without special license from the crown. Governor Penn was enjoined to use all means in his power to prevent this emigration and cause such persons as had actually settled in the trans-Alleghany country to be removed. The reason for this action on part of the king was, the Indians had sent in complaints of the white men's encroachments on their territory, which included not only all the region watered by streams flowing into the Ohio and Alleghany rivers on the east, but an extensive area over the mountains, in Pennsylvania and New York.

But neither the king's proclamation nor that of Governor Penn, nor the forcible removal, at times, of the intruders by military commanders, nor the passage of a law by Pennsylvania inflicting death, "without benefit of clergy," upon all who should not remove after a certain number of days had expired from the reception of notice to leave, were sufficient to stay the tide now setting in with resistless flow upon the waters of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela. Besides, there were adventurous spirits of the frontiers, who were not alone in their designs upon the wilderness. The old Ohio company sought a perfection of their grant; the Virginia volunteers of 1754, who had enlisted under a proclamation offering liberal bounties of

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lands, were also clamorous; individual grants were urged; even Sir William Johnson was ambitious of being governor of an armed colony south of the Ohio river, upon a model proposed by Franklin in 1754; and the plan of another company, led by Thomas Walpole, was submitted to the English ministry.* There was but one thing to do—the title to the country must be purchased from the Indians; so, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1768, a council was held with the Six Nations and their confederates, also with some independent tribes, although, as a matter of fact, it was a conference with the Iroquois exclusively, as none others signed the articles finally agreed upon. The general government was represented by Sir William Johnson. There were also commissioners present from New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The treaty was held at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, in the state of New York It should be here understood that the region sought to be opened up to civilization (which has been already described) was claimed by the Six Nations (Iroquois), and that the other tribes held under them as tenants at sufferance.

At Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, in 1744, a deed was signed by the chiefs of these confederates, recognizing the king's right to all lands that then were or that by his majesty's appointment should be included within the colony of Virginia. This was the basis for the grant of the five hundred thousand acres to the Ohio company already described.

But the treaty of Lancaster to the Ohio Indians, especially the Delawares and Shawanese, was obnoxious; however, in the Logstown treaty of 1752 it was confirmed by them. Notwithstanding this, it was considered on part of the British government better that no provincial settlement should be made in the trans-Alleghany region, hence the proclamation of 1763 forbidding it.

The result of the treaty of Fort Stanwix was, that all the country claimed by the Six Nations lying to the eastward of the Alleghany river, as far up as what is now Kittanning, county-seat of Armstrong county, Pennsylvania, and all lying to the southward and eastward of the Ohio river from Pittsburgh down to the mouth of the Tennessee river, in the present state of Kentucky, "and extending eastward from every part of the said line as far as the lands formerly purchased, so as to comprehend the whole of the lands between the said line and the purchased lands or settlements," except what was within the province of Pennsylvania, was sold by these Indians. Their lands in Pennsylvania east of that line were, at the same time, purchased by that province. The way was thus made clear for the march of civilization to the Ohio from its head to the mouth of the Tennessee river; and it was not a great length of time before settlements were dotting the wilderness to the westward of the Monongahela. As titles to tracts of land in the new purchase could be obtained from either Pennsylvania†

* Adapted, from 'Taylor's Ohio,' pp. 180, 181.

† The Pennsylvania land office was opened in 1769. Several thousand locations were applied for on the first day.

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or Virginia, according to the location (causing trouble, of course, in what is now southwestern Pennsylvania, where both provinces claimed the right to the soil), the people who were crowding into the trans-Alleghany region were largely Pennsylvanians and Virginians.

The influx of settlers continued, and with it sprang up a speculation in land. "Land jobbers," as they were called, were numerous and mostly Virginians, for a large part of the desirable lands lay down the Ohio, within the jurisdiction of Virginia, beyond the limits claimed by Pennsylvania. Now, the prince of these land speculators—these "land jobbers"—was no less a person than George Washington. He and his associates were entitled to enter large tracts of land by virtue of their services in the previous war with France; but many were not content with their allowance because of these services; they would accumulate more by purchase, and none were more greedy in this regard than he who soon won the proud title of "father of his country."* As whatever connection can be traced between these speculations and Washington is of interest, it is proper to explain that in 1770 this land-owner made a "prospecting" tour to the west, to search out more tracts than he had already secured, and, in so doing, as we shall presently see, he traveled for some distance, for the first and only time, on the soil of what is now the state of Ohio. He reached Pittsburgh on the seventeenth of October, 1770—the third visit he had made to the head of the Ohio. He embarked in a large canoe three days after for the mouth of the Great Kanawha river, in what is now West Virginia. But he previously records in his journal, concerning Pittsburgh, that the houses are built of logs, and ranged in streets; that they were on the Monongahela and, as he supposed, about twenty in number, "inhabited by Indian traders."

Washington and his company reached the Mingo town on what is now the Ohio side of the river, just below the city of Steubenville, Jefferson county, on the twenty-second, where he found twenty cabins and seventy Indian inhabitants "of the Six Nations," that is, Senecas—Mingoes. More than sixty warriors of the Six Nations were also found here, who were going to the Cherokee country to proceed to war against the Catawbas. Having reached the Great Kanawha by the first of November, he began his return voyage on the third, meeting on the fourth "a canoe going to the Illinois with sheep." On the seventeenth he was back to the Mingo town, where he made a significant entry in his journal.

"The Indians," he wrote, "who reside upon the Ohio, the upper part of it at least, are composed of Shawanese, Delawares, and some of the Mingoes, who, getting but little part of the consideration that was given for the lands eastward of the Ohio [at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, before mentioned], view the settlements of the people upon this [the branches of the Ohio] river with

* 'The Washington-Crawford Letters' (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1877), *passim*. Washington finally secured over thirty thousand acres.

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an uneasy and jealous eye, and do not scruple to say that they must be compensated for their right if the people settle thereon, notwithstanding the cession of the Six Nations. On the other hand, the people of Virginia and elsewhere are exploring and marking all the lands that are valuable, not only on the Redstone [in what is now Fayette county, Pennsylvania] and other waters on the Monongahela, but along the Ohio as low as the Little Kanawha; and by the next summer I suppose they will get to the Great Kanawha, at least."

Washington reached Fort Pitt on the twenty-first of November, and on the twenty-third started for his home. It was his last visit to the west.* Throughout all his canoe trip from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, he saw no sign of civilization except at a point just below the head of the Ohio.† But it may be promised that this state of affairs, as to the left bank of the river, was soon changed; for "exploring and marking" lands presaged settlements soon to follow—if not down the river to "the Little Kanawha," at least, in a few places (in what is now known as the "Panhandle" of West Virginia) immediately upon the Ohio. But we anticipate.

In April, 1770, a Moravian mission was established among the Delaware Indians, on the east side of Beaver river, in what is now Laurence county, Pennsylvania (between the Shenango river and Slippery Rock creek), to which was given the name of "City of Peace." The missionary in charge was David Zeisberger. Soon after, another town was laid out on the west side of the stream, opposite the first. These missions were the nearest ones to what is now the state of Ohio of any before that time established, belonging to the Protestant faith. Two years subsequent to this—that is, in the early spring of 1772—Zeisberger took the old Indian trail from Pittsburgh west to Tuscarawas with the intention of founding still another mission among the Delawares—this one to be on the Tuscarawas river, within the present limits of Ohio. It was located by him two miles southeast of what is now New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas county, and was named "Beautiful Spring" (in German "Schönbrunn," in the Delaware language, "Welhik-Tuppeek"). A zealous poet thus sings of the "Beautiful Spring:"

Away in the forest, how fair to the sight
Was the clear, placid lake as it sparkled in light,
And kissed with low murmur the green shady shore,
Whence a tribe had departed, whose traces it bore;
Where the lone Indian hasten'd and wond'ring
hush'd

* Washington's 'Journal of a Tour to the Ohio River in 1770,' has been several times printed. (See 'The Olden Time,' Vol. I., pp. 416-432; appendix to the 'History of Western Pennsylvania,' pp. 392-406; also Sparks' 'Life and Writings of Washington,' Vol. II., pp. 516-534.)

† This was the residence of Alexander McKee (called by Washington "Mr. Magee"). It is only necessary to carefully examine Washington's descriptions of the country as he moved down the Ohio, to convince one that no settlement of white people had, in October, 1770, made its appearance on the left (or east) bank of the Ohio—not a single house below McKee's. All statements of settlements having been made at Wheeling before this date are manifestly erroneous; so, also, as to others commenced above and below that point on the river, prior to the time just mentioned.

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His awe as he trod o'er the mouldering dust!
How bright were the waters—how cheerful the song
Which the wood-bird was chirping all the day long;
And how welcome the refuge these solitudes gave
To the pilgrims who toiled over mountain and wave!
Here they rested—here gushed forth salvation, to bring
The fount of the Cross by the "Beautiful Spring."

Soon after, another "Moravian Indian" town was founded, and named "Guadenhütten." It was on the same river, in the outskirts of the present Guadenhütten, Clay township, Tuscarawas county, Ohio. These were the first Protestant missions among the Indians beyond the Ohio, and the superintendent of both was Zeisberger. A number of Indian "converts" from Pennsylvania peopled these establishments, while others were added from the tribes living in the vicinity. It had been far better, as the sequel shows, had these missions never been established.

On the fourth day of January, 1773, David Jones, a minister of the gospel at Freehold, New Jersey, reached, by way of Pittsburgh, the mouth of the Scioto river, on a visit to the Ohio Indians. By the tenth he had moved up that river to an Indian town called "Kuskinkis," about fourteen miles below the mouth of Paint creek, a well-known affluent of the Scioto. The destination of Jones was now the Shawanese town of Pickaway, situated "south of a brook that, east of the town, empties into Deer creek." It contained about one hundred souls, being a mixture of Shawanese and other nations. East of Deer creek in a west northwest course, at a distance of about three miles from Pickaway, was a small town called "Blue Jacket's town." The village only contains about twelve houses. The chief who lived here was known to the English as the "Hardman." He was called a king. A trader who resided there invited the king to take breakfast with Jones, "having previously informed him [the Hardman] that I was no trader, but was a good man, whose employment among white people was to speak of God and heavenly matters, and came with that view to see my brothers, the Indians." From Pickaway the preacher journeyed to Chillicothe, "the chief town of the Shawanese Indians," "situated north of a large plain adjacent to a branch of Paint creek. The plain is their cornfield which supplies [a] great part of their town. Their houses are made of logs." About three miles west by north from Chillicothe was a small town, the Indian name for which signified "Crooked Nose's Place." It was, in appearance, a new village. Jones now directed his course toward the Delaware Indians, "reaching Kiskapookee before night, which is situated on a creek that empties into Scioto." The town was situated about one mile from the river, in a course northeast by north from Chillicothe, and at a distance of more than twenty miles from the village last mentioned. After crossing the Scioto in a canoe, Jones made his way to the Delaware Indian town, known as the "Standing Stone," near the present Lancaster, Ohio. Traveling thence through two small Delaware villages, he finally reached New Comer's town, the chief village of the Delawares. It was located on the west side of the Tuscarawas in the outskirts of what is now a town of the same name, in Tuscarawas county, Ohio.

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The "Moravian Indian" village of Guadenhütten, already described, was visited by the traveler on the fourteenth of February. It was about ten miles, according to Jones' reckoning, up the river from New Comer's town. He found at the mission an Indian population consisting of Stockbridges, Mingoes and Delawares. They had neat log houses to dwell in and a good house for divine worship, about twenty-two feet by eighteen, well seated, and a good floor and chimney. Jones was informed by Zeisberger, who had charge of the two missions—Schönbrunn and Guadenhütten—that there were nearly eighty families belonging to the two towns and that there were two ministers besides himself. The traveler made his way back to New Comer's town, thence to the Ohio river below Wheeling, and after crossing that stream journeyed homeward.*

As early as 1764 the commissioners of trade, in England, matured a general plan for the future management and conduct of Indian affairs, regulating, of course, the trade with the different nations; but parliament did not pass a bill authorizing these regulations until the next year. Not later than the opening of the year 1766, the trade began with the various tribes living northwest of the Ohio. The traders had their depots of supplies largely at Pittsburgh and Detroit. It is not too much to say that the whole country northwest of the Ohio was soon overrun with them, the Sandusky Indians being supplied from Detroit, the residue of the Ohio savages, by Pennsylvanians, from Pittsburgh. The Virginians were not largely engaged as traders. Such was the condition of the Indian trade at the close of the year 1773.†

Three years from the time of Washington's journey down the Ohio brought a great change in affairs between the Monongahela and the Ohio. There was now (December, 1773,) a number of settlements on the immediate bank of the river last mentioned, in what is now the Panhandle of West Virginia; and they were scattered through the wilderness eastward to the Redstone creek, where, in 1767, there was begun the first "clearing" in the woods, in the Monongahela valley. Civilization had in truth reached the Ohio, and it had come to stay; but across that stream was a country forbidden to the white settlers; emphatically the Indian country; and so it was called.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

* See 'Jones' Journal' (New York: 1865), *passim*.

† 'Pennsylvania Archives' (O. S.), Vol. IV., *passim*. Major Basset (from Detroit) to General Haldimand, April 29, 1773 — MS. letter: Haldimand Collection.

[*To be continued.*]

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ISAAC D. SMEAD.

AMONG those who have made successful efforts in one of the most important departments of applied science is Mr. Isaac D. Smead of Toledo, Ohio, the well-known head of several associated firms, known as the Smead Warming and Ventilating company. Mr. Smead was born in Coleraine, Franklin county, Massachusetts, July 31, 1849. His father, Ezra Smead, was a mechanic, and added to his resources in providing for his family by the cultivation of a small farm. The boyhood of Isaac was passed in his quiet New England home, when the district school in winter and a few terms at a select school comprised his opportunities for obtaining an education. His naturally energetic spirit soon rebelled against the monotony and conservatism of rural New England life, and he determined to seek a more congenial situation in the young and growing west. Accordingly, at the age of sixteen, against the wishes of his parents, he left home and went to Bloomington, Illinois, where he came at once in contact with conditions which determined his future course and led him to the successful solution of his life problem.

It is well known that Mr. Smead has devoted more than twenty years of his life to the most assiduous and persistent efforts to solve the problem of warming and ventilating houses and public buildings in accordance with the principles of sanitary science, and that he has achieved a most remarkable success. In these northern and middle latitudes where artificial heat is so much depended upon and where at the same time pure air in buildings is among the prime conditions of health, the value of Mr. Smead's discoveries and appliances should place him foremost among public benefactors. It is not too much to say that the system of warming and ventilating which he has brought so near perfection is one of the most valuable contributions ever made to practical sanitary science.

The beginning point of his successful career in this direction was with the firm of W. A. Pennell & Company, with whom he first found employment on his arrival at Bloomington in 1867, the firm having been organized but a short time previously. A brief history of the firm will show the relation of Mr. Smead to Mr. Ruttan, upon whose original method he has made so many important improvements.

The important questions of sanitary heating and ventilation had been discussed, but no attempt had been made to solve them scientifically or practically prior to the efforts of Honorable Henry Ruttan of Coburg, Canada. Mr. Ruttan, after devoting careful study to the subject and procuring several patents, published in 1862 a large volume, setting forth the theories which form the underlying principles of the Ruttan system of warming and ventilation. Among the first to be-

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Isaac D. Smead

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come convinced of the practicability of Mr. Ruttan's method was B. R. Hawley of Normal, Illinois, who, in 1866, with the intention of putting the system in practice, became associated with W. A. Pennell and Lemuel Grover under the firm name of W. A. Pennell & Company. It was soon after the organization of the firm that young Smead became associated with it. It is not our purpose to follow in detail the successes and failures of the new enterprise, which was surrounded on all sides by obstacles. The experiments in which the firm were engaged in reducing Mr. Ruttan's theories to practice, as well as the scientific principles involved in them, so enlisted the natural genius of the boy that he engaged in the work with all the ardor and enthusiasm of a veteran scientist. So valuable did his work become and so rapid was his progress that his proficiency soon became recognized, and upon the organization of the company in 1872, he was chosen its secretary. The newly organized company began at once to push the enterprise with vigor, expending several thousand dollars to improve old patterns and to make new ones. At the end of four years scarcely a pattern remained that was in use when the company was organized. During this period Mr. Smead displayed marvelous ingenuity in overcoming mechanical obstacles, seeming insurmountable; and such has been his readiness and fertility of invention that the enterprise has never lacked a new tool or appliance to meet the necessities of improvements which have been constantly going forward. The company went on prosperously until 1877, when, on account of an unfortunate investment in iron, which was opposed by Mr. Smead, they were compelled to suspend operations. However, a new company was organized immediately, of which Mr. Smead was president, and business was again started. The offices of the company were removed to Chicago; after two years of business success a new office was opened in Kansas City; in 1882 another office was opened in Toledo, under the firm name of Isaac D. Smead & Company; early in 1885, from the employés of the Toledo company, under the direct management of Mr. Smead, who had removed his residence to that city, two new companies were formed, under the name of Smead Warming and Ventilating company, one with offices at Elmira, New York, and the other at Philadelphia; and in 1886 another firm was organized, which also bears his name, with offices at Toronto, Canada.

To Mr. Smead more than to any other person is due the success of this noble and truly useful enterprise. Of the fourteen patents used in applying the Ruttan-Smead system of heating and ventilation, all except two or three are the inventions of Mr. Smead. So great have been the changes introduced by him that, were the originator still alive, he would not be able to recognize in the improved system that which originally bore his name. When Mr. Smead first interested himself in the subject, it had not reached the stage of theoretical demonstration, but under his practical genius and skill it can almost be said to be a perfect solution of the problem of safe and healthy warming and ventilation of buildings.

To show the rapid growth of the business under Mr. Smead's management, it

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is only necessary to state that in 1877 the amount of iron manufactured into apparatus was about two hundred thousand pounds, while in 1887 over five million pounds were used.

The Smead Warming and Ventilating apparatus, together with the sound and economical principles which they so happily illustrate, have gained almost universal acceptance, being favorably reported upon by the most intelligent and practical committees of public buildings, schools and colleges, both in the United States and in foreign countries. We have space for only two or three extracts from these reports.

Opinion of a member of the Ohio State Board of Health. Dr. T. Clarke Miller, of Massillon, Ohio.

S. S. GRAY, M. D.:

Dear Dr.—Your letter to the State Board of Health of the sixteenth instant received. It was referred to Dr. Jones mistakenly; he was not at home, and now he refers it to me. Steam heating which makes proper provision for ventilation is a very expensive luxury, not adapted to public buildings. Direct radiation ought not to be thought of—being away behind stoves. The Smead system is philosophical in principle, practical, effective, safe, cheap, durable. The dry closet system is almost a new sun in the sanitary heavens. It would be a matter of interest to understand the motives which determine officials, when they adopt a system of heating which never was satisfactory, costs a good deal originally, is a constant expense as well as danger, disabled or insufficient when most needed, and which requires the skill of an engineer to run, against one which is perfectly adapted to the situation and necessities, costs moderately and almost runs itself. I hope you will continue to make the fight, in the interest of humanity and sanitary science.

Yours respectfully,

T. CLARKE MILLER, M. D.

The following is from the Toledo School report for the year ending August 31, 1884:

Two years ago the board introduced the Smead system of heating and ventilation into the new part of the Humboldt building. Six rooms were heated by this system, and six by the old hot air furnaces. An excellent opportunity was thus afforded of comparing the two systems as to efficiency and economy. A careful account for the entire year was kept of each side, and the result showed that the new system was what was claimed for it. It heated and thoroughly ventilated the rooms, and the schools on that side were not dismissed for a single day. A test with an air meter showed that on ordinarily cold days the air could be changed from six to eight times per hour. As to economy, it cost two hundred and thirty-six dollars less to heat and ventilate these six rooms than it did to heat the other six by the ordinary hot air furnace. So successful was the experiment and so well pleased was the board, that the new system was ordered placed in the six new buildings subsequently erected. The unsatisfactory condition of the heating apparatus in the old buildings, and the constant complaint of parents and teachers on account of having to dismiss school on cold days, led the board to investigate the expense of introducing the new system into the old buildings. After a careful investigation, the committee on buildings reported that an introduction of the Smead system into six old buildings would secure the same results as were secured in the Humboldt building, and at a saving of fuel of about one thousand eight hundred dollars per annum. This saving of fuel alone would in seven years pay for the cost of making the change, to say nothing about the saving of valuable time of the pupils on account of no dismissals of school from the cold condition of the rooms. The change recommended was made.

It is a matter of congratulation to the patrons of the schools that we now have one hundred and sixty-two school rooms thoroughly heated and ventilated. It is safe to say that there is no city in the United States that has its school rooms better heated and ventilated than the city of Toledo. (Annual Report, 1884.)

At this writing (January, 1888) there are twenty-one of the public school buildings of Toledo containing the Smead apparatus.

In 1885 Mr. Smead issued a volume of one hundred and thirty quarto pages in which he reviewed the history of the rise and progress of the Ruttan-Smead system. It is a work that all should read who

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would understand the history and working of this, the only perfect system of warming and ventilation. But the best test of it and that which has given its great prestige and popularity is its practical success in all the places where it has been applied.

Mr. Smead is not wholly occupied with the management of this large business; his energetic nature finds occupation in various other directions and public services. He owns and cultivates a large orange grove in Florida, and is vice-president of the Toledo Marine company.

A Republican in politics, he is sound and firm in fealty to his party, anything like neutrality or compromise where duty and principle are involved being foreign to his nature. He believes in his party because he regards it as the best exponent of political principles and of a sound National policy. Although he has never sought or solicited any political office or appointment, he has held and filled with his usual energy and competency for the discharge of the executive business, since 1886, a place in the board of managers of the Ohio State penitentiary, to which he was appointed by Governor Foraker. He is also by appointment of the executive board commissioner to take charge of the department of machinery at the Ohio Centennial in 1888.

The career of Mr. Smead thus imperfectly outlined will indicate somewhat his mental endowments and traits of character. One of his distinguishing characteristics is his intuitive sagacity in judging of men. He seems to know by intuition the right person to fill any place which he wants filled; and perhaps this is the secret of the little friction and disturbance which occur in his extensive business. His power of organization and his executive ability enable him to systematize and easily manage a large force of employés, and his uniform courtesy to all secures him the good-will not only of everyone in his employ but of the many committees and of the large number of public men and private citizens with whom he is constantly in business relations. His remarkably frank and genial manner and his direct and fluent style of speaking render him an agreeable and instructive companion. While as an employer he is exacting and strict in discipline, he is never overbearing or unjust in his demands. No employer was ever more popular with his employés, as he impresses upon all his sincere desire to be fair and equitable in all his dealings with them. Coming from the ranks of the laboring masses, he is moved by their impulse, inspired by a clear perception of their rights, and no man would be less inclined to unjustly use power. The high regard in which he is held by those in his employ is attested in many ways. The many souvenirs which grace his home—gifts from those long in his employ—are the best testimonials to his constant kindness and interest in their welfare.

But it is in the circle of his home—graced as it is by a most estimable wife, the daughter of Honorable J. N. Armstrong of LaSalle county, Illinois, whom he married in 1874, and his two bright and promising boys—that Mr. Smead finds his highest enjoyment. Here his virtues as an exemplary husband and father testify to the noblest qualities of his manhood. The home of Mr. Smead, on the corner

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of Woodruff avenue and Horace street, Toledo, Ohio, is one of the most attractive for home comforts of any in the city, and is a restful retreat from the engrossing cares of an extensive business.

W. W. CLAYTON.

THE FOUNDERS.*

The footsteps of a hundred years
Have echoed, since o'er Braddock's Road,
Bold Putnam and the Pioneers
Led History the way they strode.

On wild Monongahela's stream
They launched the Mayflower of the West,
A perfect state their civic dream,
A new New World their pilgrim quest.

When April robed the Buckeye trees
Muskingum's bosky shore they trod;
They pitched their tent, and to the breeze
Flung freedom's star-flag, thanking God.

As glides the Oyo's solemn flood
Their generation fleeted on:
Our veins are thrilling with their blood,
But they, the Pioneers, are gone.

Though storied tombs may not enshrine
The dust of our illustrious sires,
Behold, where monumental shine
Proud Marietta's votive spires.

Ohio carves and consecrates
In her own heart their every name;
The Founders of majestic States,—
Their epitaph—immortal fame.

—W. H. VENABLE.

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* The Founders of Ohio landed from their boat, the *Mayflower*, at Marietta, April 7, 1788, and established the first English settlement in the Northwestern Territory. Oyo was the Indian name of the Ohio.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE interest in the anniversary celebrations to occur this year in Marietta, the gateway to the Ohio country, increases as the days of reunion approach, and much valuable historical matter is being placed upon record here and there in connection with those events. The paper of Mrs. Alderman in this issue of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY is one of the most entertaining furnished in that connection, and should be read by all who have a desire to learn the facts connected with the memorable events of 1788.

THE paper recently published in these pages from the pen of Honorable Isaac Smucker upon the Ohio legislature of 1837 has aroused a new interest among several of our pioneers, that turns also in the direction of Marietta. We take the liberty of quoting from a private letter from Mr. Smucker, under date of Newark, Ohio, February 22, in which he says: "I received a letter from Honorable John A. Foote (of Cleveland). He wishes the surviving members of the legislature of 1837–38 to join him at the 'Centennial anniversary of the first settlement of Ohio' at Marietta, April 7. I know as yet of only four survivors, viz., James J. Faran of Cincinnati (one of the former proprietors of the *Enquirer*); French W. Thornhill of Coshocton, and Mr. Foote and myself. Perhaps some of the survivors will meet Mr. Foote at Marietta. I hope so, but they can all be represented by letter or by substitute." In commenting upon this suggestion, the Newark *American*, published in Mr. Smucker's home, says: "But the prospect is not good for the proposed reunion, as the patriarch Thornhill has been confined to his home for eight years. The present status of the venerable proprietor of the *Enquirer* is not known. Mr. Smucker feels the infirmities of age too heavy for the journey. Mr. Foote is the only one spry enough to travel across the state, and should he conclude to go alone we fear he would feel like Rip Van Winkle when returning from his long sleep in the Catskill mountains to find in his native village of 'Falling Water,' a new generation that knew him not. We regret exceedingly that the infirmities of age will prevent this reunion, as it would be a scene equally interesting to the parties of the reunion and those who might witness the meeting."

SPEAKING from no personal information, but from only what we know of the man, we can guarantee that Mr. Foote will be there. If the train should desert the track *en route*, Mr. Foote will "take to the ties" and be in on time; the first man in the grand stand, and the last to leave. He belongs to that class who never grow old; who are kept up by a pure heart, temperate living, with no stings from conscience to wear life away before their time. He is one of the youngest old men in America; and when the people are told that he was a member of the Ohio legislature, they will ask if it was that of last year or the one before, instead of 1837. He helped to make history a half century ago, and has lived to enjoy the fruits of the planting begun so long ago. May many years see him still an active part in the world of men.

WHILE Marietta does not intend to be content with one celebration — and one can see no reason why she need be, with so much to celebrate, and so much of enthusiasm to be utilized—that of April 7 comes first, and so deserves the first consideration. A circular has been received, signed by I. W. Andrews, A. J. Warner, R. R. Dawes and others, in which the events of that day are fully set forth. To

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quote the opening paragraph: "The landing of the pioneers at the mouth of the Muskingum on the seventh of April, 1788, has its parallel only in the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620. At a meeting of the directors of the Ohio company, December 3, 1788, a resolution was adopted, 'That the seventh day of April be forever considered a day of public festival in the territory of the Ohio company, as their settlements in this commenced on that day.' The first anniversary of the day was duly celebrated in 1789, Dr. Solomon Drown delivering an oration. The day has been generally observed in Marietta, and for many years the Pioneer Association of Cincinnati has held its annual meeting on the seventh of April. The words of Honorable Arius Nye, in his address in 1836, voiced the universal sentiment: '*Here* commenced on the seventh of April, 1788, the *State of Ohio*, and here its history properly begins.' In 1858 the great audience that gathered to celebrate the seventieth anniversary was addressed by Ohio's most eminent citizen and son—Honorable Thomas Ewing."

"THE celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement was determined on some years ago, and a committee appointed by the Washington County Pioneer association to make the necessary arrangements. Honorable George E. Hoar, United States senator from Massachusetts, will deliver an oration, and Honorable J. Randolph Tucker will represent Virginia, the state whose delegates in congress were so efficient in securing the great ordinance of 1787, the ordinance itself having been enacted with special reference to the colony founded at Marietta on the seventh of April, 1788. The Ohio Archæological and Historical society will hold its annual meeting at the same time, and addresses will be given by Honorable Thomas Ewing of New York city, Judge Joseph Cox and others. Appropriate exercises will be held on Sunday, the eighth, and a discourse will be delivered by Rev. Henry M. Storrs, D. D., of New Jersey. The American Historical association, as well as state historical societies, state societies of the Cincinnati Pioneer associations, and other organizations have appointed delegates to represent them on the occasion. Great historic interest centres in the event to be commemorated, and many descendants of the pioneers will make a pilgrimage to the old home."

THE paper of Honorable Amos Townsend of Cleveland, in this issue, upon his experiences in Kansas with the congressional committee of 1856, possesses an unusual value, as it contains much information in the possession of but a few, and upon a point around which the interest of the people will ever be centered. The Kansas-Nebraska question was one of the great avenues through which the slaveholders forced war upon the people; and the outrages perpetrated upon the soil of the territory first named had a powerful effect in the election of Lincoln, and the solidifying of the Union sentiment of the north. Mr. Townsend has told his story in a manner that gives it an unusual interest and that must chain the attention of the reader from first to last.

THE election of Professor B. A. Hinsdale of this city to a chair in the faculty of the University of Michigan, places the right man in the right place. He had outgrown Hiram college years before he departed from it, and it was largely because he felt the need of an enlarged field that he accepted the position of superintendent of the Cleveland public schools. While he was a recognized power for good in these schools and made his influence felt in many ways during his short incumbency, it was not the place for him—school board tactics, the rush and push of aspiring politicians and the hot-house methods of many school supporters not being forces to which he was accustomed or that could be at all congenial. But in the great institution to which he has gone, among scholars, and engaged in teaching to others what he knows so well—the theory and science of education—he has found the right place and will command a success as extended as his best friends could wish.

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MR. JAMES A. BRIGGS has mailed us a few notes that were intended to supplement his article in the February issue on the Willoughby Institute of Lake Erie, but as they failed to arrive until the article in question had been published, we take the liberty of inserting them here: "There were several professors in the university at different periods. Among them Professors Bennett, Underhill, Walsh, Graham, Donovan and St. John. I think of all who were teachers in that medical university Professor Orson S. St. John is the only one now living. For a time, in 1840–41, he filled the chair of *materia medica* and medical jurisprudence. Professor St. John was well qualified for the duties of his professorship. He was thoroughly educated in his profession, in general science, and well read in the text-books and in the principles of legal jurisprudence. He is enjoying a vigorous old age, and a few years ago made an extended tour of the northern and western portions of our country. How different the condition of things in our land now from what they were in the long-ago, when the professor was in short skirts, at the time when his heroic mother saved her house in Buffalo from destruction by the British in the last war with Great Britain, and hers was the only house saved from the invader's torch in that frontier village. Truly may we say of Professor St. John:

> 'Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty,
> For in my youth I never did apply
> Hot and rebellious liquors to my blood.
> . . . . . .
> Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
> Frosty but kindly.'

"After the Medical university was removed to Cleveland a young ladies' seminary was kept in the building for several years, and was in a flourishing condition, until it was overshadowed by one in the beautiful village of Painesville, and the seminary there is a success now, and long may it be."

DR. BENNETT, referred to by Mr. Briggs in the above, can be none other than the John C. Bennett who made so conspicuous a figure among the Mormons of Nauvoo, in 1841 and 1842. He was made mayor of the city, chancellor of the Nauvoo university, a general in the Nauvoo legion, and was recognized as one of the leading men of the Mormon church. A rupture between the Prophet Joseph Smith and himself caused him to withdraw from the church and become one of its bitterest foes. He published a book that created a great excitement at the time—'The History of the Saints, or, an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism' (Boston, 1842). On pages twelve and thirteen of that book are published certificates showing him to have occupied the position of "President of the Medical Faculty of the Willoughby University of Lake Erie" in 1835. His career in the west was one of adventure and excitement; and if any who read this possess information as to his fortunes after his departure from the Mormon church, the editor would be pleased to be acquainted with the fact.

THE question agitating the country as to the disposal of the surplus in the National treasury recalls the famous episode in American history over the disposal of the surplus that had accumulated by 1837. While he may not have been the first to suggest a method to be pursued in such cases, Thomas Jefferson was certainly among the first to do so, and we find him in his second inaugural address, delivered on March 4, 1805, using the following words: "These contributions [import duties] enable us to support the current expenses of the government, to fulfill contracts with foreign nations, to extinguish the native right of soil within our limits, to extend those limits, and to apply such a surplus to our public debts as places at a short day their final redemption, and that redemption once effected, the revenue thereby liberated may, by a just reparation among the states, and a corresponding amendment of the Constitution, be applied, in time of peace, to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufacturers, education and other great objects within each state."

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ONE of the most interesting, as it is one of the most rare, among the early books called forth by the establishment of the Mormon church in Ohio, is that of Daniel P. Kidder, published by Carlton & Porter, in 1842, under the title 'Mormonism and the Mormons.' The manner in which this little work came into being is thus related by the author in his preface: "It is due to the writer, no less than to the reader, that the circumstances which have called forth the present volume should be stated. On the thirteenth of November, 1840, I was at a place called Fulton City, on the upper waters of the Mississippi river, waiting for the descent of some steamboat in which I might take passage. About daybreak the next morning a boat was hailed, and I went on board. The bustle of embarkation was hardly over before I learned that the boat was owned and principally manned by Mormons, being called *Nauvoo*. It, moreover, carried Joseph Smith, junior, in the character of passenger, although in reality he was chief director of the whole concern. It appeared that among the multitudes drawn together at the Mormon settlements in the west were a number of individuals more or less acquainted with navigation. In order that their talent might not be unemployed, Smith and his coadjutors had purchased a steamboat, and commenced running it on the river for purposes of speculation, and also, doubtless, with a view to accomodating their colony at Nauvoo.

"ON board this boat was a small but promiscuous company of passengers, most of whom having embarked without a knowledge of the peculiar company into which they would be introduced, soon found themselves annoyed by a system of surveillance that was maintained over them. If in their conversation any remarks were dropped indicative of doubt concerning the truth of Mormonism, or want of respect toward the leaders of that sect, they were almost sure to be reported to Smith. He, as the leader and champion, took it upon himself to chastise with severe words any who had thus offended. He did not explain the manner of his information respecting the expressions of those with whom he had not conversed, but asserted himself a 'discerner of spirits' and affected to disclose what was in the hearts of others. In short, his repeated treatment of those who did not acknowledge his pretensions, exemplified an assertion of his own, viz., that in order to get through the world to the best advantage, he had learned to browbeat his way. I had at that time but little acquaintance with the doctrines or peculiarities of Mormonism, and therefore felt bound to avail myself of all the facilities for gaining information, in the midst of which I was so unexpectedly thrown. I will neither attempt to detail what passed in the course of the two or three days I spent in company with the individual referred to, nor inquire what agency his prophetic knowledge had in running the boat out of her proper course, and driving her upon rocks, at a moment when he himself was assisting the pilot at the wheel! It was by the last-mentioned circumstance that my passage on the *Nauvoo* was interrupted, and the poor boat left fast upon the upper rapids of the Mississippi, until a rise of water took her off.

"On leaving the *Nauvoo* for another boat, which came to our relief, several passengers of the former requested me to draw up a statement of what we had witnessed, for publication at St. Louis. This I declined, but promised at a future day to prepare an article for the press, in which, without setting down aught on the score of the personal treatment we had received, I would endeavor to place the subject of Mormonism in its true light. Such an article was prepared for publication in the Methodist Quarterly Review. It, however, being rather too long for an insertion in that periodical, the editor and others recommended its revision with a view to publication in its present form."

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

AT the annual meeting of this society, held on November 16, 1887, Edward G. Mason was elected president, vice E. B. Washburne, deceased; and on December 6, John Moses was elected secretary and librarian, vice A. D. Hager, resigned. At the regular quarterly meeting held on January 17, the report of the secretary and librarian was read, showing additions to the library of 67 bound volumes and 157 pamphlets. An extended report was made by the executive committee from which the following extracts are taken: "They have gathered together and arranged from the society's files a sufficient number of papers and documents to constitute a new volume of the society's collections, which will shortly be placed in the society's hands.

"They have under very careful consideration the subject of a new society building, and expect to present at the next quarterly meeting a well-matured plan in reference to it and a sufficient subscription to justify the commencement of its construction. As a matter of interest to the members of the society, the committee also report that the trustees of the Gilpin fund have, by application to the proper court, as required by Mr. Gilpin's will, caused the vacancies in that trusteeship to be filled, and the present trustees of that fund, now amounting to eighty-six thousand dollars, are: Augustus H. Burley, Edwin H. Sheldon, Peter L. Yoe, Henry J. Willing, Alexander C. McClurg and Edward G. Mason."

MAHONING VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE efficient secretary of this organization that has done so much in the preservation of historical matter in the Western Reserve, has kindly furnished us with the following notes concerning its past and present:

The present officers of the society are as follows: General T. J. McLain of Warren, Ohio, president; Dr. Jackson Truesdale of Canfield, Ohio, first vice-president; Honorable Sheldon Newton of Boardman, Ohio, second vice-president; Harmon Austin, esquire, Warren, Ohio, third vice-president; Dr. J. F. Wilson of Youngstown, Ohio, secretary; Mr. J. F. McEwen of Youngstown, Ohio, treasurer.

Directors—Henry Tod, esquire, Colonel C. B. Wick, General A. W. Jones, Professor R. McMillan, W. W. McKrown, esquire, Dr. J. F. Wilson, all of Youngstown, Ohio; and General T. J. McLain, Honorable John M. Stull of Warren.

I may say regarding the Pioneer reunion that they have been held annually since 1874, and have always been largely attended. A few years ago a register was opened and since that time the autographs of most of the old people attending, with a statement of their age and address, has annually been obtained. This register promises to be a very interesting book as the years go by. About two hundred and fifty to three hundred aged people have left their names annually. At the last reunion, September 14, 1887, there were three names of persons present who were over 90 years of age, 19 were between 80 and 90, 77 between 70 and 80, 82 between 60 and 70, while there were 86 below 60 years of age.

The oldest person present is regarded the hero of the occasion, while the emulation of sturdy old fellows to show the greatest number of years, with still vigorous bodies, has afforded much entertainment. On one occasion, five generations of one pioneer family in the valley were exhibited. The citizens of Youngstown have each year furnished a free dinner to the old folks, and special care is taken to give them an enjoyable day.

J. F. WILSON, Secretary.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

AN OPEN LETTER TO A. A. GRAHAM, ESQ.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, February 23, 1888.

A. A. Graham, Esq.:

MY DEAR SIR:—In your excellent paper entitled, "The Beginning of Education in the Northwest Territory," printed in the last (February) number of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, pp. 422–434, is this sentence:

"June 5 [1788] James Varnum brought a number of emigrants [to the mouth of the Muskingum] among whom were Mr. James Owen and his wife, to whom belongs the honor of being the first woman to settle in the [northwest] territory. Women as captives, or as wives of soldiers and officers, had preceded her to the western wilderness, but none were before her in the *role* of a settler."

In connection with this, I take the liberty of calling your attention, with high respect, to the following letter, which came into my possession a few days after its date, and which would have been published immediately had not sickness prevented me from giving it to the public:

PITTSBURGH, April 2, 1887.

EDITOR MAGAZINE WESTERN HISTORY:

Some delay was inevitable in answering your request to give the names of families and individuals who had settled in the territory [northwest] of the Ohio, near Philip Cable [see MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. V., p. 166 (November, 1886), where the writer asserts that "there is not the slightest trouble to establish the fact that Philip Cable, a native of Berks county, Pennsylvania, settled on the western bank of the Ohio at what is still known as Cable's Eddy, in 1785"], prior to 1788—as many of their descendants are widely scattered over the country, and who had never thought that the date of the settlement of their fathers would become a question of history. The families in the immediate neighborhood were the family of Michael Myers, the celebrated scout and Indian fighter, the Hoffmans, the Leeches, Thomas Kells and the Betz family, a man named Burke, the ferryman, Silas Paul, afterwards the first state's attorney. There were still others. There was another settlement a few miles below, near what is now Warrenton. The names of the leading men were John Carpenter, Robert and Abner Waddle, Joseph Tilton, George Boskins, one Scammerhorn (the last killed by the Indians), and the Morrison family, whose daughter, Elizabeth Morrison, was born in the territory at this point September 7, 1787. This lady had been [was afterward] a prisoner with the Indians. She was twice married; first to a man named Shrimplin, and after his death to a Mr. Blair, and in her old age removed to her son's home in Harvard township, Knox county, Ohio. There were many other settlers which will no doubt come to the front, Jacob Nessly, the grandfather of J. Nessly McCullough, the vice-president of the Pennsylvania railroad, was a frequent and welcome visitor at the block-house, as he was considered a safe counselor in times of great danger. These settlers had carried the laws under which they had formerly lived into the wilderness, and all disputes between neighbors were settled by those rules of equity and written laws governing the older settlements, while crime was punished with a promptness and certainty unknown in the present administration of justice.

DR. WM. W. CABLE,
151 Second Ave.

Now, Mr. Graham, the writer of the letter just given, asserts, in the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. V., p. 166 (November, 1886), that "his [Philip Cable's] eldest son, Ephraim Cable, was born on his farm [at Cable's Eddy], March 15, 1787, and lived there continuously until his death, December 4, 1875." Does not this prove that Mrs. Owen, the wife of James Owen, was *not* the first white woman that settled in the "territory northwest of the River Ohio," as mentioned by you? that at least *one* woman preceded her as a settler? and that that woman was the mother of Ephraim Cable? What say you?

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

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DOCUMENTS.

IV.

NEW LIGHT ON THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

POST OFFICE PHILADA, Augt 14, 1794.

Sir, The enclosed papers came in the Western mail which was received this evening—As your name appears at the foot of the letters, I have thought proper to return them to you—nearly all the mail of the 25th July from Pittsburgh were opened by the rioters, and many are missing.[1]

I am with respect

Your Obt. Servant

JAMES DAVIDSON.

Major Isaac Craig.

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[2]FORT, Novr. 19th 94—

Gentlemen

It is with much Regret I find myself under the Disagreable Necessity of Addressing you on the Subject of my present unhappy Situation. I must Confess I Stept into the Business to precipitately & in an unthinking manner, But never being at any of their Riots nor Meetings untill Braddocks field, which was meerly Acidental, & then Spoke Largely to the People for Peace, though after that Chosen As a member of the Committee, & with Reluctance & through Persuasion went and what I said there was Rather from Precedent, persuasion & being Timid from the heat of the people than any Design against Governmt. I Can now Appeal to that God who knows that my Attachmt to Governmt was always Such that never such a Design Entered my mind, as I have always Supported the Character of a Great friend to the Interet of the united States in our former Contest & Still trying to keep our frontiers Together by which I Lost a wife & three Children killed, & two Scalp'd alive, & now am suffering, & my Spirits so Depres'd that I know not what to Do. I Try'd for Peace on the present Ocasion in Several Instances, wrote to Esqr Sidgwick on the Subject, who is here also—

my Nerves is in Such a Condition I Cant write but when Cald upon Shall try to Give a Detail to the Court of my Proceedings &c. & If I am Spar'd Shall Take notice of those who have So misled me as indeed I have already for not one of them has had my Voice at the lection nor I hope never Shall &c.

Oh Gentlemen if you will try to help a Destroyed *friend.* it shall ever be Gratefully Acknowledged by

Yr Very Humble & Obedient Servt

JOHN CORBLY[3]

Messrs.

Genl John & Colo Presley Neville

JULY 28th, 1794.

Sir, Having had suspicions that the Pittsburgh post would carry with him the sentiments of some of the people in the country, respecting our present situation, and the letters by the post being now in our possession *by which certain secrets are discovered* hostile to our interest, it is therefore now come to that crisis, that every citizen must express his sentiments, not by words, but by his actions. You are then called upon as a citizen of the western country to render your personal service, with as many volunteers as you can raise to rendezvous at your usual place of meeting on Wednesday next, and thence you will march to the usual place of rendezvous at Braddock's Field, on the Monongahela, on Fri-

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day the first day of August next, to be there at two o'clock in the afternoon with arms and accoutrements in good order. If any volunteers shall want arms and ammunition bring them forward and they shall be supplied as well as possible. Here, Sir, is an expedition proposed in which you will have an opportunity of displaying your military talents and of rendering service to your country. Four days provisions will be wanted; let the men be thus supplied.

We are JOHN CANON
B. PARKINSON
D. BRADFORD
A. FULTON
J. MARSHALL
T. SPEAR
L. LOCKREY

To Colo David Williamson.

PITTSBURGH, August 8, 1794.

Sir, I have received no papers from you; your letter by the post is the first I have heard from you. I take the opportunity to give you, in return, a summary of the present state of this country, with respect to the opposition that exists to the excise law. It has its origin not in any antifederal spirit, I assure you. It is chiefly the principles and operation of the law itself, that renders it obnoxious. Be this as it may, the facts are these: The opposition, which for some time shewed itself in resolves of committees, in representations to government, in masked attacks on insignificant deputy excise officers, for only such would accept the appointment—did at length, on the appearance of the marshal in this country to serve process, break out into an open and direct attack on the inspector of the revenue himself, general Neville. These circumstances you will by this time have heard, from the general himself, and from the marshal, major Lenox. Subsequent to their departure from the country, notice was given of a meeting on the Monongahela river, about eighteen miles from the town of Pittsburgh. Six delegates, of whom I was one, were sent from this town. Nothing material was done at this meeting, but the measure agreed upon of a more general meeting, on the 14th of August, near the same place, to take into view the present state of affairs of the country.

Subsequent to this, the mail was intercepted, characters in Pittsburgh became obnoxious by letters found, in which sentiments construed to evince a bias in favour of the excise law, were discovered. In consequence of this it was thought necessary to demand of the town that those persons should be delivered up or expelled or any other obnoxious character that might reside there: also, that the exice office still kept in Pittsburgh, or said to be kept there, should be pulled down; the house of Abraham Kirkpatrick, burnt, or pulled down; other houses also, that were the property of persons unfavourable to the cause. For this purpose, circular letters were sent to battalions of the counties, detachments from which met on Braddock's field, to the amount of at least five thousand men, on the 2d of the month. It was dreaded, on the part of the town, that from the rage of the people involving the town in the general odium of abetting the excise law, it would be laid in ashes. And I aver that it would have been the case, had it not been for the prompt and decisive resolutions of the town, to march out and meet them as brethren, and comply with all demands. This had the effect, and the battalions marched into town on the 3d, and during their delay there, and cantoment in the neighbourhood, with a trifling exception of a slight damage done to the property of Abraham Kirkpatrick, in the possession of his tenant, which was afterwards compensated, behaved with all the regularity and order of the French or American armies, in their march through a town during the revolution with Great Britain.

The town of Pittsburgh will send delegates to the meeting of the 14th instant—what the result will be, I know not. I flatter myself, nothing more than to send commissioners to the President with an address, proposing that he shall delay any attempt to surpress this insurrection, as it will be stiled, until the meeting of Congress. This will be the object, simply and alone, with all that labour to avert

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a civil war. On the part of the government, I would earnestly pray a delay until such address and commissioners may come forward. This is my object in writing you this letter, which I desire you to communicate either by Gazette, or otherwise.

It will be said, this insurrection can be easily suppressed—it is but that of a part of four counties. Be assured, it is that of the greater part—and I am induced to believe, the three Virginia counties, on this side the mountain, will fall in. The first measure then will be, the orginization of a new government, comprehending the three Virginia counties, and those of Pennsylvania, to the westward, to what extent I know not. This event, which I contemplate with great pain, will be the result of the necessity of self-defense. For this reason, I earnestly and anxiously wish that delay on the part of government may give time to bring about, if practicable, good order and subordination. By the time Congress meets, there may be a favourable issue to the negociation, with regard to the navigation of the Mississippi, the western posts &c. A suspension of the excise law, during the Indian war, a measure I proposed in a publication three years ago, in Philadelphia, may, perhaps suffice. Being then on an equal footing with other parts of the union, if they submitted to the law, this country might also.

I anticipate all that can be said with regard to example, &c. I may be mistaken, but I am decisive in opinion that the United States cannot effect the operation of the law in this country. It is universally odius in the neighbouring parts of all the neighbouring states, and the militia under the law, in the hands of the President cannot be called to reduce an opposition. The midland counties, I am persuaded, will not even suffer the militia of more distant parts of the union, to pass through them.

But the excise law is a branch of the funding system, detested and abhorred by all the philosophic men, and the yeomanry of America, those who hold certificates excepted. There is a growling, lurking discontent at this system, that is ready to burst out and discover itself every where. I candidly and decidedly tell you, the charlot of government has been driven Jehu like as to finances; like that of Phæton, it has descended from the middle path, and is likely to burn up the American earth.

Should an attempt be made to suppress these people, I am afraid the question will not be, whether you will march to Pittsburgh, but whether they will march to Philadelphia, accumulating in their course, and swelling over the banks of the Susquehanna like a torrent, irresistible, and devouring in its progress. There can be no equality of contest, between the rage of a forest, and the abundance, indolence, and opulence of a city. If the President has evinced a prudent and approved delay in the case of the British spoilations, in the case of the Indian tribes; much more humane and politic will it be to consult the internal peace of the government, by avoiding force until every means of accomodation are found unavailing. I deplore my personal situation; I deplore the situation of this country, should a civil war ensue.

An application to the British is spoken of, which, may God avert. But what will not dispair produce?

Your most obedient servant

HUGH H. BRACKENRIDGE.[4]

Teuch Coxe, esq.

Philadelphia.

PHILADA, Novemr 29th, 1794.

Dear Sir,

The severe indisposition of Mrs. Lenox[5] obliged me to return to Philadelphia without my having the pleasure of seeing my Pittsburgh friends. My Portmanteau has not as yet made its appearance, I am therefore apprehensive it may have been left somewhere on the road. Will you be good enough to give directions to some of our friends, now on their return, to make enquiry, I will also thank you to make enquiry after my Saddles & Bridles. My best Saddle I mean that Colo Neville should keep in lieu of his which was sent to me down the

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river. My Portmanteau and Saddle & my two Bridles together with a silver mounted Whip left at McLane's & a pair of Buckskin Breeches which was left at a Breeches makers to be washed I would wish forwarded to me if it can be done without much trouble. I beg you to believe that it will give me pleasure to be of service to you or any of your friends here. Make my best Complements to your good family in which I include our friends the General & Mrs. Neville. From what I observed when last in your Country I am of opinion his situation will be far more eligible than we had a right to expect for a more abject set of wretches never inhabited a Country & God grant a continuance of it. I suppose Presley is on his way down, if not give my Compliments to him & his good Lady.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your very Obliged Servt
D. LENOX.

The City Horse have all got home.[6]
Major Isaac Craig, Pittsburgh.

Dear Sir,

We are much Engaged at this time Hutting. I have met with a house of McFarline's nearly finished—it is large and commodious, but we are in want of some tools. Have you any in the publick store that you can furnish us with —if not I will thank you to purchase some for me out of the stores in Pittsburgh, send on the account by Mr. Pollard, the bearer of this, and I will direct my Quarter Master to send on the money to you to pay for them, and I will thank you for the trouble you are at in this business. Mr. Pollard will hand you a list of the tools wanting. Dont forget the boat that I spoke to you about. I am, Dear Sir,

your very Humble servt
DANL MORGAN.[7]
25th Novr 94.

Major Craig,
Pittsburgh.

Head Quarters, Jany

Sir: Mr. Slaughter informs me that you were not certain whether the cloathing last left in your possession were for the exclusive use of this Army or not, or whether they were for the use of the armies of the United States in general. That you may not have a doubt upon this subject I have enclosed a list of Cloathing transmitted to me from the Secretary at War, which he tells me I am to draw for upon you. This shows that his design was, that these articles were designed solely for the use of the Army under my command. Any other appropriation would be attended with the greatest inconvenience. As I have sent the list of Cloathing merely for your information, I will thank you to return it.

I am with respect
Your Humble Servt
DANL MORGAN.

Major Isaac Craig,
Pittsburgh.

Notes.

[1] William Bradford and John Mitchel waylaid the mail-carrier near Greensburg, seized the mail and carried it to Benj. Parkinson, who carried it to Washington, Pa., and from thence in company with David Bradford and J. Marshall to Canonsburg, where they invited Thomas Speer and Col. John Canon to the tavern where the mail-bag was cut open and the letters examined.

[2] Fort Fayette at Pittsburgh.

[3] Rev. John Corbly, a Baptist minister who resided at Muddy creek. He had taken a very active part in opposition to the Revenue act.

[4] This letter is copied from a newspaper clipping—evidently from a Philadelphia paper of 1794.

[5] Alexander Hamilton, in a letter to President Washington, dated Rostraver Township, in Westmoreland county, Pa., Nov. 11, 1794, writes: "Poor Lenox has been on the torture so long, and has lately received such unpleasant accounts, that we have all advised him to return to Philadelphia. The substitutes devised will guard against injury to the service."

[6] Major David Lenox had been an officer in the Pennsylvania Line in the Revolutionary war; part of the time as aide-de-camp to

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General Wayne. He and General John Neville, after the fight at "Bower Hill," were compelled descend the Ohio and reach Philadelphia by passing through Virginia. He returned to Western Pennsylvania with the army, called out by Washington to surpress the insurrection, he being the first-lieutenant of the "First Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse," commanded by Captain John Dunlap, a crack company more than one hundred years ago, as it now.

[7] Gen. Daniel Morgan with twenty-five hundred troops remained through the winter of 1794–5 encamped in the disaffected region.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

'LIFE, JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF REV. MANASSEH CUTLER, LL., D.' By his grandchildren, William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler. Published by Robert Clarke & Co.: Cincinnati. Vols. I. and II. (With portrait and picture of Dr. Cutler's church.)

These two finely printed volumes are far more than the personal life-experiences of one man, although there is enough of that within them to clearly show one of the stalwart and most useful of our western pioneers as he really was. They are, in reality, an important chapter "in the true history of the early settlement of the Ohio valley and the northwest," that "has been omitted from current discussions and histories relating to that general subject"—an omission not merely one of incidents and personalities, but extending to the main historical facts. The connection of Dr. Cutler therewith may be best understood by the following explanatory points, taken from the introduction to the above: The great organic law passed by congress on the thirteenth of July, 1787, for the government of the northwest, occupies and deserves a prominent place in the admiration of posterity; but the reasons why some of its most valuable provisions were inserted and its main features suddenly and favorably changed have never been fully explained. The reasons why a system of surveys was organized and systematic and permanent occupation of the Ohio country was undertaken in direct connection with the application of the institutions of civil government, are not well understood. "It will be seen (by perusal of these volumes) that congress and the army were the principal factors; that there was a concert of action, if not of design; that congress sought to prepare the way for the occupation of the western wilderness, to make rough places smooth and the crooked places straight; while the army, with their commander-in-chief in full support, sought to retrieve losses, heal wounds, and find repose by encountering new risks, new hardships and new dangers in laying deep and broad the foundations of Christian civilization in new states 'westward of the Ohio.' The service performed by Dr. Cutler was in bringing into harmonious action the lines of policy that were marked by one party and cordially accepted by the other. As the agent of the Ohio Company of Associates he succeeded in placing in the hands of an intelligent body of his fellow-citizens, mainly composed of officers of the army, the first application, on an efficient scale, of the land selling policy, and at the same time of the governmental policy of congress. This effort brought him in direct contact with both parties. The narrative, mainly by himself and his cotemporaries, will show the steps taken and results accomplished."

Viewed in this light the book becomes a contribution to western history of the utmost value, and a true understanding of the rapid settlement of this western country can hardly be had without it. It contains a mass of valuable information upon many points not outlined

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in the above, has been carefully prepared, and gives evidence of extended research and careful selection on the part of its editors. The main bulk of the work consists of original papers in which Dr. Cutler and his associates tell the story far more complete than could be gained by any second-hand recital. We can but repeat that it is a contribution to history of great value and of most timely appearance in the anniversary year of the settlement of the Ohio valley.

'ONE HUNDRED DAYS IN EUROPE.' By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company: Boston and New York. Received of Cobb, Andrews & Co.

This veteran poet and author has so sure a hold and so permanent a claim upon the attention of the public, that no matter when, or where, or of what he writes, he will find readers enough to satisfy even the most grasping literary ambition. And it must in justice be said of this book, that no matter with what motive one may take it up, he is sure to continue on from the very charm of description, the light and sparkle and brightness with which each page is adorned. A glance is first given at a visit to Europe a half century ago; and then the reader is carried over the course once more with an enthusiasm that never tires. Dr. Holmes has a happy faculty of seeing much where the general traveler would go carelessly or stolidly by, and therefore makes even a well-worn path new and pleasant. The one hundred days were amply filled with motion, experience and investigation; and the result is one of the brightest and best books of travel published in these many days.

'A THIRD OF A CENTURY IN THE GOLD-FIELDS: THE EXPERIENCES OF A FORTY-NINER DURING THIRTY-FOUR YEARS' RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA AND AUSTRALIA.' By Charles D. Ferguson. Edited by Frederick T. Wallace. Illustrated. Published by the Williams Publishing Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

The charm of a book of this character lies in its perfect naturalness. When a man who has lived the active, stirring life that has been passed by Mr. Ferguson amid scenes of travel, adventure and danger, begins to tell the story of that life, he is sure—no matter how plain or simple the speech—to make his reader see it with his own eyes, and take in all the scenes described with the freshness of first impressions. While the skillful and able pen of Mr. Wallace (author of 'Men and Events of a Half Century') has touched the narration at many points, it has done so with such discreet lightness of touch as to destroy nothing of that original freshness and charm. The story is indeed well told, and there is much within it that is worth such permanent preservation. Mr. Ferguson went to the far west when a boy, and was in that rush of "forty-nine" upon the gold fields of California. We see him in the moments of first inspiration of travel, follow him in the long and dreary journey across the plains to Salt Lake City, and thence onward to California. The five hundred and more pages of which the book is composed are so filled with matters of interest that an attempt at description would but end in failure. Mr. Wallace well says in his introduction: "Of the vast multitude who sought those lands, hundreds and probably thousands never reached them, but whose unknown graves dot the plains, whose bones lie scattered upon the deserts, or rest among the coral reefs of the Pacific ocean. The spirit of adventure pervaded old and young alike, and the gray-haired man and the beardless boy were partners and companions in that most hazardous enterprise of the age. In this volume is sought to be recorded something of the personal experiences during a third of a century of one among the thousands of Ohio boys who were 'out in the forty-nine.' In the preparation of the pages of this book the editor has had the benefit of very ample notes recently made by the narrator from memory, he never having kept a written diary, and of many personal interviews. In yielding to the importunities of many to put a few of his experiences into readable form, he has constantly insisted that no exaggerations shall be indulged in, and nothing stated but the simple truth." The work is well illustrated; and in its elegant print and binding,

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show that Cleveland can compete in book-making with any city in the land.

'CA IRA! OR DANTON IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: A STUDY.' By Lawrence Gronlund, A. M., author of 'The Co-Operative Commonwealth.' Published by Lee & Shepard: Boston. ("Dedicated to the Earnest Minority who are Waiting and Working for the New Social Order.")

The author names his work "A Key to the French Revolution." Unlocking, as one may, that remarkable social and political epoch, there can be no end to the deep and perhaps unfathomable mysteries it contains. Thiers with plain description, and Carlyle with meteoric philosophy, have done their best, and Victor Hugo has laid on the colors as his view led him to paint, and yet we know little about it. In this life of Danton—a life, one may say, that describes events through biography—we find a new view, a new treatment and conclusions in some respects altogether new. "The principal lessons which this volume will draw from the French Revolution," says the author, "in the way of example and warning, are that Danton was a true instrument in the hands of the Power behind Evolution, and just the *kind of leader we, in our generation, should encourage;* that, on the other hand, good intentions alone avail nothing in popular leaders, and that, therefore, we should, *with all our might, repress our Robespierres, Heberts, and Murats*"—men who exist in abundance, as we all know, did the opportunity for their leadership present itself.

Coincide or not, as we may, with the conclusions of 'Ca Ira!' one cannot deny that, next to Carlyle, it is the strongest picture in purpose and color that has yet been given of that tragedy in the world's history; and no one can forget that the French Revolution belongs not alone to France, but to mankind. It is a book worth reading, worth studying, if for no other reason that it sketches the outlines of a man, made on the model of Samson, of Hercules, of Thor. Danton's is a name that will not be forgotten while the heroic men of earth are remembered and admired. In addition to this attraction of strong personality, the study of the pressing social questions of to-day, in light of the past, adds a new interest and charm to the work, and makes it one that is bound to command attention and evoke earnest debate.

'THE FISHERY QUESTION: ITS ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND PRESENT SITUATION. WITH A MAP OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN FISHING GROUNDS, AND A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY.' By Charles Isham. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York. (Questions of the Day, No. XLI.)

The subject has been treated fully and fairly, and the monograph is one that cannot but commend itself to all who are interested in a question that has occupied so large a share of attention in the past, and that must be often heard of in the future. The purpose and scope of the work are outlined in the title.

'AMERICAN STATE CONSTITUTIONS: A STUDY OF THEIR GROWTH.' By Henry Hitchcock, LL.D. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York. (Questions of the Day, No. XXXVII.)

The above contains in full the able address delivered by Mr. Hitchcock before the New York State Bar association, at its tenth annual meeting at Albany, in January, 1887. It was prepared with care, and is a careful study of the various important interests involved in the various state constitutions, with their amendments, relations to each other, etc.

'THE HISTORY OF THE SURPLUS REVENUE OF 1837: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGIN, ITS DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE STATES, AND THE USES TO WHICH IT WAS APPLIED.' By Edward G. Bourne, B. A., Foote scholar in Yale college. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York.

At this time, when the surplus in the treasury of the United States has become so great a question that the President devotes his entire annual message to it, to the exclusion of all else, and the question of the tariff is brought up for a new discussion because of it, a glance at the past is pertinent, as showing us what the experience of our country was in a like crisis.

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The history of the surplus of 1837 has been ably related, and brings forth many a point of financial and political history of which this generation knows nothing. Mr. Bourne has not given us much theory, but a great deal of fact, plainly and fairly stated. His book comes at the right time and fully covers the ground.

'DETAILED MINUTIÆ OF SOLDIER LIFE IN THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, 1861–1865.' By Carlton McCarthy, private second company Richmond Howitzers, Cutsham's battalion artillery, second corps, A. N. V.; with illustrations by William L. Sheppard, lieutenant second company, Richmond Howitzers, A. N. V. Published by J. W. Randolph & English: Richmond, Virginia.

The title is a fair and full description of the work, except that it cannot, of course, do justice to the wealth of incident, experience, fun, tragedy and excitement with which the book abounds. It is the story of the Confederate private, told by himself, and shaded with no romance or fancy that the facts themselves do not suggest and warrant. It is a readable and interesting book.

'THE INDIAN'S SIDE OF THE INDIAN QUESTION.' By William Barrows, D. D., author of 'Oregon: the Struggle for Possession,' 'The United States of Yesterday and of To-Morrow,' etc. Published by D. Lothrop company: Boston.

Those who have read the very able and always interesting papers that Mr. Barrows has contributed to these pages, have no need of being told that this is one of the clearest, fairest and most graphic presentations of a side of a question that has been too little heard, that has been yet given to the public. The author proceeds upon no mere theory of humanity to build up his case, but has studied the question and built himself upon facts that it seems difficult to gainsay. As has been well said: He "believes the Dawes bill brings such opportunity as never before existed for saving the Indian peoples and making self-sustaining, self-reliant, capable citizens of them. But he believes that the law will amount to nothing without the systematic, persistent and watchful coöperation of friendly Americans. They are not the Indian's neighbors. The Indian's neighbors are not his friends. Frontiersmen have got to be held in check by the law and public opinion behind the law." With a view to bringing about that accord, he reviews the whole history of Indian management briefly and in a business-like manner, with continual citing of authorities. This is Indian history with a purpose; and this short book is a means of intelligence on the whole question, which recently has taken on so new a phase that it needs to be studied anew. Mr. Barrows has done a service not only to the Indian race but to the American people and humanity as well.

Minor and pamphlet publications received:

'THE NATIONAL SIN OF LITERARY PIRACY.' By Henry Van Dyke, D. D. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons: New York.

'PUBLIC PARKS: A COMPILATION OF FACTS AND STATISTICS, GATHERED FROM OFFICIAL AND OTHER SOURCES, RELATIVE TO THE BENEFITS AND PROFITS DERIVED THEREFROM IN LARGE COMMUNITIES; TOGETHER WITH A BRIEF HISTORY OF PARK UNDERTAKINGS IN THE UNITED STATES.' Compiled and Edited by W. H. Eckman. Published by J. B. Savage: Cleveland.

'EUROPEAN SCHOOLS OF HISTORY AND POLITICS.' By Andrew D. White. No. XII., fifth series Johns Hopkins University Studies.

'INAUGURATION OF THE PERRY STATUE, SEPTEMBER 10, A. D., 1885 [at Newport, Rhode Island], with the addresses of William P. Sheffield and the remarks in receiving the Statue by Governor Wetmore and Mayor Franklin; with the speeches at the dinner of the Governor, Mayor, Honorable George Bancroft, Justices Blatchford and Durfee, Admirals Rodgers, Almy and Luce, the letter of Colonel William H. Potter, etc.; with an appendix.' Published by John P. Sanborn, Newport, Rhode Island, for the committee.

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R. R. Nelson

Engd by H.B. Hall & Sons 13 Bardclay St NY

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Magazine of Western History.

Vol. VII. APRIL, 1888. No. 6.

THE INDIAN PREFERENCE FOR THE FRENCH.

As there is a good reason for everything, what is the reason for the different impressions made on the Indian mind by the English and the French? To the most casual reader of early American history this difference must be so apparent that it is necessary only to mention it to recall it forcibly. What reason can be given for it? Why should the French always, or nearly always, be on good and friendly terms with the Indians, and why should the English be in a state of chronic warfare with them? There were exceptions in the case of both nations, it is true, but the general current of history runs as I have stated it.

For instance, William Penn remained on good terms with the Indians near him, and the French and the Iroquois were at enmity from the start. These are exceptions, apparently, to the general rule, and therefore may be used to prove it; but I think that the exceptions can be explained so as to take them out of the list. William Penn came in contact only with the Indians on the Delaware and on the Susquehanna, their territory covering a strip of territory only a hundred miles wide. At first he wanted but little land, that along the Delaware above and below Philadelphia satisfying his first wants, and for this he was willing to pay. The Indians did not feel, in his instance, the pressure of the white settlers upon them, and they had the boundless west beyond them to hunt in and to retire to, if the need came. As long as this pressure was kept off them and Penn

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dealt fairly with them, there was no trouble, but when Penn was gone and his successors began to reach out for more land, there came a change. The "proprietary" government, down to the time of the Revolution, was in constant hot water with the Indians, and although it never got into a war, it had a continuous controversy with them. First serious and constant complaints from the Indians, then a council with them, and then a surrender by the Indians of more lands upon payment for the same. After a little this round would be repeated and re-repeated, until, at the end of the Revolution, when the "proprietary" government of the Penns surrendered to the colonists, the Indians found themselves completely crowded off the soil of the state. It is safe to say that the Indians of 1785 were not of the same mind as to the Penn government, as were the Indians of 1685 as to William Penn. A century of experience had made them wiser if not better.

The reverse was the case with the French and the Iroquois. When the French first sailed up the St. Lawrence they were regarded by the Iroquois Indians as hateful enemies, and the Dutch and English found no difficulty in fanning this incipient hatred into a flame; but the longer the contact lasted between the French and the Iroquois the less this hatred became, and finally there was a lasting friendship between them. The Iroquois, at the time of first contact, were a great Indian nation, in close connection with their near neighbors, the Dutch and English, but in the end, when this large Indian nation was broken up into small fragments, the survivors turned for a refuge to the French and found a home with them, which they still keep —a home that was practically denied them among those whom they had at first befriended so much.

Thus, while both these instances were exceptional at first, they both came into the general category at last. To show the tendency, even of the Iroquois, as early as 1757, let me cite a case from Post. He was a Moravian missionary, married to an Indian wife and well known to, as well as much esteemed by, all the Indians, no matter what might be their relation to the whites. The council held with the Indians, at Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1757, selected him as a messenger to the Indians then on the Allegheny and Ohio, to induce them to renew their allegiance to the English and withdraw them from coöperation with the French, then in occupancy of Fort Duquesne. These Indians were mainly Delawares and Shawanese, but the Iroquois, claiming the right of sovereignty over both, kept detachments both among the Indians at their homes and at the fort itself. When Post, on his first visit, had arrived at Smoky island, in the mouth of the Allegheny, opposite Fort Duquesne, the Indian chiefs in the fort immediately came over. "They called me," says Post, "into the middle, and King* Beaver presented me to them

* Post always speaks of him as King Beaver, and so of all the leading Delaware chiefs, "King Sassoonan," "King Teedyuscung," etc., and also Smith persistently speaks of Powhatan as emperor;

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and said, 'Here is our English brother, who has brought great news.' Two of them rose up and signified they were glad to see me. But an old deaf Onondaga Indian rose up and signified his displeasure. This Indian is much disliked by the others; he had heard nothing yet that had passed; he has lived here a great while and constantly lives in the fort and is mightily attached to the French. He spoke as follows to the Delawares:

I don't know this Swannock. It may be that you know him. I, the Shawanese, and our father [the French] don't know him. I stand here [stamping his foot] as a man on his own ground [intimating thereby that the territory west of the Alleghanies belonged to the Iroquois and not to the Delawares, whom they stigmatized as women]. Therefore I, the Shawanese and our father don't like that a Swannock† come on our ground.

"Then," adds Post, "there was silence awhile until the pipe went round; after that was over, one of the Delawares rose up and spoke in opposition to him that spoke last and delivered himself as follows: 'That man speaks not as a man; he endeavors to frighten us by saying this is his ground. He dreams. He and his father have certainly drank too much liquor; they are drunk; pray let them go to sleep till they be sober. You don't know what your own nation does at home; how much they have to say to the Swannocks. You are quite rotten. You stink! You do nothing but smoke your pipe here. Go to sleep with your father, and when you are sober we will speak to you.'"

The next day the Onondaga apologized and acknowledged that he had been in the wrong. But the incident is cited to show that, although the Iroquois were then in close league with the English, this Onondaga, one of the Iroquois, was sincerely attached to the French. And so, then, were many others of the Iroquois. The speech of the Delaware, by the way, is a specimen of very vigorous Indian. It completely outdid whatever venom was contained in the Onondaga's Swannock!

It is not needed, therefore, to prove a proposition so nearly self-evident, that the French, as a rule, got along well with the Indians, while the English did not. It remains to inquire why? One answer is, that the French were always kind to the Indians and fair in dealing with them, while the En-

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and the author of 'An Enquiry Into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawnees from the English,' says, at one place, that the question at one time among the Delawares was whether Teedyuscung should be proclaimed as king or emperor. As there were no such things as kings or emperors really among the Indians, but only chiefs, some of less and some of greater dignity, it must be merely the force of English habit that leads Englishmen to speak of them as kings or emperors. The Indian form of government was the farthest possible removed from a monarchical one.

† This is an expression I have not found elsewhere. It is plain that it is used here as a term of reproach or contempt, much as a white man speaks contemptuously of a nigger. A note at the foot of the page in Post's journal, probably added by a compiler, gives "an Englishman" as the meaning of Swannock, but it is plain that it was here used to mean something more. In the Delaware language Suwaneu is "south," and the term Su-wan-ese was applied to the Shawanese to indicate that they came from the south. As the Shawanese came from Savannah to the Potomac, and from there into Pennsylvania, it is possible that they applied the term to the white men south of them; and as, from their restless and aggressive nature, they were usually on bad terms with the whites, it is not unreasonable to conclude that they used it as a term to indicate how much they despised these southern whites. The Onondaga would easily acquire it from the Shawanese. If anyone has a better derivation let him produce it.

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glish were not; but that only changes the point of inquiry. Both the English and French were men, with like human passions and frailties. It would be as natural to one to cheat the Indian as to the other. Why was one indulgent and the other grasping? The answer, I judge, is to be found in the difference in race between the two. The Latin races, represented by the French, are not colony builders; the Teutons, represented by the English, are. The only French attempts at colonizing, in this country, were made in Canada and Louisiana, and they were weak, both in inception and execution. The whole territory of the United States and Canada, with these exceptions, is witness to the English effort at colonizing. The English, at first planted all along the Atlantic coast, were never content with what they got at first. They were continuously pressing backwards from the sea coast, and their descendants are still pressing back, to fill up what few spaces are yet left unoccupied between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

The French were ambitious to possess territory; to acquire all they could possibly get hold of, to govern and reign over, but not to settle. They wanted the land to rule over, but not to cultivate. They were willing to trade with the Indians, to sell them rum and cheat them, if you like, in trading; but they did not covet possession of their lands to cultivate. They carried the priest and their religion along with them, and the trader and the soldier went together. To make Catholics of the Indians, trade with them, and hold them as subjects of the French king, that was the height of their ambition. They left the Indian as they found him, to hunt where and when he pleased and keep up his tribal government, without interference; and all they asked of him was an acknowledgment of French dominion over him.

But the English were as anxious for dominion as the French, and were as determined to have it. And besides that, they were land-hungry. They wanted dominion and land, and they wanted all they could get of the latter. The appetite for land was unappeasable. When one large slice of territory was obtained and skimmed over by settlers, they wanted another piece beyond that, and then another beyond that, and so on. The lands first obtained in Pennsylvania extended from Duck creek to Neshamony, above Philadelphia; then piece after piece was bought, until finally a wholesale purchase took in all the land between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, from Duck creek in the state of Delaware to Easton. That should have lasted the colonists for a hundred years, as it comprised Delaware, Chester, Philadelphia, Montgomery, Lancaster, Dauphin, Lebanon, Bucks, and parts of Berks, Lehigh and Northampton counties. But before the farm-houses on this purchase were in sight of each other, hungry, ravenous eyes were over the border, beyond the Susquehanna, and northward beyond the Lehigh hills. First, the line was extended north to Shamokin on the

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Susquehanna and to the Lackawaxen on the Delaware; then it went west to the Alleghany mountains and north to the west branch of the Susquehanna, and finally it went west, in 1784, to the Ohio state line. The Conoys said, in 1722, that William Penn told them that bargains made with him might last to the end of the third generation; the fourth generation would forget him and them, alike, and all their contracts. And Penn was right, only he put forgetting too far off. By the end of the second generation all veneration for Penn and his example and his contracts was at an end.

It is to this ravenous land hunger that the English owe all their quarrels and unpopularity with the Indians; and it is to the absence of it that the French owe whatever popularity they obtained with them. Read Parkman carefully and you will comprehend the depth of the despair with which Pontiac and his coadjutors witnessed the withdrawal of French rule from this continent. With them went the last hope of the Indian for continued successful existence as a distinct people, and with their departure the work of extinction was fairly begun. With Pontiac this feeling found expression in deep hatred for the English; in reality it was a premonition of the early end of the Indian race. It was hoping against light and fate from the beginning. No red man could live long in the glare that fell upon him from the ravening eyes of the land-grabber. I will not undertake to say that it was not wise that civilization and the arts of civilized life should take the place of the wild life of the Indian; I am only trying to point out why, in carrying out the decrees of fate, the Englishman excited the Indian into a frenzy of deathly terror. The Indian had to go—that was inevitable; but there was a great deal of roughness used in making him go, prompted by a selfishness which was as greedy as it was unthinking and unheeding.

Perhaps I may be told that the barbarity of the Indian prompted his expulsion and extinction. Granted; but what prompted his barbarity? The Indians who met William Penn at Philadelphia were barbarous, in one sense, but were yet full of human kindness and friendliness. There was nothing bloodthirsty or cruel about their conduct; but, when their children realized that they were being driven back into the wilderness beyond them, their barbarity began to develop into blood-thirstiness; and it was not until they did realize this that an unfriendly feeling was evoked. It was when the game began to fail them from the increase of white settlements, and when greedy land-robbers began to squat upon lands not yet bought or paid for, that they felt they were being treated badly; and to show how this feeling grew and what it grew from, I cite the following from the records of Pennsylvania. And I cite these, first because they are the handiest to me, and second because Pennsylvanians are in the habit of boasting that their state was all bought and paid for. The boast is nothing to be proud of. The land was bought and paid for, but it was not sold willingly, nor was it

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parted from until the original holders despaired of being able to hold it longer. The continual encroachments of white settlers compelled them to move on, and hence to sell. Poor old Cornplanter! What a pitiful tale was that he told the council at Philadelphia in 1790. He was one of those who attended the treaty at Fort Stanwix, in 1784, which surrendered the Indian title to western Pennsylvania for the consideration of £500; he also attended the councils at Fort McIntosh (Beaver, Pennsylvania) and Fort Harmar (Marietta, Ohio); but before he would agree to take all this labor on his hands, he was promised goods worth a thousand dollars, to be delivered to him at Fort Pitt, on his return. When he left Fort Harmar his son had a rifle stolen from him; at Washington, Pennsylvania, they made the people along with him drunk and stole three rifles from them; and at Fort Pitt, when the goods were delivered to him, one hundred blankets were motheaten and worthless. He does not tell us the price of them, but probably it was the half of the thousand dollars he was to get. Thus this noble old chief was not only forced to surrender the territory of a small empire for the paltry five hundred pounds (less than the price of a town lot in the business part of Pittsburgh to-day), but was compelled to submit to being robbed at Marietta and Washington, and to being swindled at Fort Pitt! It seemed impossible for white men, then as now, to deal fairly with an Indian. Is it any wonder that English traders excited the Indians to barbarity, and that the French traders, by comparison, seemed as angels beside them?

In the preface to 'An Enquiry Into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese from the British Interest,' published at London in 1759, we find the following:

> It has been to many a cause of wonder how it comes to pass that the English have so few Indians in their interest, while the French have so many at command, and by what means or for what reason those neighboring tribes in particular, who, at the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, and for a long series of years afterwards, showed every mark of affection and kindness, should become our most bitter enemies, and treat those whom they had so often declared they looked upon as brethren, nay, as their own flesh and blood, with such barbarous cruelties.

The author had thus encountered more than a century ago the question I am now discussing, and while he does not follow to its cause the reason he gives in answer to his own question, he does hit upon a very adequate reason.

"The Indians themselves," he answers, "when called upon in a public treaty to explain the motives of their conduct, declare that the solicitations of the French, joined with the abuses they have suffered from the English, particularly in being cheated and defrauded of their lands, have at length induced them to become our enemies and make war upon us."

The "solicitations of the French," where both France and England were striving for dominion, were to be expected, as a matter of course, but these solicitations would have had no weight if the other cause had not existed—the abuses practiced by the English in cheating and defrauding them of their lands. We shall find this complaint

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continually put forth by the Indians. It had become loud in 1759, and became louder afterwards, but it had been heard frequently before as well as after.

It is very common to praise William Penn for his fair dealing with the Indians, and I make no charges to the contrary in citing the following record, which speaks for itself: In 1718 Sassoonan, chief of the Delawares, joins in a deed to William Penn, "confirming" sales heretofore made to all the lands between the Delaware and the Susquehanna from Duck creek to the "Lechay" hills, at Easton. This probably "confirmed" a similar deed from the Iroquois, who claimed all the land of the Delawares as their sovereigns and rulers. The Penns thought it safest, in such cases, to get deeds from both. In 1722 Governor Keith, being at Conestoga, in Lancaster county, called a meeting or council at that place. Civility, the Conoy, or Ga-na-way chief, said at this council, "that when the proprietor, William Penn, came into this country forty years ago, he got some person at New York to purchase the lands on Susquehanna from the Iroquois, who pretended a right to them, having conquered the people (the Delawares) formerly settled there. [This was probably the purchase confirmed by the Delawares in 1718.] That when William Penn came from New York he sent for them to hold a council with him at Philadelphia, and showed them a parchment, which he told them was a right to those lands, that he had purchased them from the Iroquois; that when the Conestogoes (his people) understood he had bought their land, they were sorry; upon which Penn took the parchment and laid it upon the ground, saying that it (the land) should be in common amongst them, viz., the English and the Indians; that when William Penn had, in that manner, the same privilege to the land as his own people he said . . . the Indians should be esteemed by him and his people to be the same flesh and blood with them. After they had made so firm a league he gave them that parchment (here Civility held a parchment in his hands) and told them to preserve it carefully for three generations, for the fourth generation would forget both him and it." Civility presented to the governor the parchment in his hands, to read; it contained articles of agreement and friendship made between the proprietary and them, and confirmed the sale of the lands made by the Iroquois to the proprietary.—'Enquiry,' pp. 6–9.

Here we find Penn pretending to give them a copy of the deed of the Iroquois, while it was, instead, a deed from the Conestogoes to him, confirming the deed made by the Iroquois and confirmed by the Delawares in 1718. He thus got all three claimants to give him a deed between the Delaware and Susquehanna, as far up the Delaware as Easton, and up the Susquehanna to Harrisburg. The author of the 'Enquiry' adds:

QUERY:—Would it not appear from what Civility says, that the Indians were not made fully acquainted with the nature of that parchment? For after what has been said of their being sorry that the proprietor had bought their lands, can it be imagined that they intended by it to give up their right to that land, or to confirm to the proprietary the purchase made of the Iroquois, without reserving to them-

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selves a right to these lands in common with the English, according to what he had promised them? —'Enquiry,' p. 9.

At this distance it looks like a very sharp trick. Governor Keith tries to break the force of this revelation by saying that the Conestogoes at that time told Penn "that a very little land would serve them;" but did that justify entrapping them into a deed of confirmation?

Governor Keith, at the same time, told them that some Maryland roughs were intending to take up land west of the Susquehanna, on pretense of hunting for copper mines; that, to forestall them, he had had a plot of five hundred and thirty acres surveyed for himself, which he intended to occupy, and asked if they had any objection. Civility replied that they had no objection; but they desired to know whether the governor's settling there "would not lead to the settlement of others, until the whole west side was settled." The governor answered that "it was not the intention of the government, *as yet*, to permit that side of the river to be settled." Mark the anxiety of the Indians about settlements, and the duplicity of the governor's answer.

At a conference between the proprietary and the Iroquois, in 1727, this anxiety about settlers encroaching beyond the prescribed boundaries, crops out again. The chiefs of the Iroquois desire that "no settlements may be made up the Susquehanna beyond Paxton" (Harrisburg). The proprietary reply that "hitherto no settlements have been made above Paxton; but as the young people grow up they will spread, of course, though that will not be very speedily." This was equivocal; but it meant that the settlements would spread in course of time, which was the very thing the chiefs wanted to prevent.

At every council, for years and years, complaint was made by the Indians about the sale of rum at every Indian agency. The governor, at every complaint, deprecated the sale of rum, promises to try to prevent it, and to endeavor to prevent its being offered for sale in such quantities; but there never was an effort made to prevent its sale. The complaint grows louder every year, showing that the evil was steadily increasing; but we cannot hear of a single thing done to prevent it. Perhaps the French were just as bad. I incline to think they were, and that they used rum, or permitted its sale wherever and whenever it would suit their purpose. Nevertheless, this was a standing complaint against the English at every council, and it would have looked better, at least, if something had been done to show that the government was not *particeps criminis*. Frequently we read in the proceedings of these councils that so and so could not appear to speak, being too drunk, and drunk, too, with the connivance and to further the purpose of the government.

At the council held in 1725, Sassoonan, the Delaware chief, complained that settlers were encroaching on lands not yet sold by the Indians. The deed of 1718 was cited against him, but Sassoonan showed that that deed reached no farther north than Oley, on the Lehigh hills, while Tulpehocken

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was farther north than Oley. Mr. Logan, secretary of the board of property, blamed this on Governor Keith, who had permitted some German settlers to go in there; but the land should be paid for. And it was afterward paid for, but here we find the governor encouraging settlements beyond the prescribed bounds, which shows how powerful and general was the pressure from the land hunters. But if the Tulpehocken lands were paid for, care was taken not to buy more than was necessary to cover up the settlements already made. Yet, at that very moment, settlers were pushing into the good lands north of the Lehigh hills, no one preventing them, and the proprietary government rather conniving at them. North of Easton there is a fine section of land known then as the Minisinks, and owned by the Minseys. No purchase was ever made of these lands, and when the Delawares complained that their land was being stolen from them, a deed was trumped up purporting to have been made in 1686, which provided for a transfer to the proprietary of as much land as could be included within a day and a half's walk, beginning at a point on the most western part of Neshamony creek (near Philadelphia), thence as far north as a man could walk in a day and a half, and thence to the Delaware river. There was no pretense that this line had been run in 1686, but some Delaware chiefs were beguiled, in 1737, to express a belief that the deed of 1686 was genuine, and to ask that the lines be run as provided in it. [This deed never was recorded, and the original, though often demanded, was never produced. A paper, purporting to be a copy of it, was produced, but it was not certified to be a copy, and it is suspected that the original never existed.] On the strength of this request the lines were run. Two of the swiftest walkers were employed; a road was surveyed and cut for them, and horses provided to take them over streams, and by this device the line was run north thirty or forty miles beyond Easton, and thence extended northeast to the Delaware, so as to take in the Minisinks. Nothing appears ever to have been paid for these lands, and the day and a half's walk seems to have been a mere trick to cheat the Delawares out of a section of land the proprietary was too mean to pay for. The Delawares resented it very strongly, and it was one of the causes that led to the estrangement of the Delawares from the British. [I must avail myself of some other occasion to give a full account of this remarkable "walk" and its consequences.] The point aimed at here is to show how jealously the Indians guarded their soil against encroachment, and how the constant spread of the settlements annoyed them.

This intolerance of settlements contiguous to them is shown in the case of the Shawnees, the Ishmaelites of America. They were, apparently, an Algonquin tribe, originally found in Ohio. From there they were forced south, and we next hear of them as a quarrelsome lot, near Savannah. From Savannah they came east as far as the

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Potomac, and in 1698 they emigrated to Pennsylvania, and were found in Lancaster county and other places. They were among the first of the Pennsylvania Indians to go west; were very plenty about Pittsburgh, and gradually found their way to Ohio. In 1732, the governor having heard that they had been once or twice at Montreal in conference with the French, sent for the chiefs and asked them, bluntly, why they had removed to the Ohio, and why they were so often in Canada. They replied that they had gone to Canada at the request of the French, but meant no harm by it. The governor told them that Thomas Penn wanted to have them near him, and that a reservation had been surveyed for them at Paxton. They said they would look at it, but the place they now occupied suited them better. It is plain that they had no idea of being cooped up on a reservation where they would be under restraint and in close neighborhood to the settlements. It was contiguity to the whites that forced them away from Lancaster. They made no complaints, but took time by the forelock and got out of the way promptly. Their hatred of the British was phenomenal.

In 1742 the Iroquois complained to the proprietary that "Your people daily settle on our land and spoil our hunting-grounds. We must insist upon your removing them, as you know they have no right to settle to the northward of the Kittatinny hills. In particular we renew our complaints against your people who are settled at Juniata, a branch of Susquehanna, and all along the banks of that [the latter] river as far as Mahanoy, and desire they may be made to go forthwith off the land." —'Enquiry,' p. 89.

In answer the governor said: "Some magistrates were sent expressly to remove them, and he thought no person would presume to stay after that." But the Iroquois retorted sharply: "Those persons who were sent do not do their duty. So far from removing the people, they made surveys for themselves." (I notice the very general contempt expressed for the "magistrates" sent out by the proprietary government. They appear to have been on a par with the rascally "traders." To be sent to remove trespassers on the Indian lands and to take up land for themselves instead, would seem to be a superior method of showing "how not to do it." The proprietary government could hardly be ignorant of the true character of its "magistrates.") A similar complaint was presented from the Conoys or Ganaways. The whites were encroaching on their Lancaster reservation, and there was no game. But no attention was paid to it.

In 1744 the governor, in his message to the assembly, complains bitterly of the misconduct of the traders. They fill the Indians with rum, then cheat them and debauch their women. So abandoned were these men, and yet so much were they regarded as men representative of the government, that the reproach they caused fell not only on the government but on Christianity. When a Mr. Sergeant of New

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England took a journey in 1741 to some Indians on the Susquehanna, and offered to instruct them in the Christian religion, they rejected his offer with disdain. They said the Senecas had given them their lands, but had charged them, withal, not to receive Christianity from the English.

In 1749 the Senecas renewed their complaints against white settlements on the Susquehanna and Juniata. They also asked, on behalf of the Conoys or Ganaways, that they might be paid for the lands they had been compelled to abandon in Lancaster. Various excuses were made in answer, but the Senecas, finding it useless to complain, proposed to sell what they could not otherwise save. They accordingly sold all the land northwardly from Paxton to Mahanoy, on the Susquehanna, thence eastwardly to the Delaware, so as to include the Lackawaxen creek, thence down the Delaware to Easton, and thence westward to Paxton. For this the Iroquois got five hundred pounds.

In 1753, at a council held at Carlisle, the Iroquois clamored again about the traders, and demanded that there should be but three trading points—Fort Duquesne, Logstown and Kanawha, and all settlements west of the Alleghanies be prevented. But nothing came of it. It will be seen that all objections to settlements east of the Alleghanies are given up, because useless, and unnoticed. In 1754 all the lands north from Shamokin to Lake Erie, and all west to near the present Ohio state line, were sold by the Iroquois to the English; but so vigorous was the kicking against this by the Indians west of the mountains that the deed was finally made as extending west only to the east side of the Alleghany mountains.

The establishment of Fort Duquesne by the French in 1753, the subsequent defeat of Braddock, the villainy of the traders and the continual encroachments of the white settlers had all combined to draw the Indians in western Pennsylvania to the French. And this so much alarmed the proprietary government of Pennsylvania that they convoked a council to meet at Easton in 1756. The Delawares, at this council, were asked why they had revolted against the English. Teedyuscung, then chief, replied with several reasons, chief of which was, that his people had been cheated out of their lands by fraud and forgery. This council of 1756 adjourned to 1757, and one of its wisest acts was to dispatch Christian Frederick Post as its messenger to the Indians west of the mountains, to win them back to English allegiance. From Post's journals I extract what follows as showing what these Indians mainly wanted, viz., an authoritative assurance that no more lands should be taken from them, that the settlements should stop at the Alleghanies and not be permitted to cross over.

Among the Indians accompanying Post was Shamokin Daniel, a volunteer in place of another Indian who backed out at Shamokin. Daniel, when Post arrived opposite Fort Duquesne, went over to the fort, took presents from the French, and came back to Post rude and saucy. "D—n you!" said he to Post, "you

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come here to cheat the poor Indians and take their land from them!" To the men around him he said, showing his presents: "See here, you fools, what the French have given me! I was in Philadelphia and the English never gave me a farthing. They never gave the Indians any powder, and I could have got a horse-load over there if I could have carried it away. See that young man there. He was in Philadelphia and never got anything. I will take him over to the French and get him some clothing!"—which shows that the French knew better how to reach the heart of an Indian than the English did, and that they taught him to go to the root of the matter when they infused the idea into him that the object of Post's mission was to steal the Indians' land from them. This was the great dread in every Indian mind.

Post says that "the Indians get a great deal of goods from the French, and that the French clothe them every year, men, women and children, and give them as much powder and lead as they want." And this, seemingly, without cost. Probably the near approach of the English to contest with the French the possession of the west, may have prompted this generosity and liberality; but contrast this treatment with that of the English traders. The only liberality shown by them was in dealing out rum, and this only because it enabled them to cheat the men and debauch the women. Couple these two treatments with the additional fact that the English coveted and stole their lands, which the French did not, and it is no wonder that the French were able to steal away the hearts of the Indians from the English.

Notwithstanding this, Pisquitumen, a Delaware chief, said to Post, on his return to Kushkushkee from Fort Duquesne: "Before you came, the Indians all agreed to go and join the French, but since they have seen you they all draw back, although we have great reason to believe you intend to drive us away and settle the country." Their old attachment to the English, awakened by the sight of Post, had for the moment revived, in spite of their fears about their lands. After Post went back home this feeling died out, and when he returned the second time, the winter following, he found Kushkushkee deserted and the Indians nearly all gone to join the French. When Post had, on this second journey, separated from the army of Forbes, and taken another route so as to reach Kushkushkee before Forbes reached Fort Duquesne, an escort had been given him to accompany him the first day. A party of Shawnees from Kushkushkee attacked this escort on its return, killed Lieutenant Hays and four of his command, and reserved one prisoner to burn him alive. These same Shawnees had arrayed themselves on Post's side on his first visit, and yet slew his escort while on his second. They alleged, however, that they did not know it was his escort. Still, as only six months had intervened, it shows how evanescent was the return of the attachment for the English, of which Pisquitumen speaks.

The fear expressed by Pisquitumen crops out at every turn. Post tried to combat it, but the Indians said they knew better. One of the greatest English traders had told them so, and some justices of the peace, and it is quite probable that these

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two classes of villains had tried, for their own ends, to foster such an impression. The French, too, the Indians said, had assured them that the English intended to destroy the Indians and take their lands, while they were come only to defend them and their lands. This was in some sense true, but quite Frenchy and as full of guile as Ah Sin with an ace up his sleeve. "But why," said the Indians, when Post argued against the correctness of this view, "do you come to fight us on our land (referring to the then projected expedition of General Forbes)? This makes everyone believe you want to take the land from us by force, and settle it."

On Post's second journey, after he had joined General Forbes' expedition, under date of November 3, 1757, he says:

Pesquitumen began to argue with Captain Bull and Mr. Hays that they should tell him whether the general (Forbes) would claim the land as his own when he should drive the French away, or whether the English thought to settle the country. We are always jealous the English will take the land from us.

When news came to Kushkushkee that the French had abandoned Fort Duquesne and gone down the Ohio to build a fort at the lower Shawanese town, Post told the Indians they should prevent this, or let the English go and drive them out. They answered: "We think so too, and would try to prevent it if the English would only go back after having drove away the French and not settle there." The Indians afterwards insisted that Forbes should not stay; but Forbes, although he took back his main force, left a garrison behind him—the very thing the Indians feared so much.

Post says:

Ketiuskund (most probably Teedyuscung, the noted Delaware chief), a noted Indian, one of the chief counselors (a Delaware, I judge, by his name), told us in secret that all the Indian nations had agreed to defend their hunting place at Allegheny (Ohio), and suffer no one to settle there; and as these Indians are very much inclined to the English interest, so he begged us very much to tell the governor, general, and all other people not to settle there. And if the English would draw back over the mountains, they would get all the other Indian nations into their interest; but if they stayed and settled there, all the nations would be against them, and he was afraid it would be a great war, and never come to a peace again.

Post delivered this message faithfully; but the governor and general were bent both on conquest and settlement, and shut their eyes to Ketiuskund's prophetic warning. The Pontiac war was a fulfillment of his prediction.

All the lands in the state, east of the Alleghany mountains, had been surrendered before the capture of Fort Duquesne from the French. By the subsequent treaties at Fort Stanwix in 1768 and 1781–5, all the remaining territory of the state, except the Erie triangle, was surrendered. The triangle was acquired by deeds from the United States and the Indians in 1788-9. These deeds and treaties, however, were merely formal. The real title to all the state was acquired by the result of General Forbes' expedition in 1758, as the Indians feared.

I have now shown clearly, I think, what was the real difference between the French and the English in their treatment of the Indians, and what was the fundamental reason for the attachment of the Indians to the French and their hatred of the English. The French sought for dominion over the lands, but did not seek the land itself for colonization and settlement.

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The English sought for dominion likewise, and also sought the land for colonization and settlement. The Frenchman was essentially a trader, and as a trader was both politic and keen. The Englishman was a trader also, but impolitic, unprincipled and reckless, and he was also a farmer, or rather a land-grabber, and his eye was always open for a good piece of land. Farmers followed in the wake of the English wherever they went; and every English settlement, wherever made, was but a nucleus for a continually widening ring of settlements beyond the central one.

The Indian, on the other hand, was a hunter and nothing more, so far as the occupation of the land was concerned. He did not object to white settlements on his border, so long as they remained at the point of original occupancy; but he did object when the settlement began to spread and to crowd him off his hunting grounds. At first he grumbled in Pennsylvania, at this spreading out, but in the hope that it would stop there, sold all the land between the Delaware and Susquehanna, as far north as Easton; when it extended beyond that, he gave way again; the Juniata and the west were still open, and the Englishman might be kept within the bounds already given up. But soon the Juniata and the west began to be occupied, and then the heart of the Indian grew weak. Naturally he gravitated to the Frenchman, who did not covet his lands, and fought with him and for him until the Frenchman gave up his claim to dominion and left the continent to his land-grabbing opponents.

But the Indian was cruel, blood-thirsty and revengeful. True, I do not seek to palliate his cruelty and blood-thirstiness. But had he not a provocation? The Pennsylvanian boasts that his state was all bought and paid for. It was not stolen from the Indians. In one sense, no; in others, yes. It was all paid for; but it was stolen first, and paid for afterwards. It was not sold until the settlers had crowded upon it and rendered it useless for hunting. The Indian sold it because he was not able to hold it, and not until his inability to hold it was made clear to all. And how much was paid for it? I think ten thousand pounds will cover the "demnition total." Think of a great, broad territory like that of Pennsylvania, bought for ten thousand pounds—fifty thousand dollars! On principle, the purchase may do to brag of, but the amount paid does not look ennobling.

But, I hear an objector say, it is unnatural to think of giving up a continent to Indian hunters, when thousands and millions of hungry whites stood ready to occupy it and render it productive. My dear friend, if the end justifies the means, you are right. But I am not undertaking to argue that or any other point, except the one I started out with, viz., why the French attracted and the English repelled the Indian? That is the problem I have undertaken to elucidate; and I think I have shown that the reason is to be found in the racial difference between the Latin and the Teuton. The Teuton is a colonizer; the Latin is not. The Teuton seeks for land, and crowds out the native possessor; the Latin is not land hungry, and contents himself with dominion and trading with the natives. The natives liked to hunt, and found a trader convenient

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to buy his peltries and furs—the fruits of his hunting—but liked, also, to keep their ground for hunting. Hence it was natural, after experience with both, to prefer the trader who did not want the land to the trader who not only wanted it, but took it without asking. The French were, I think, the most politic and shrewd, as traders; but it is not proven that they were more humane than the English. When it suited their purpose they could be as cruel as the English or the Indian; happily it did not always, perhaps not often, suit their purpose, for the reason, I conjecture, that their trading was always under military and generally under religious control, which English trading was not. The French policy played directly into the hands of the Indian policy, and the latter was always, in some measure, hostile to English policy. With these facts in view, it seems to me that the problem, if problem it be, is easily solved in the way I have suggested.

RUSSELL ERRETT.

RECOLLECTIONS OF CLEVELAND.

II.

HER MECHANICS AND MANUFACTURES—SHOEMAKERS.

"Where the shoe pinches."—*Plutarch.*

IN the first paper under the above title an effort was made to make a running comment upon some of the men who were early in the field, and helped to build a city as well as their individual fortunes. The greater portion of those builders were well known to the writer, and if he has misjudged their character or their work, it can be placed to a failing that many are endowed with. One critic has endeavored to point out one or two instances where one or two of those builders commented on as faithful and honest were indifferent mechanics and capable of doing very poor work. It is no fault of the mechanic, who executes his work fully up to the contract, if it does not stand as long as the pyramids. Some landlords are liable to turn the thumb-screws down hard on a not forehanded builder, when he is forced into a corner and makes his work up to the price and the contract. There is an hundred-fold greater fault lying at the door of the wealthy landlord than the builder. Let it fall where it may, there have been men who wanted stately blocks and courtly mansions built for a song (so to sing) and were willing to accept the job if it bankrupted the builder. In the light of wider experience it is to be hoped that a better day for the honest builder is coming—in fact it is here now.

The methods of building with wood

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have met with wonderful changes within the last generation; no lining and scoring of heavy timbers, no planing, plowing and grooving of flooring, no more hard work at the bench in getting out mouldings, no more key-hole saw work in making scrolls, no more window-frames, sashes, blinds, doors, columns, mantels, stairs, railings and plenty more of the *et cæteras* of frame and brick house building. One can go down to the lumber-yard and order about every necessary article for an ordinary frame residence and have it carted to its resting place, and all that is needed on the part of the builder is to set the lumber in place and a house is ready for the plasterers. After all this, the joiner has a world more of gables and corners and peaks and dormer-windows and sliding doors and outreaching porches and filagree work than ever before, which will more than make up for the time he would spend in doing what the machinery of the planing-mill has saved from the wear and tear of muscle.

No machinery has yet been found to take any considerable of the labor of the stone mason or brick-layer from their hands. It continues to be hard work, the same as it was in Egypt four thousand years ago. All their mouldings, caps, sills, capitals, bases and ornamental work must come from hard knocks with the mallet and careful holding of the chisel. I am told that the hand labor alone on the Sheriff street side of the Euclid Avenue Opera house cost sixteen thousand dollars and that the same amount of labor could not be obtained for much less than twenty-five thousand to-day.

Leaving the builders and their work to be cared for by themselves, it is proposed to take a look at the men who occupy some of those habitations and at what they had been doing many years ago; it is well enough to start with those who build at the feet of the human race and see who the shoemakers have been and what they have done. To some there may be no poetry in their movements, while to others there is an entire volume in a well-made shoe that fits snugly to a pretty foot, especially if that foot and its mate support the elegant form and face of a young lady. Shoemakers will insist that nothing adds so much to the beauty of a human being as a well-fitting shoe or boot; a hatter may as vigorously contend for the other extreme of the human form.

But why should I dally along the way, and hesitate to put my feet upon the proposed path and, like the children of Israel, go forward? It is a delicate question at which part of the wax-end it is best to begin. Speaking of "wax-ends," there are few people now living who have not seen at least one made; the number of boys during the last half century who have been to the shoemaker to have a tap or cap put on their shoes is legion, but "legion" is not definite enough. There the honest shoemaker sits on his low bench, busy working out his problem of life as eagerly and as intellectually as the greatest headworker of the land, while he, a boot-maker, labors to the last. A wax-end, how is it made? A gentleman who had an eye towards economy as well as the intricacies of the mechanic arts, came to a shoemaker to receive instructions in the mysteries of a wax-end; he wanted

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to be taught and was willing to pay for his knowledge; he had already acquired an awl, a ball of thread, a lump of wax, a last and a bunch of bristles. The shoemaker demonstrated the method of constructing the desired object, and the scholar graduates well skilled in the wonderful art.

The world-wide slander that has clung to the professor of the crooked awl and elastic bristle is not merited; that his word cannot be relied upon when he promises to tap your boots, is a mistake; he tells you that he will have them done by Wednesday, if he possibly can. The clergyman who took his boots to the shop for repairs wanted to know if they would be done by "Chuesday." The shoemaker said he could not have them finished before "Chatterday."

To the shoemakers come the same intervening power of steam and the ingenuity of man to help them make their work more rapidly than heretofore.

In the early days of Cleveland the manufacturer depended entirely upon the home market for supplies of leather; either Storer of Brooklyn, or Brock of Cleveland, or Lester & Burton of Euclid, or Dean & Honnan of Rockport, or Ansel Young of East Cleveland for cowhide, kip or calf, as well as sole leather; and the delay of these tanners would at times make a shoemaker stretch the truth if he did not his upper leather. To-day a new world has come into being, and steam turns out shoes and boots by the thousand without a knowledge of the art, as in former times. No wax-ends are used, but in their place is an interminable waxed cord that penetrates our soles for the temporal welfare of the body. To witness the operation of pegging the sole of a boot by machinery, one could only liken it to a trip-hammer on a lump of molten iron. Then when we find our inmost sole is but paper and the uppers but split from an inevitable bull's hide, we are led to long for the days of honesty to the last. But when we find those intolerable iron spikes that pierce and fester our feet and wear holes in our hose, then the wife, when darning day comes, has to do a good deal of it to overcome the wear. Pegs were never used in shoes in Great Britain until within the last score of years, and hobnails were seldom seen in this country except in the sole of a foreign shoe.

If a young clerk of a shoe house should, thirty years ago, essay to try and fit a pair of shoes upon a lady's foot, he would get his ears boxed for the insult; to-day, if he don't get down on his knees and set about it at once, that shop will lose a customer instanter—and this is the way we are trending.

Belittle the art of shoemaking, as in the days of the past, as much as the unthinking may, it ranks among the fine arts; but this art is measurably lost in the modern transfer of hand work to the power of steam. What would St. Crispin say if he were to take a look into some of these modern steam-propelled shoe shops? What would he think of pegs and sparables and copper nails for shoes, and what would he say to pasteboard counters, insoles and filling? That valuable substitute for leather was invented by a Boston man in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the infringements upon the right

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have been multiplied every day since. The shoes of to-day are not what they were a half century ago in Cleveland. Many a man has sighed and oh'd for the boots he got in the days of Guptil, Kirk, Wall, Sweet and Horatio Ranney, but when we take into account the price we pay for our foot wear, we pay our money and we are liable to get its value.

Out of the memory of men now living it is difficult to place upon record the name of the first son of St. Crispin who essayed to make and mend the boots and shoes of the people of Cleveland. Early in the field is the quaint and venerable "Strong," called "Old Strong" for short. His type is cast in *petite* model and preserved for future reference and identity, and illustrated by letterpress, with some of his sayings attached to keep alive his memory. "Old Strong" was a native of Boston, whence he pushed out into the world a little late in life to seek his fortune. It was soon after the century was out of its teens that he reached Buffalo on foot, headed for Cleveland, where he informed the people that he had made up his mind to locate. They endeavored to dissuade him from so rash an act. They wanted him to locate in Buffalo, and in order to induce him to change his purpose, they assured him that he could do nothing at his trade in Cleveland, for there were no lapstones there. To be sure to overcome that difficulty, the determined son of St. Crispin brought a good sized one with him, all the way from Buffalo, on foot. All this may be a myth, but that there was such an early settler here as Old Strong, there are plenty of living witnesses to testify. Poor Old Strong! he is no longer among us; he died at last and his works do follow him.

Most prominent among those who were engaged in the manufacture of foot-wear for the human frame over a half century ago, are the names of the Ranney Brothers, George Kirk, John Guptil, Seaman & Smith, Edward Wall, J. H. Crittenden, John Gerlach, Graham & Van Voast, Henry Wolke and James Huntington. There is a sort of unyielding tenacity, by which means a shoemaker is held to the trade he has chosen, that induces him to stick like wax to the end. Seldom do you find a son of St. Crispin who would disgrace his early profession by falling out of its legitimate line and descend to dealing in grain or stocks or even condescend to go into banking. They put their entire faith and hope in the efficacy of leather, and are willing to abide by its strength and capability in holding a man secure in the battle of life; and here are some lines copied from a school book for the use of the younger generation of the British Isles. They would be worth the while of those who are looking for a means of reducing the surplus of the Nation's finances, wishing to protect the whole country from a possible invasion from a foreign foe:

"A town feared a siege, held a consultation,
Which was the best method of fortification;
A grave, skillful mason gave his opinion
That nothing but stone could save the dominion.
A carpenter saying though that was well spoke,
Assured the convention the best thing was oak.
A currier, wiser than all put together,
Said: 'Use what you may there is nothing like leather.'"

The faith and confidence some people

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place in the reliability of leather was never more clearly exemplified than in the breast of the old lady when the horses ran away with her. She said she "put her faith and trust in Providence until the breeching gin sout, and then all hope was gone."

There is poetry in shoemaking—a poetic license is conceded to every maker of ladies' shoes; and when they weld down the fibre of the soles on the poetic lapstone, the mind reaches out to the Sunday when those delicate integuments will move up the middle aisle of the church, squeaking stanza after stanza during the long prayer, to the edification of the boys and girls who giggle on the back seats. There is poetry added to the motion of the young lady as well; she feels the electric shock as if it came fresh from a powerful battery.

George Kirk and John Guptil were men of mark or marked men; they had habits similar; they made boots and made them upon honor and a last; both were tall and well proportioned; one had a ruddy face, the other a Roman nose; one had red hair and the other brown; both had a wonderful fund of humor and were seldom disconcerted. George Kirk had read Shakespeare and Burns clear through, and held a tight grip upon the more prominent lines of both, and at will could, when occasion offered, reel off whole skeins of either to the delight of his willing listeners. While Kirk was a poet transfused, Guptil was an orator by nature. His eloquence was of the Demosthenes sort, and his periods were so well rounded that they brought conviction. "Gup" did not have the appearance of a man that was born to wear his life out at the feet of men, but he did.

Another brace of worthies, who have made a record on the feet of many people in Cleveland, is Graham and Van Voast, two men who staked their awl in this city in 1832, continuing in the line of their trade until one after the other laid down their lives with the harness on. Busy as they both had been for a good long lifetime, they did not succeed in laying away much for a very protracted rain.

One would scarcely suppose that J. H. Crittenden had ever placed himself upon a shoemaker's bench, clad with an apron and sleeves rolled up, pegging away at the sole of a boot—not that he was ever too proud to own such distinguished service, but from the fact that he got well forehanded in his later years and did not need to bend down to the work of every-day shoemaking; and his friends said he was lazy and did not hanker after work. Edward Wall scarcely left his bench, but pulled away for dear life about every day of his mature years, and only took a vacation long enough to enjoy a trip to the old world, taking a look at the scenes of his childhood. However, he tried to vary the monotony of counter, sole and upper by indulging in the luxuries of a farmer's life. All his industries never brought him anything above a livelihood.

Of the Ranney brothers there were three who followed the same vocation, starting out in Cleveland when they were young men, with a well settled purpose of doing their share to improve the understanding of the people.

The names of Seaman & Smith have been over a shoe store in Cleveland for more than a half century. The firm has kept

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so snugly abreast of all the time their names have been before the people, that three generations are familiar with their handiwork.

The veteran and survivor of that firm, W. T. Smith, has been so often alluded to as the oldest in continued business on the street, that it is useless to call the interesting fact to the mind of any Clevelander. His proverbial good humor and kindly treatment of all who call at his place of business has made for him a reputation that reaches through so many generations that he is known by nearly everybody in the city. Fifty-two years is the measure of time Mr. Smith has been on duty at his place of business on Superior street. Rarely ever indulging in pleasure trips out of town, he has become the model business man of the city, and should be entitled to a pension for the example he has set in more ways than in his business regularity.

Something over forty years ago there could be seen at work on a low bench cushioned with a single thickness of unblacked kip-skin, a young man whose ambition to make a boot and a reputation was overpowering; but he succeeded in making his wax-ends meet. That man was E. L. Dodd. As the fat contributor once said, he was of the well-known firm of "Smittentod." He, like Daniel Webster, still lives, and although his hair has rivaled the driven snow of Alaska, he is, if possible, more vigorous than when he sat so long upon that low shoemaker's bench. He points with pride to his record as a boot-maker, and would bristle up quickly if anyone dared question his ability to match anyone of his years in a contest at a half dozen pairs of extra fine calf boots.

Those men of the olden time have sad tales to tell respecting the methods by which they learned their trade; the time devoted to the acquiring the skill of which they are possessed varied from three to seven years. The custom in England was and is to bind a youth for seven years' servitude; this practice was adopted in this country to a large extent. The spirit of many a lad was broken with this long siege of servitude, working side by side with men who were not able to do as good a job or as quickly as they, but the "jour" got big wages and the young lad got nothing but his board. To-day what do we see? Men and boys strike out as full-fledged workmen after a few months' practice, earning wages like an old experienced workman. There are mighty few apprentices nowadays; old workmen don't want any more boys around, and they kick like a mule if there be one boy to a hundred men. What are we to do with our boys?

Henry Wolkie, who was so many years located on Superior lane, had his customers from among the sea-faring men and those who were doing business on the line of the river. In his snug little shop, so long at a spot where now the great viaduct spans far above, the old man could be found day in and day out, pegging away at the substantial stogies and brogans, giving satisfaction to his many customers. No man was more faithful to the last than Henry Wolkie.

About the year 1860 the shoe dealers who had the lead in fine work were not a little startled to find that many of their customers appeared on the streets with high-toned, high-heeled, delicately tipped foot-gear, and they were a little mortified

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and indignant. A Boston notion had clung to the feet of some of our more advanced young ladies, and lift on lift had been suffered to be added to the heels and so delicately pointed that the nether extremity would leave an impress in the sands of time no larger than a nickel, while the frontal portion of the same shoe would be no larger than a flattened mouse. Men were here from Boston secretly stealing the local trade away—taking measures of number five feet and supplying them with number three shoes to their delight. And there were men here—high-heeled, high tariff men—who sent their measures to New York and Boston to be supplied, because Cleveland was rather slow for their advanced ideas. Would it have made any difference if those men and those ladies had reflected that true dignity and the purest blooded aristocracy of all first-class nations never indulged in heels at all? Cæsar and Pompey, Anthony and Cleopatra wore sandals. Canute the Great, Harold Harefoot and Hardicanute all wore moccasins, and all of the later line of Bourbons wear no heels, while the Prince of Wales and his wife abjure false elevations and stand solely on their blood. All these things were in the hearts and minds of our people when this sudden, unseemly stroke of advanced style struck the city; but it was of no earthly use; it matters little how high a heel, how tall a hat, or how far extended a dress may be demanded, it will all have to follow in the wake of advanced sentiment, and the men cannot fail to admire the more for the persistency of the demand of lovely woman.

Forced into the channel when the flood-tide came, all our shoemakers went to building up and up until our women could overlook without glasses any Boston girl that made her appearance on our avenues. To stop that individual enterprise of making a bridge of the noses of our shoemakers in sending for foreign foot-gear, in a fair and square race our mechanics are willing to match the world on foot, regarding it as a fitful feat to fit the feet of all our citizens.

Among those who had the supervision of our soles during the early part of this half century, the following are some who should be rescued from oblivion for what they have done to keep our feet in the paths of rectitude. The idle throng may call them what they please—Sons of St. Crispin, cordwainers, snob-cobblers, or give an insulting whistle as they pass on the streets—they can well afford to brook whatever slight is intended, for their labors are at the foundation of all moral, social, political and religious enterprises—they build up man himself. If I make no mistake, the first name in the honored list was the father of the well-known attorneys, Joseph and Samuel E. Adams. But here follows the names, by no means claimed as complete, of all who should be honored by the art preservation:

Adams, Samuel,	Anderson, Thomas,
Andrews, John,	Averill, Mills.
Ballou, L. V.,	Baldwin, Samuel,
Beares, Azarias,	Beales, Levi,
Bevis, Benj.,	Bevins, John,
Brew, W. H.,	Brown, Elial,
Brown, W. S.,	Brownell, A. J.
Cain, Philip,	Cain, Humphrey,
Caley, John,	Carey, Barnard,
Chandler, Samuel,	Church, P. V.,
Clark, John,	Clark, J. A.,
Clark, Ebenezer,	Clinton, John,

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Conklin, Edward, Connorture, Thomas,
Corlett, John, Cornell, David,
Cramer, Tobias, Crittenden, J. H.
Dando, J. M., Daugherty, Thomas,
Davis, Thomas, Diemer, Christopher,
Donivan, Thomas, Duros, Owen.
Ehrbaar, George, Emmons, J. B.
Fey, Peter, Frank, Harris,
Frizzell, Erastus.
Gardner, Thomas, Graham, Robert,
Geib, Charles, Gerlach, John,
Given, John, Given, Edward,
Goodrich, John, Guptil, John,
Grammes, Jacob, Grant, Joseph,
Griswold, Horatio.
Harper, John, Harper, John,
Haynes, Edward, Hebringer, J. M.,
Hegerlein, Anton, Hemerick, John,
Hessel, Clements, Huntington, James.
Kaneen, Jonathan, Kaneen, Thomas,
Knerem, Peter, Kruse, Henry,
Kruse, J. F.
Lamberton, W. A., Lawrence, F. E.,
Lord, John, Lord, Hugh,
Lutzy, Henry, Lyon, H.
Mahonna, John, Meacher, John,
Miller, Andrew, Muldon, Patrick,
McGeue, Peter, McGuyre, Patrick,
McLaughlin, John.
Neel, Archibald.
Ogram, J. W.
Pauley, Christian, Pier, Truman,
Porter, Samuel.
Quayle, Daniel, Quackenbush, Nicholas.
Ranney, Joseph, Ranney, Horatio,
Ranney, Sylvester, Reitz, Philip,
Remington, John.
Schenkenberger, Jacob, Scherff, Jacob,
Seubert, Conrad, Sexton, James,
Seman, John, Shenohan, John,
Short, Lewis, Slavin, James,
Smith, J. J., Smith, W. T.,
Snider, Adam, Stewart, William,
Sweet, James.
Temple, Cyrus, Thompson, S. J.,
Tolhurst, Geo., Tuttle, E. M.,
Tyler, Jas.
Upton, George.
Van Voast, G., Vance, N. S.,
Voelkle, Fretolen.
Waber, Anton, Wall, Edward,
Waltrick, Peter, Watson, James,
Weaver, Andrew, Williams, George,
Wink, George, Wolkie, Henry.

The judges and barristers of about every court in England wear curled horse-tail hairs for wigs, and immense black silk gowns for an outside dress; the supreme court of the United States don the immense black silk gown, but omit the horsehair wig. It is claimed that those judicial garments have a tendency to carry respect for the law, terror to the criminal, deference for the judges; and the judges think the more for themselves. While the shoemaker on his bench sits with shirt sleeves rolled up, a comely apron, and a neat paper cap upon his head, if he has no power to commit a person for contempt, he can send many an anxious individual on his way rejoicing, provided the shoes are finished according to promise and the pay therefor is well in hand. Those intellectual United States judges could get along better without gowns than shoes—it is impossible to get along without the shoemaker.

GEORGE F. MARSHALL.

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THE LOG BOOK.

I.

THE DEATH OF THE BALD EAGLE.

At an early day in the history of Cleveland, when its enterprising and Christian people had erected many imposing temples dedicated to the service and worship of the "Living God," a disturbing element thrust itself upon its peaceful citizens. The aggressor was a little 7 x 9 poorly printed paper called the "*Liberalist*, edited and published by Samuel Underhill." It became at once alarmingly aggressive, and undertook the little job of annulling the sacred history of the Christian religion for over eighteen hundred years by the mere force of taking and reading his infidel paper and worshiping the devil he would set up in its stead.

This infidel paper went about the city with a chip on its shoulder, as it were, challenging the ministers of the gospel and their Christian followers to knock it off and have a row, or cowardly flee before it and renounce the teachings of the Bible. But the peace-loving, church-going people took little or no notice of these efforts to embroil them in a controversy, designed, as was suspected, more to make sales for his paper than to make converts to its untenable, infidel doctrines. But there were many young people in town who, after forbearance ceased to be a virtue, resolved to "knock off that chip." At once a bright little paper was mysteriously published called "*The Green Thistle*," edited by the Pickwick club. Its motto was:

"TOUCH AND I PIERCE."

This sarcastic but dignified little paper had a wonderful circulation, and because it did pierce the swollen wind-bags of that infidel paper, captured the hearts of the good people of the city and became immensely popular.

The *Liberalist* began to lose in circulation and character, if that were possible, and it became evident it was about to fall before the sharp attacks of the *Thistle*. But the excitement of the Canadian Rebellion turned up; the editors of the *Liberalist* espoused its cause and took this occasion to change its name to the "*Bald Eagle*, published by Underhill and Thompson; office Handcock block, corner of Superior and Seneca streets."

But it was as ultra in agitating the cause of this uncalled for rebellion as the "*Liberalist*" had been in the cause of infidelity, and was none the less game for the sharp-shooting *Thistle*.

On the morning of the eighteenth of January, 1839, it was reported that the *Bald Eagle*, a little scurrilous sheet printed and published by Messrs. Underhill and Thompson in this city, had come out with a gross and unparalleled attack on A. H. Curtis, esq., city clerk and recent mem-

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ber of the Cleveland bar, charging him with having seduced a young lady in Rochester, New York, on his way from Hudson to Cleveland in 1836, and urging her to a life of shame in a notorious brothel, together with many additions and colorings, tending to render the charges the more disgraceful and infamous! The only excuse given for this unequaled libel was, that they supposed Mr. Curtis to be the editor of the "*Green Thistle.*"

Now the truth was that Mr. Curtis had never been in Rochester in his life, except to pass through it in the stage; that on his way from Hudson to Cleveland he came in the stage with a friend who was now in Cleveland, and the whole thing was a falsehood and a baseless fabrication; that at the time alleged he was a student in Union college; that he was a gentleman of unimpeachable moral character. And further than this, the *Bald Eagle* was only another name for the infidel "*Liberalist*," published by the same men and edited by Samuel Underhill, and that scarcely a good citizen had escaped some foul attack upon their character, however blameless.

In consequence of the popular feelings against the evil influences of that press, and the shameful and lying personal attack on Mr. Curtis, his personal friends met in a room in the Miller block, on Superior street, to consult together, to determine what should be done.

At this impromptu meeting, composed of Mr. Curtis, A. H. Lewis, associate editor of the *Herald;* Theobald Umbstaetter, law student, afterwards a partner of E. M. Stanton, the famous war secretary in President Lincoln's cabinet; Lieutenant James Duncan of the United States army;* A. S. and George and Elijah Sanford, Hood, Palmeter Cross, and several others of the most respectable young men in the city. After a full and free discussion of the different remedies suggested to counteract the effect of the vile slander, and not readily arriving at a conclusion from the gravity of the case and the somewhat divided opinions as to the character of the remedy, Lieutenant Duncan broke the momentary silence. Quoting Shakespeare, he exclaimed:

> She must die, or she will betray more men.

Not another word was spoken. A heavy sledge-hammer was brought from a neighboring blacksmith's shop. One of the most stalwart among them placed it under his overcoat, prepared, regrettingly but firmly, to demolish the instrument of this wicked libel by taking the law into their own hands, regardless of consequences, as there appeared no other adequate remedy. But here, for the first time during the meeting, Mr. Curtis spoke. Laying down the book he had been reading, and addressing his friends, said:

> I can stand up under these low, vulgar charges, knowing their source and their falsehood, with a clear conscience. You have decided that the *Bald Eagle* press shall be destroyed. Gentlemen, this is not my views, but if it must be broken up it is my business, and I cannot allow you to bring trouble upon yourselves on my account. I am the man that must and will do it, no other.

He went immediately to the printing office of the *Bald Eagle*, followed by a few friends, and said to the two libelers

* Who distinguished himself in the Mexican war and was promoted to a colonelcy for gallantry and bravery.

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present: "You have slandered me without cause. I will put it beyond your reach to do so to others less able to stand it." He then, with the heavy sledge-hammer, utterly demolished the old-fashioned hand press of the notorious *Bald Eagle*.

The news flew throughout the city like dry leaves in a storm. The best and most respectable citizens made haste to call upon Mr. Curtis, tendering to him and his assistant their unwavering sympathy and support, declaring with one accord that he had done the public a service in removing a great nuisance.

In the evening, at the Ohio City exchange, kept by General Waller, where Mr. Curtis and a few personal friends were partaking of a social dinner tendered them, the festivities were interrupted for a few moments by the appearance before them of Captain Lewis Dibble. All instantly guessed what that meant. Captain Dibble, who had retired from a long, honorable and successful career on the lakes, and had been chosen one of the constables of the city, said to them in a stern voice, softened by a mischievous twinkle in his eyes:

Gentlemen: I have a warrant to arrest several of you to appear before Dr. A. D. Smith, justice of the peace, on the complaint of Underhill & Thompson. [All rose up.] Sit down, gentlemen, and finish your dinner. I know all of you, and as none of you appear to me to have money enough to get out of town, you will, as I read the names in the warrant, give me your word of honor to appear before Justice Smith at nine o'clock to-morrow morning. Good evening, gentlemen.

He was gone. The arrest was no surprise, but this unusual method of arrest was.

Those named in the warrant of arrest promptly appeared before the magistrate at nine and, to their surprise, found H. B. Payne present as their volunteer attorney, prepared to defend them. After a brief consultation the case was adjourned one week and the justice only required each for himself to enter into a recognizance to appear before him at that time.

In the meantime, on the advice of their volunteer attorney, a suit for libel against Underhill and Thompson was commenced in the common pleas court by A. H. Curtis, laying his damages at ten thousand dollars. The proposed trial never came off. Mr. Underhill discovered the terrible error he had made, and in an extra *Bald Eagle* made a full recantation of the libelous charges and a full and ample apology, and, through his attorney, offered as a settlement that all costs made should be paid by him and all suits on both sides should be withdrawn and declared settled forever.

By the advice of Mr. Payne and Mr. Curtis' personal friends, this settlement was agreed to. Thus ended the *Bald Eagle* and the evils that had followed in its train during its lifetime.

D. W. Cross.

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THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.*

II.

HERCULES IN HARNESS.

"And, last of all, with inimitable power and 'with whirlwind sound' comes the potent agency of steam. In comparison with the past, what centuries of improvement has this single agent comprised in the short compass of fifty years! Everywhere practicable, everywhere efficient, it has an arm a thousand times stronger than that of Hercules, and to which human ingenuity is capable of fitting a thousand times as many hands as belong to Briareus. Steam is found in triumphant operation on the seas; and, under the influence of its strong propulsion, the gallant ship—

'Against the wind, against the tide,
Still steadies with an upright keel.'" —*Daniel Webster.*

Steam, the harnessed Hercules of the modern world, was but the plaything of the ancient. Its properties known, its strength and adaptability were never guessed at; and century after century went by in the heavy and slow old methods, with the giant asleep, and no one able or willing to touch him with the wand of practical invention.

Hero of old Alexandria—the city in which Euclid and Archimedes crowned their age with feats of mathematical and engineering wonders—had a dim view of this hidden power of nature, and brought some knowledge of it to the world; but his labor was only that of curiosity, and came to no practical result. In the little book† he has bequeathed to our ages—written a hundred and twenty years before the dawn of the Christian era—he has left a description of his discovery and the methods by which he made the new-found power perform its bidden work. A hollow globe was placed on pivots, on which it was permitted to revolve, and steam was supplied from the boiler through a horizontal tube at the bottom of the machine, which tube communicated with the pivot. This steam filled the globe and numerous arms attached to it, while a lateral orifice at

* Hon. Rush R. Sloane of Sandusky, Ohio, who for years has made a careful and intelligent historical study of the transportation problem in all its branches, and in whose library can be found a great mass of carefully-collected and valuable material in this direction, has been of great service to the writer, in the verification of fact and the opening of new sources of information. By his aid the following additional points upon the subject treated in the first paper have been secured: The first canal constructed in England was in 1755, when the Sankey canal, twelve and a half miles in length, was built to make the Sankey brook navigable from the Mersey to St. Helen's. The father of Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, in 1732 obtained an act of parliament to construct a canal to Manchester, but feared to begin the work on account of the natural difficulties and the great expense it would entail upon himself and family. He also could find no engineer capable of undertaking the work, and it was not until the afterwards celebrated Brindley became known that the canal was resumed. In 1758 the Duke obtained a second act of parliament, enlarging the powers granted by the first act, and the work was commenced. The first boat sailed over it on July 17, 1761. "By reference to the history of the Province of Pennsylvania," Mr. Sloane writes, "you will find that some of the most influential and wealthy inhabitants of the province made application to the provincial legislature in 1762 for authority to open a water communication between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna rivers, and in the same year (1762) a survey with a view to this object was effected, and its feasibility demonstrated. In 1791 the canal was commenced, and in 1794—four miles in length—completed and *operated*. From this period work was suspended until 1816, when a new company was organized, and the entire canal completed and opened in 1824. This was the first projected, first chartered, first completed (one section) and first operated canal in the United States. And this survey, in 1762, was twelve years before the charter Washington obtained in Virginia. The note quoted from 'The American Centenary,' on page 514, is wrong, as the Middlesex canal was chartered in 1789, not 1787, and was not completed until 1808, the S. & S. in Pennsylvania being the oldest in the United States."

† 'Spiritali seu Pneumatica.' The work is still extant, and reproductions of it have been published.

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the end of each of these arms allowed the steam to escape in a jet. The "reaction consequent on this produced a recoil and drove the arms around; if, therefore, there had been a pulley at the upper part of the machine with a strap passing around it, the effect would have been to set any machinery in motion, to which the other end of the strap might have been attached"—a forerunner of the rotatory engines that, after the lapse of two thousand years, were built and operated upon something of the same principle.

It is doubtful whether this engine of Hero was ever put to a practical use, its inventor, with more of an eye to principles than to history, telling us nothing on that score. There have been authorities, however, who advance the opinion that it was used in the Grecian temples by the priests for the purpose of imparting motion to their other apparatus.

The priests, and others who found power or riches in a play upon the credulity of the masses, made some use of the new power, we are credibly informed, before the mechanic and artisan had dreamed of its legitimate uses. It has been believed that the sound produced by the vocal statue of Memnon, at Thebes, was either from steam generated at its base, or from the expansion of air heated within by the rays of the morning sun; and that "among the artful practices of the Delphian oracle, steam was resorted to, and that the vapors which surrounded the Pythian upon her tripod were evolved from vessels beneath," while another writer adds the following item of like information:

"Upon the banks of the Weser, the ancient Teutonic gods sometimes marked their displeasure by a sort of thunderbolt, which was immediately succeeded by a cloud that filled the temple. An image of the god Busterich, which was found in some excavations, clearly explains the manner in which this prodigy was accomplished by the priests. The head of the metal god was hollow, and contained within it a pot of water; the mouth and another hole above the forehead were stopped by wooden plugs; a small stove, adroitly placed in a cavity of the head, under the pot, contained charcoal, which, being light, gradually heated the liquid contained in the head. The vapor produced from the water having acquired sufficient pressure, forced out the wooden plugs with a loud report, and they were immediately followed by two jets of steam, which formed a dense cloud around the god, and concealed him from his astonished worshipers."

The Romans made use of steam in their baths. Travelers tell us that in the splendid Thermæ of Carcalla there were halls not only for tepid and warm baths, but for steam as well. The same people also made use of a round vessel of metal, that was hollow, with a small aperture in it, and when filled with water and placed over a fire, steam was ejected with violence, the apparatus being used as a bellows for blowing fires, and for other purposes.

The ancients also, if accounts may be relied upon, used it as a means for

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pranks that would not have been expected of men of wisdom and study. "Anthemius, the architect of Saint Sophia, occupied a house next door to that of Zeno, between whom and Anthemius there existed a feud. To annoy his neighbor, Anthemius placed on the ground floor of his own house several close digesters, or boilers, containing water. A flexible tube proceeded from the top of each of these, which was conducted through a hole made in the wall between the houses, and which communicated with the space under the floors of the rooms in the house of Zeno. When Anthemius desired to annoy his neighbor, he lighted fires under his boilers, and the steam produced by them rushed in such quantity and with such force under Zeno's floors that they were made to heave with all the usual symptoms of an earthquake."*

WORKING TOWARD PRACTICAL USES.

There is enough of doubt concerning the achievements of Blasco de Garay, the Spanish navy-officer in the service of Charles I. of Spain, to leave him just outside the realm of actual history; and yet evidence enough at hand to make it more than probable that he was the first, after the days of Hero, to give to steam a practical use. The Spanish archives tell of an attempt made by him in 1543 to move a ship by paddle-wheels, that, from the wording of the account, one would believe were moved by a steam-engine. Nothing is told concerning the method of application or source of power, beyond the declaration that a "vessel of boiling water" was a part of it.† Passing on to 1601 we find in the curious work 'Spiritali,' from the pen of Giovanni Battista della Porta, the description of an apparatus by which the pressure of steam might be made to raise a column of water, and the method of operation "included the application of the condensation of steam to the production of a vacuum into which the water would flow." Fourteen years later Salmon de Caus, formerly an architect and engineer under Louis XIII. of France, published a work in Frankfort, in which he made an illustration of his declaration that "water will, by the aid of fire, mount higher than its level." In 1629

* 'A History of Wonderful Inventions,' New York, Harper & Brothers, 1855, p. 8.

† The result of de Garay's experiment has been thus recounted: He had made propositions to the emperor of a means by which he could carry ships out of or into harbor against wind or tide; and Charles ordered experiments to be made in the port of Barcelona, in the presence of public commissioners. Accordingly, on the seventeenth of June in that year, de Garay appeared on the quay with his apparatus moored alongside. He took the utmost pains to conceal the nature of the invention, but it was perceived that the chief apparatus was a caldron of boiling water, and two wheels, one on each side of the vessel to be moved. The experiment answered in every respect. The vessel was found to progress at the rate of a league an hour, or, according to Rarago, the treasurer, who was one of the commissioners (but unfriendly to the design), at the rate of three leagues in two hours; but it did progress, and was found to be easily under command and turned with facility to any point where it was directed. Favorable reports were made to the emperor and to his son, Philip II., but an expedition in which they were at that time engaged prevented the carrying out of the design to any practical effect. Thus the world was in all probability hindered for two centuries from reaping the immense advantages that would have resulted from the adoption of steam navigation.

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Giovanni Branca of Lovetto, a town in Italy, published a work in Rome that described a number of ingenious contrivances, among which was a steam-engine, "in which the steam, issuing from a boiler, impinged upon the vanes of an horizontal wheel."

Passing on to 1663 and across the channel to England, we begin to touch upon the work of a man who had much to do with opening the door to a practical application of steam and to the more definite results of Watts and Stephenson and the achievements of modern days. The curious publication of Edward Somerset, second marquis of Worcester,* 'A Century of the Names and Scantlings of Inventions by me Already Practiced,' describes an invention of an apparatus for raising water by steam—the chief advance of which lies in the use of a separate boiler. The uses to which it was put were in the elevating of water for practical purposes at Vauxhall, near London, and also in Raglan castle, the home of the inventor. The following description is given in Worcester's own words:

"I have invented an admirable and forcible way to drive up water by fire; not by drawing or sucking it upwards, for that must be, as the philosopher terms it, *intra sphæram activitatis*, which is but at such a distance. But this way hath no bounder, if the vessels be strong enough. For I have taken a piece of whole cannon whereof the end was burst and made a great crack. So that, having a way to make my vessels so that they are strengthened by the force within them, and the one to fill after the other, I have seen the water run like a constant fountain stream forty feet high. One vessel of water, rarified by fire, driveth up forty of cold water, and a man that tends the work has but to turn two cocks; that one vessel of water being consumed, another begins to force and refill with cold water, and so successively, the fire being tended and kept constant, while the self-same person may likewise abundantly perform in the interim between the necessity of turning the said cocks."

Others advanced along the road thus opened. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the driving of Protestants from France, one Denys Papin, a philosopher of Blois, found himself in England where he became associated with the learned men and societies of that kingdom, and soon gave himself to various inventions in connection with steam. In 1680 he invented the digester, in which substances not affected by water boiling under atmospheric pressure were subjected to such action under high pressure, and thus thoroughly "digested" or cooked. The danger from the burst-

* This remarkable personage lived in the exciting times of the civil wars between Charles the First and his parliament, and taking part with the king lost his fortune, was imprisoned in Ireland, escaped and went to France. He returned to England as a secret agent of the royal family, was discovered and confined in the tower. "It is said that during this imprisonment, while he was engaged one day in cooking his own dinner, he observed the lid of the pot was continually being forced upwards by the vapor of the boiling water contained in the vessel. Being a man of thoughtful disposition" he saw the consequences of this power and upon obtaining his liberty set himself to work it out.

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ing of these vessels led him a year later to apply a more perfect lever safety-valve than any that was then in existence. In 1690 he constructed a working model of an engine, consisting of a steam-cylinder "with a piston which was raised by steam pressure and which descended again when the condensation of the steam produced a vacuum beneath it."

Necessity, long since called the mother of invention, proved herself such in this line of development, the demand for some method of keeping the British mines free from water leading Thomas Savery, in 1698, to perfect a steam engine that was successfully applied to that purpose. The principle thus clearly defined and actual practical results thus achieved, the work of those who came after was along a road from which the main difficulties had been removed, but that was by no means opened to the desired end.

The impulse thus set going was carried on through the following century, in the experiments and discoveries of Newcomer, Smeaton, Boulton, and, finally, James Watts, whose labors and successes form an important era in the history of the steam engine. So far, even, we might say, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the application of steam was supposed to be most effective for stationary uses; and only a dreamer here and there began to foresee the larger and more wonderful possibilities that lay in the steamboat and the railroad car.

I have thus hastily and briefly sketched the beginnings of steam power, and will dwell no longer upon a story common to all histories of invention and mechanical achievement—the story of Watts, of Stephenson, of Trevithick, of Fulton, and their compeers; of the transformation of the stationary engine into the wheeled carriage; of the slow but ever-advancing processes by which the toy of Hero became the giant locomotive of to-day. Attention will rather be invited to the steps by which that locomotive became known, how it was accepted in America, and how it was recognized at last as the true solution of the transportation problem.*

THE SEASON OF SUGGESTION.

Even the suggestions of its power were received with doubt in the beginning. The canal was quoted as the sum total of all desire, by those who had struggled so bravely and unceasingly for its creation, and who could not confess, even in their own hearts, that a greater was already on the way for its displacement. Without intending to dispute or detract from the claim of any American as to the earliest suggestions of the use of steam carriages in this country, it will be pertinent and illustrative in this connection to glance at the contents of a pamphlet issued by Colonel John Stevens of Hoboken, in 1812, in which he not only clearly advanced a plan for a railroad but urged the National government to take hold of and develop his idea. He had, as early as 1809, defined the proportions of the locomotive and

* The inception of the railroad, as such, will be taken up in a succeeding chapter.

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compared "the superior capacity and advantages of a railway with those of a canal," and had urged his ideas in various quarters, not the least entertaining portions of his publication being the arguments of learned men against the theories he so earnestly advanced. His little work was entitled, 'Documents Tending to Prove the Superior Advantages of Railways and Steam Carriages over Canal Navigation.' "Although my proposal," says the author in his introduction, "has failed to gain the approbation of the commissioners for the improvement of inland navigation of the state of New York (Messrs. Livingston, Morris and Clinton), yet I feel by no means discouraged respecting the final result of the project. The very objections the committee have brought forward serve only to increase, if possible, my confidence in the superiority of the proposed railways to canals. . . . The extension of the main arteries of such a system . . . would by no means be a work of time. It would be exempted totally from the difficulties, casualties, interruptions and delays incident to the formation of canals. Requiring no supply of water, no precision in leveling, the work could be commenced and carried on in various detached parts and its progress would be rapid. Ramifications would from time to time be extended. . . . But there remains another view in which this important improvement demands the attention of the general government—the celerity it would afford of communication with the different sections of our wide-extended empire. To the rapidity of a steam carriage on these railways no definite limit can be set. The flying proas in the Pacific ocean sail twenty miles an hour. The resistance of the water increases in the square of the velocity of the vessel. Not so with the steam carriage; it moves in a fluid eight hundred times more rare than water. The resistance will be proportionately diminished. If then a proa can be driven twenty miles per hour by the wind (the propulsive power of which is constantly diminishing as the velocity of the proa increases) through so dense a fluid as water, I can see nothing to hinder a steam carriage from moving on these ways with a velocity of one hundred miles an hour. This astonishing velocity is considered as merely possible. It is probable that in practice it may not be convenient to exceed twenty or thirty miles per hour; actual experiments, however, can alone determine this matter, and I should not be surprised at seeing steam carriages propelled at the rate of forty or fifty miles per hour. . . . I am anxious and ambitious that my native country should have the honor of being the first to introduce an improvement of such immense importance to society at large, and should feel the utmost reluctance at being compelled to resort to foreigners in the first instance. As no doubt exists in my mind but that the value of the improvement would be duly appreciated and carried into effect by transatlantic governments, I have been more urgent in pressing the subject upon the attention of congress."

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Colonel Stevens then gives an elaborate plan of his proposed railways, which is here reproduced, as showing how crude he was in some of his details as compared with the knowledge and methods of to-day, and yet how advanced he was as regarded the main ideas. He proceeds:

"Without further preface I will now proceed to propose a plan which, I flatter myself, embraces both these important objects. Let a railway of timber be formed by the nearest practicable route between Lake Erie and Albany, the angle of elevation in no part to exceed one degree or such an elevation, whatever it may be, as will admit of wheel carriages to remain stationary when no power is exerted to impel them forward — this railway, throughout its course, to be supported on pillars, raised from three to five or six feet from the surface of the ground, the carriage wheels of cast iron, the rims flat, with projecting flanges to fit on the surface of the railways, the moving power to be a steam-engine, nearly similar in construction to that on board the *Juliana*, a ferry-boat plying between this city (New York) and Hoboken.

"It would be altogether unnecessary to go into a detailed description of the mode of adopting and applying the machinery of a steam-engine to the purpose of propelling carriages placed on railways. It is sufficient to say that I feel the fullest confidence in being able to convince an experienced and skillful engineer of the entire practicability of the plan.

"I shall now attempt to explain the many and important advantages resulting from carrying this plan into effect:

"In the first place, as to expense. On the most exaggerated scale of calculation the expense of such a railway would not exceed that of an ordinary turnpike road, with a good coat of gravel on it.

"Second. The far greater part of the work can be performed by common laborers, and, as no accuracy of leveling would be required, it may be commenced and carried on in as many different places as may be found expedient. It might, therefore, be accomplished with ease in one or two seasons.

"Third. From its elevation above the surface of the ground, the timber of which the railway is framed will be little subject to decay; and from this elevation, too, the travel on it can never be interrupted, as it will be raised above the ordinary level of the deepest snows.

"Fourth. These railways, from the nature of their construction, will be free from the numerous casualties to which canals are liable.

"Fifth. The expense of transportation would be much less than on a canal of the best construction."

This plan was laid before the New York Board of Inland Navigation, which referred it to a committee, whose adverse report was forwarded to Colonel Stevens by Gouverneur Morris, on the sixteenth of March, 1812. Some of the points in that report are, briefly, as follows:

"Mr. Stevens proposes a railway, on

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which a steam-engine is to propel, by a force equal to the competent number of horses, one hundred tons, at the rate of four miles an hour. As horses move on the earth when drawing a weight, it is believed that an equal power must, to produce the same effect, have sufficient hold on the earth; and it is doubted whether an engine in a wagon can work it forward with as much advantage as horses on a road. If the engine turn the wheels and propel the weight by their friction on the railways, it may be questioned whether the effect will equal expectation." Other objections advanced were: That the rims of the wheels, however accurate, would, by their friction, impede the progressive motion, which would be increased if the "logs of the railway should warp;" if the rims and railways should not exactly fit, there might result "such variance of direction as would bring the rims to cut the rails;" and, in conclusion, as follows:

"And thus we are definitely led to ask whether a railway can be constructed of sufficient strength. It is proposed that one hundred tons be put in motion on it, at the rate of four miles per hour, which is nearly two yards in a second. If this motion were produced by force fixed to the earth, it must not only be equal to the weight multiplied into the velocity but as much greater as would be needful to overcome the resistance of friction. No formula has yet been discovered by which to calculate the proportion between power, friction and effect; but experience has demonstrated that friction is always a deduction from power. Where that operates (as is supposed to be intended on the present occasion) by friction, at the circumference of wheels, overcoming that which is at their axis (and propelling so great a weight), the deduction must be greater than in common cases. Put it, however, for the present, at nothing, and for the weight of wagon, steam-engine and fuel allow nothing; still, we shall have force one hundred and weight one hundred (together two hundred) working with a velocity of four miles per hour, by friction, on a railway. It does not seem probable that a way could be made of sufficient strength. But, if it can, the committee conceive that it must be composed of materials much more solid and durable than wood. Moreover, as it is self-evident that the same way will not serve for carriages going and returning, the expense, which would (it is conceived) for a single way exceed that of a canal, must be doubled, and would, therefore, render the construction unadvisable were it sanctioned by experience."

Colonel Stevens combatted these conclusions ably, but enough has been quoted to show his idea and to indicate how far he was in advance of the practical men of his day, and also the spirit of opposition which the new method of travel and transportation was compelled to meet. The above quotations, with many more of like character, may be found in an able article by Joseph E. Bloomfield, entitled "First Application of Steam to Railways," published in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Vol.

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XIV., pages 249 to 260. In conclusion, the author relates a personal experience of interest in this connection: "Certain it is," says he, in reference to Colonel Stevens, "there was no one at his day who predicted with such certainty its powers for quick motion, or described its proportions. It is true, I believe, that Henry Meigs, esq., of New York, when in our legislature, 1817, before the Erie canal was commenced, promulgated, five or six years after Stevens, the heterodox doctrine of 'propelling loaded boats on dry land by steam,' and then advocated 'wide railways with wheels of large diameter for locomotives, to send them forward sixty miles per hour?' It is said that even with his fine talents he lost his influence in the legislature, and by a majority was considered a subject fit for a straight-jacket, like Colonel Stevens in his day. Such is often the fate of enterprise with the slow calculating capitalists. In the year 1836, after conducting a survey through Westchester county, to test the feasibility of a railway on the east side of the Hudson river, interior to Albany, I was asked if 'I was really so crazy as to propose a railway along the margin of the noble Hudson river to compete with the steamboats.' On my reply, 'it was by a remarkable and nearly level route (thirty feet to the mile) through the interior, where there were rich farmers to supply our markets daily with our wants,' the plan was pronounced 'not so visionary.' At the present day (1846) there are found capitalists who give notice that they will apply to the present legislature for a railway, 'on the margin of the river,' to compete with the first steamboats of the world."

It is with some admiration for the boldness of the writer that, as early as 1823—when the canal was indeed king—we find this glowing tribute to the possibilities of steam:

"I feel some degree of pleasure in commencing this volume by the insertion of an article which seems fully to authenticate the facts reported, as the mighty improvements made by our countryman, Perkins, on the properties, application and power of steam, which are probably to produce the greatest revolution in the world that ever was brought about by human ingenuity or human strength, by acquiring the power fabled to have been possessed by the giants of old, of heaping up mountain on mountain, and in sending forth man, armed by science, as if to subdue the very principles of gravitation and reverse the order of nature by giving motion to inanimate things! The snow-capt rocks of the most elevated and hitherto inaccessible places and, perhaps, the depths of the ocean are to be dissolved or 'vexed' through the unconquerable strength of steam. There is no measure to calculate the extent to which this discovery may proceed. The force of millions of men may be concentrated on a small lot of ground, and the power that raised the greatest of the Egyptian pyramids be gathered in a space fifteen or twenty feet square."

Those who read this sixty-five years ago perhaps thought it extravagant;

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viewed in the light of our knowledge, it is tame enough.

We have already had a glimpse of the steam "boat on wheels" with which Oliver Evans traversed the streets of Philadelphia and heard his prophecies as to the day when his steam carriages would fly between that city and New York. Something of the same character was the proposal of S. T. Conn of Virginia, who, in 1824, announced to an incredulous world that he had "made an improvement in the application of steam," "which from its small dimensions and the concentration of power in the generator" gave certain assurance that he might "propel carriages on any turnpike or other road which has no uncommon obstruction." The construction of his generator was such, the water needed was of so small quantity and the fuel of such small amount that there was no danger from bursting boilers, while the inventor had "ascertained a method of guiding the carriage, which obviates the necessity of railways." It was the modestly expressed desire of Mr. Conn to establish a steam coach to run between Alexandria and Washington city or the last named place and Baltimore, and as his own funds were not "adequate to the undertaking," he invited the aid of "those who may be able and willing to engage in such an enterprise," to whom he stood ready to "give such explanations as may tend to remove every possible doubt of the practicability of the measure." Twelve hundred dollars was the sum needed, and Mr. Conn expressed himself as willing "to charge nothing for the invention," but "become a shareholder on the same terms as others." I find nothing on record to show that his plan was carried out.

In 1825 one writer for the American press admits that steam and steam highways may eventually hold their own against horse-power and the canal, in these cautious words: "The British people appear to have run wild with projects to invest their surplus capital. Any bubble is grasped at that affords a prospect of income. The great prevailing notion is that railroads, traveled by wagons, driven or dragged by steam power, is a cheaper and more expeditious mode of transporting commodities than by way of the canals, and it is probable that the experiment will be extensively tried during the present year. The very great profit which many of the canals have yielded pushed on this speculation, and, indeed, from what we see stated on the subject, it appears very probable that certain railroads might be made which would be as productive as most of the canals, if the facts stated about resistance, velocity, etc., are true."

The London *Courier* in October, 1829, relates the following as a remarkable result of an uncertain experiment with locomotive power:

"About a fortnight since, a number of experiments with the locomotive engines were performed at Killingworth, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by order of the committee of the Liverpool & Manchester railway. In the first instance, namely, on the eighteenth ult., the trials were made with an old and

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imperfect engine, the results of which gave a speed of not more than four miles an hour with moderate load. On the twenty-second ult., however, a superior engine, of eight horse-power being employed, the diameter of the wheels being four feet, five different trials of its power and speed were made. The weight moved, exclusive of the engine, was forty-eight tons fifteen hundredweight. The inclination of the road was 1 in 840—the greatest rise in any part 11 inches in 100 yards, 1 in 327. The engine and load being moved in both directions along this inclined plane, the total result may be considered as upon a horizontal plane. The average velocity was nearly seven miles an hour, and the greatest speed nine and one-half miles an hour. As these engines were not of the best construction for speed, no doubt can be entertained that, with proper engines, goods and merchandise may be conveyed with a very considerably increased velocity."

A somewhat grotesque argument was put forth at about this period by one genius, who figured out to his own satisfaction that the railroad once established, its cost would become so great that it would be eventually abandoned for the wagon road and canal. His argument ran along this line: To form a mile of single road 184 tons 16 cwts. of iron will be required, in the manufacture of which 747 tons 13 cwts. of coal will be used. To make all the roads then proposed would require 8,142,316 tons of coal, and to maintain them 2,363,606 tons annually. "Such a demand for coal," he solemnly continues, "must raise its price even at the outset, and it will increase rapidly every year until the price of steam will cause the charge for carriage to be raised to so high a rate as to make the existing channels of conveyance the cheapest." A more encouraging view was taken by the London Quarterly Review for March of the same year (1825), which advanced an extended argument in favor of the railroad as against the canal, accompanied by figures and arguments which no one but a canal enthusiast or capitalist would have undertaken to gainsay or oppose.

Yet there was opposition in abundance from the first in England, not only from natural British conservatism but from those whose personal interests were supposed to be placed in jeopardy by the new mode of conveyance. There were towns that, by a majority of their residents, or in their corporate capacities, petitioned that no railway or canal should be permitted to encroach upon their borders. The proprietors of stage-coaches and other carriers demanded that their means of livelihood should not be taken from them. "The medical faculty," relates one authority,* "were pressed into the service of the opposition, with direful forebodings as to the physical evils that would follow from traveling at the rate of thirty to forty miles an hour. Country squires set up a howl as to the devastation that railways would work on their fox-covers. Territorial magnates joined in the crusade on the ground that the sparks from the locomotives

* 'Railway Problems,' p. 7.

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would fire their plantations and destroy the amenities of their demesnes. Canal proprietors urged that they had already provided all the facilities necessary for heavy traffic, and that it would be grossly unjust to them to allow a rival interest to step in and deprive them of the fruits of their efforts and expenditure (employing, it will be noted, the very arguments used by others in opposition to their proposed artificial waterways). In some cases railway companies were forbidden to use any 'locomotive or movable engines' without the consent of the owners and occupiers of lands through which their line passed. Railway engineers and surveyors were not permitted to carry out their surveys without resorting to either force or strategy. Large sums of money were extorted for the purpose of buying off opposition. Many wiseacres pronounced that the system would, after all, prove a failure."

The New York *National Advocate* of May, 1825, was prepared to welcome with liberal appreciation the advent of the locomotive in America, expressing gratification that the subject was "attracting considerable inquiry throughout the country," and declaring that "we cannot doubt that the experiment will be soon tried, and if tried, we have every assurance of success."

It is among the recorded events of the year yet under consideration that one Matthew Broemark, a learned Danish mathematician, had concluded that England should not have all the advantages of steam, and setting himself to work, had invented a new steam-carriage, which could be easily guided and made to travel fourteen leagues per hour. The first experiment was attempted when at a point sixty leagues from Copenhagen. The carriage was loaded with passengers, and setting out at half-past eleven, arrived at the gates of the capital at a quarter to five. "This," commented a New York journal, "is traveling at a rapid rate, indeed, and would enable us with great ease to visit Philadelphia, transact business and return early in the evening —an improvement of great value and importance."

Suggestions of various sorts were heard in various quarters of the Union. In Harrisburgh it is gravely announced that, in order that the legislature of Pennsylvania might have a demonstration of the utility of railroads, one of a thousand yards was to be built on Capitol hill, while an engine was being constructed for exhibition thereon. In December, 1825, it was announced by the Albany newspapers that an application was to be made to the legislature of New York for the "incorporation of a company to construct a railway from Schenectady to the Hudson, at Albany and Troy," the object of the proposed line being "to present a means of transportation for the trade of the canal, which will avoid the delay and expense attending the passage of twenty-eight locks which occur between the Hudson and Schenectady"—a project of which we shall hear more anon. Commenting on the above proposal, the editor of the New York *Statesman* writes to his paper in February, 1826:

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"There is no doubt in my mind that a railway from Albany to Schenectady, with steam-carriages, would be found both useful and profitable to a company who might construct it. So many elaborate descriptions of railways have been published in the English papers, and some of them transferred into our own, that it would be a waste of time and paper to enter into detail. If any of our enterprising citizens are, however, disposed to introduce the improvement in the United States, it will afford me great pleasure to execute any commands, with no other remuneration than the satisfaction of a ride after the work is completed." The same newspaper, on May 12, announces that "Mr. Stevens" had "at length put his steam-carriage in motion"—causing it to travel around "the circle at the Hoboken hotel at the rate of about six miles an hour." "The circle of the curve is very rank," continued the account, "more so than can possibly be required in pursuing the route of a road. This great deviation from a straight line gives rise to an enormous friction, the greater part of which, however, Mr. Stevens has contrived to obviate. His engine and carriage weigh less than a ton, whereas those now in England weigh from eight to ten tons. The original intention was to give the carriage a motion of sixteen or twenty miles an hour; but he has deemed it more prudent to move in the first instance with a moderate velocity, which renders it impracticable to move fast."

A SAMPLE PROJECT.

As illustrating the mechanical, geographical and economic discussion which this growing question now received—but not, it must be understood, as standing prior in date to other measures—and as representing like discussions elsewhere of like projects, attention will be briefly called to a meeting held in Baltimore* on February 12, 1827, at which the question of an improved method of reaching the west was considered. A committee was appointed to investigate more fully and report at an adjourned meeting to be held on the nineteenth.

At that gathering their report was presented, which embraced the reasoning of various railroad advocates, accompanied by some estimates of the cost of building such road from Baltimore to the Ohio river, and the volume of trade which might be drawn to the support of such project if once completed. As a result of that meeting a charter was obtained from Maryland for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company, with a capital of five millions, in shares of a hundred dollars each. The stock was at once subscribed by the state, the city of Baltimore and individuals.

So much for the facts. Now to the conclusions which were drawn by the Review writer thereon—favorable in the main, but cautious, as became a re-

* "Proceedings of Sundry Citizens of Baltimore, Convened for the Purpose of Devising the Most Efficient Means of Improving the Intercourse Between that City and the Western States." North American Review, Vol. XXV., p. 62, July, 1827.

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viewer who could not afford to be proved a false prophet: "Little known as railroads are in America," said he, "and their more extended use not yet fully proved in England, the scheme is certainly a bold one, of constructing a road of this sort, not less than two hundred and fifty miles in length, and surmounting an elevation of three thousand feet. . . . Whether its achievement be within the means of the projectors, or practicable at all, at any moderate cost, we have too little knowledge either of the subject of railroads in general, or of the country through which the projected one is to pass, to hazard more than an opinion, and that, we confess, is favorable. . . In counting the cost of such an enterprise as that which the people of Baltimore have embarked in, it is but fair in the computation, to oppose the magnitude of the results to that of the attempt, as the adventurousness of the latter is proportionally justified by the benefits of the former. In this view the zeal exhibited by Baltimore on this subject is no more than we should expect from a rational enterprise. . . After witnessing the many triumphs of science in the present age, we confess we are more inclined to confide in speculations reasonable in themselves, and to hope that railroads may add as largely to the facilities of commerce as canals have done before them."

With this patriotic and modest wish, we can properly close this branch of the subject.

My discussion of the subject under treatment has been, so far, preparatory —a showing of the slow and careful processes by which the American railroad was compelled to introduce itself; of the difficulties in its way; the assurances of success demanded of it before it was allowed to make the trial; of the prophecies of those regarded as visionary dreamers, and of the concessions and aid of capital as at last given. The foundation thus laid, we are now ready to look at the first roads, by which the dreams of the inventors became the actualities of practical commercial fact.

J. H. KENNEDY.

[*To be continued.*]

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HISTORY OF OHIO.

XV.

THE QUEBEC ACT.—LORD DUNMORE'S WAR.

WHEN, on the twenty-sixth day of February, 1773, the county of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, was established out of Bedford county, in the southwestern portion of that province, it was because emigration had continued to flow with even increased force, since its commencement in 1767, into the trans-Alleghany country, striking, as we have seen, the Ohio and moving down the left bank of that river. The limits of Westmoreland on the south and west were the limits of Pennsylvania, but these had not been determined, and there was, as before intimated, a controversy with Virginia concerning this unrun boundary, made doubly offensive to the province last named because of the seeming determination of the other claimant to extend complete civil jurisdiction over the disputed territory.

It was as early as the first day of November, 1738, that Virginia erected into a separate and distinct county, called Augusta, "all that territory and tract of land at present deemed to be a part of the county of Orange, lying on the northwest side of the top of the said mountains [Blue Ridge], extending from thence northerly, westerly and southerly, beyond the said mountains, to the utmost limits of Virginia, [and that it should] be separated from the rest of the said county [of Orange] and erected into two distinct counties and parishes, to be divided by a line to be run from the head spring at Hedgman river to the head spring of the River Potomack. And that all that part of the said territory lying to the northeast of the said line, beyond the top of the said Blue Ridge, shall be one distinct county and parish to be called by the name of the county of Frederick and parish of Frederick, and that the rest of the said territory lying on the other side of the said line, beyond the top of the said Blue Ridge, shall be one other distinct county and parish, to be called by the name of the county of Augusta and parish of Augusta."

But what were the "utmost limits of Virginia" as claimed by that province to the westward and northwestward? It is sufficient to say that they extended to the Mississippi and the great lakes. In fact, according to Virginia, a large part of what had been made Westmoreland county was, including Pittsburgh, in the county of that province, in existence and still known as "Augusta" at the beginning of 1773. Construct-

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ively, then, according to Virginia's claim, all of what is now the state of Ohio became first a part of Orange county, Virginia, and subsequently, as just shown, a portion of Augusta county. And it so remained until 1774 and, we may say, for some time thereafter.

Manifestly, Virginia could have no greater claim to the region northwest of the Ohio than what had been given the province in its charters previously granted by the crown; and should parliament see fit to curtail this claim—abrogate these grants to any extent—what recourse had that province? Certainly none but to take up arms in defense of her supposed rights. But there were other claimants to greater or less portions of the territory just spoken of; these were the provinces of New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts. Now, as we shall presently see, parliament did, in effect, exercise, in a few months after the ushering in of 1774, such a prerogative as the one suggested against all the provinces just mentioned. The cause for this it is pertinent at this time to inquire into briefly.

Under the proclamation of the English king, in 1763, issued immediately after the treaty of Paris, all the territory which was afterward known as "Lower Canada" was formed into a new government, known as the province of Quebec. Westward of this there was no law or government except under military control. But this did in no wise affect the region now constituting the state of Ohio, as there were no white people resident therein.

However, early in 1774, there was almost a certainty that such would not long be the case unless something was done to prevent it, as emigration was already looking with longing eyes for good land beyond the "Beautiful river." Now there had already arisen a sufficient cause (as deemed by the government of Great Britain and parliament) to justify the passage of an act which would prevent settlements northwest of the Ohio by inhabitants from any of the thirteen colonies: it was the growing spirit of liberty they clearly manifested in their resistance to aggressive measures of the mother country. To conciliate, therefore, that part of Canada which had a considerable population, so that the inhabitants would not join with the other provinces in resisting the demands of the king and parliament, a law was passed in June, 1774, known as the "Quebec Act," whereby the province of Quebec was enlarged to such dimensions as would embrace all the French settlements upon the upper lakes and the Mississippi river. At the same time it was so worded as to practically exclude those of the English race from settling beyond the Ohio.

The act defined the limits of the province of Quebec to be "all the territories, islands and countries in North America belonging to the crown of Great Britain, bounded on the south by a line from the Bay of Chaleurs along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea, to a point in forty-five

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degrees of north latitude, on the eastern bank of the River Connecticut; keeping the same latitude directly west through the Lake Champlain until, in the same latitude, it meets the River St. Lawrence; from thence up the eastern bank of the said river to the Lake Ontario and the river called the Niagara, and thence along by the eastern and southeastern bank of Lake Erie, following the said lake until the same shall be intersected by the northern boundary, granted by the charter of the province of Pennsylvania, in case the same shall be so intersected; and from thence along the said northern and western boundaries of the said province until the said western boundary [of Pennsylvania] strike the Ohio; but in case the said bank of the said lake shall not be found to be so intersected, then following the said bank until it shall arrive at that point of the said bank which shall be nearest to the northwest angle of the said province of Pennsylvania; and thence by a right line to the said northwestern angle of the said province until it strike the River Ohio, and along the bank of the said river westward to the banks of the Mississippi and northward to the southern boundary [along the said river evidently] to the southern boundary of the territory granted to the Merchants' Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's bay. . . . Provided, always, that nothing herein contained relative to the boundary of the province of Quebec shall in any wise affect the boundaries of any other colonies."

This act deprived Englishmen of the benefits of English law, both civil and criminal. It was this which would, of course, prevent (as was intended) emigration from the other provinces into the territory northwest of the Ohio; at the same time, to the French Canadians it was acceptable. When, therefore, two years after its passage, the framers of the Declaration of Independence declared it to be an act "for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and a fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies," they said what was true to the letter. And more: the proviso of the act "that nothing therein contained relative to the boundary of the province of Quebec" should "in any wise affect the boundaries of any other colonies," the provinces which laid claim to territory in the west could plainly see was a delusion and a snare; as the government had only to declare all such claims void and there would be no remedy; besides, who was to decide between the conflicting claims?

The borderers, then, who in limited numbers had settled upon the left bank of the Ohio, had only that river between them and the province of Quebec; all the northwest was in the same province; and the whole of the present state of Ohio was, of course, within its boundaries, subject only to the arbitrament of war to determine whether this region was to so remain permanently; which conflict, it was but

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too evident, would surely come, unless the king and parliament desisted from their oppressive acts.

It has already been shown that, notwithstanding the king of England's proclamation of 1763, prohibiting colonial governors from granting warrants for lands to the westward of the sources of the rivers running into the Atlantic and forbidding all persons purchasing such lands or settling on them without special license from the crown, emigration four years thereafter broke through the barriers of the Alleghanies, rolling into the Valley of the Ohio from that time forward with a resistless tide; so that the purpose of royalty in limiting settlements to the east side of the mountains—whether to set bounds to the aspirations of the colonies or a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians, or both—was signally frustrated. Emigrants to the Ohio valley were, generally, either such as came to secure fertile and cheap lands, or they were traders with the Indians. The former class was looked upon by the various tribes inhabiting the country now constituting the state of Ohio, especially by the Shawanese and Mingoes, as trespassers, as they claimed the whole region; and it was the policy of the home government, and Pennsylvania as well, so to treat them. Those who came to cultivate the soil were, in the immediate vicinity of the Ohio river, largely Virginians, but the traders with the Indians were mostly Pennsylvanians.

Probably not less than fifty houses constituted the town of Pittsburgh at the beginning of 1774. As claimed by Pennsylvania, it was in Westmoreland county, in that province; but in Augusta county, Virginia, as claimed by the latter. This conflict, at the date last mentioned, over the southwestern part of what is now Pennsylvania, was producing serious results. The line between the two provinces had not been run further west than the Monongahela river, and it was not until ten years subsequent to this date that it was finally completed. The county-seat of Westmoreland was Hannastown, about thirty-five miles east of Pittsburgh, on Forbes' road, where (and at Ligonier, still further eastward) Pennsylvania interests were paramount. In many of the other settlements the citizens were largely in sympathy with Virginia, in this boundary dispute. Across the Ohio, in the Indian country, the influence of the fur-traders was the leading one with the various tribes. And these dealers (as we have said, were mostly Pennsylvanians) dreaded above all things an Indian war. Most of them lived in the northern settlements, especially at or near Pittsburgh—the principal depot in the Ohio valley for Indian supplies. Pennsylvanians, then, were everywhere looked upon by the savages to the westward as friends; but Virginians, on the whole, were not in favor with the Indians, particularly with the Mingoes and Shawanese, and for causes soon to be related.

In 1774 the Virginia county of Fincastle, which had been erected out of a portion of Augusta, included, south and southwest of the county last named,

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the lower portions of the valley of the Great Kanawha and extended westward so as to comprehend the whole of the present state of Kentucky, but it included no territory northwest of the Ohio. All, however, of this portion of Fincastle was then uninhabited by white people; it was only that part of the county lying eastward of this that had, to any extent, become settled.

So much of Fincastle county as lay to the westward of the Cumberland mountains was, to some extent, explored as early as 1750 by Thomas Walker and a log hut erected by him on the soil of what is now the state of Kentucky—the first structure, which may be dignified as a house, ever erected by white men within the present limits of that commonwealth, so far as is known to history. Other explorations followed in the Kentucky region, notably one by Daniel Boone in 1769 and another the next year by the "Long Hunters."

Pressing on into the uncultivated country down the Ohio, far in advance of *bona fide* settlers, were the land-surveyors, largely employed by the "land jobbers," of whom mention has already been made. In August, 1773, Dr. John Connolly had two thousand acres at the Falls of the Ohio (now Louisville) surveyed. The work thus going forward in the interests largely of the land-speculators was, however, just then brought to a sudden close. The occasion for this abrupt suspension of claiming lands by the Virginians in the fertile country down the Ohio, on the southeast and south side of that river (no surveys had been made on the northeast or north side of the stream), will now be narrated.

As early as the twenty-seventh of January of the year last mentioned, William Preston, surveyor of Fincastle county, gave public notice to the gentlemen, officers and soldiers who claimed land under his majesty's proclamation of the seventh of October, 1763, who had obtained warrants from his excellency, the right honorable the Earl of Dunmore, then governor of Virginia, directed to the surveyor of Fincastle county, and who intended to locate their land on or near the Ohio below the mouth of the Great Kanawha, that several assistant surveyors would attend at the mouth of the last mentioned river on Thursday, the fourteenth of April following, to survey for such only as had or might obtain his lordship's warrant for that purpose. Preston also requested that claimants or their agents would be very punctual in meeting at the time and place suggested, properly provided with chain-carriers and other necessaries to proceed on the business without delay.

But the Fincastle county surveyor also gave notice that several gentlemen acquainted with the country below the mouth of the Great Kanawha were of the opinion that, to prevent insults in that part of the country from strolling parties of Indians, there ought to be at least fifty men on the Ohio, in the region mentioned, to attend to the business as the gentlemen present might judge most proper, until it was done, or the season prevent them from surveying any more. Evidently there was cause

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for apprehending trouble with the savages, or Preston would not have given such notice to the public. The truth was, the treaty of peace made by Bouquet with the Shawanese and Mingoes had not been, by any means, cordially acquiesced in by these savages. There had been, in fact, during the whole time from 1764 to 1774, rather of a nominal than actual peace upon the western border; for murders had been frequent —committed sometimes by the savages and at other times by the whites. But it is certain the savages were almost always the aggressors.* Neither side was prepared by a continuous forbearance to avoid a conflict which, sooner or later, would be brought on between them; and especially was it now evident that hostilities could not long be postponed when the presence of surveyors down the Ohio made it evident to the Shawanese that their favorite hunting-grounds south of that river would soon be settled by the whites, unless resistance was made to the encroachment. Besides, it was seen by them that emigrants were actually on their way to the Ohio, destined for that region. Particulars of the movement of this advance guard of borderers are, in this connection, of especial importance.

In 1773 a number of persons having heard of explorations and surveys being made in what is now Kentucky, determined to settle in that region, their purpose being to move down the Ohio the next spring. The mouth of the Little Kanawha was designated as the place of general rendezvous, in order to descend the river in a body. Early, therefore, in 1774 some eighty or ninety men assembled there; more would have gone to the appointed place of meeting, but reports of the Indians having done some mischief, and that there was a hostile spirit manifested by the savages in their towns, deterred them. One of the number of those who met at the rendezvous was George Rogers Clark. The whole body lay there some days. "A party of hunters," says Clark, "which lay about ten miles below us, were fired on by the Indians, whom the hunters beat off and returned to our camp. This, and many other circumstances, led us to believe that the Indians were determined to make war. The whole of our party was exasperated and resolved not to be disappointed in their project of forming a settlement in Kentucky, as we had every necessary store that could be thought of."

"An Indian town," continues Clark, "called 'Horsehead Bottom,' on the Scioto and [the one] nearest its mouth, lay most in our way, [so] we resolved to cross the country and surprise it. Who was to command [us] was the question. There were but few among us who had [had] experience in Indian warfare and they were such as we did not choose to be commanded by. We knew of Captain [Michael] Cresap being on the [Ohio] river, about fifteen miles above us, with some hands, settling a new plantation and intending

* Compare 'Tah-gah-jute; or Logan and Cresap,' by Brantz Mayer, pp. 68, 71–73. Bancroft's 'History of the United States' (final edition), Vol. IV., p. 420. 'Washington-Crawford Letters,' p. 86.

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to follow us to Kentucky as soon as he had fixed his people. We also knew that he had had experience in a former war. It was proposed and unanimously agreed on to send for him to command the party. A messenger was dispatched and in half an hour returned with Cresap. He had heard of our resolution by some of his hunters who had fallen in with those from our camp, and had set out to come to us. We now thought our little army (as we called it) complete and the destruction of the Indian town inevitable.

"A council was called," Clark further narrates, "and to our astonishment, our intended general was the person who dissuaded us from the enterprise, alleging that appearances were suspicious, but that there was no certainty of war; that if we made the attempt proposed he had no doubt of success, but that a war, at any rate, would be the result; that we should be blamed for it and perhaps justly, but that if we were determined to execute the plan, he would lay aside all considerations, send for his people and share our fortunes. He was then asked what measure he would recommend to us; his answer was that we should return to Wheeling, a convenient post to obtain intelligence of what was going forward; that a few weeks would determine the matter, and, as it was early in the spring, if we should find that the Indians were not hostilely disposed, we would have full time to prosecute our intended settlements in Kentucky. This measure was adopted. In two hours the whole party was under way. As we ascended the river, we met Killbuck, an Indian chief (Delaware), with a small party. We had a long conference, but obtained little satisfaction from him." . . .

"On our arrival at Wheeling," adds Clark, "the whole country being pretty well settled thereabouts, the inhabitants appeared to be much alarmed, and fled to our camp from every direction. We offered to cover their neighborhood with scouts until we could obtain further information, if they would return to their plantations, but nothing we could say would prevail. By this time we got to be a formidable party, as all the hunters and men without families, etc., in that quarter, joined us."*

And there, for the time being, we will leave the "little army," to consider other facts connected with the alarming condition of affairs on the Ohio at this period.

Fort Pitt, at Pittsburgh, had been abandoned for two years previous and partly demolished, but was now once more occupied—not by British regulars but by Virginia militia, under the command of Dr. Connolly (already mentioned), now commissioned as captain, to enforce there and in the vicinity the laws of that province, the result of the dispute as to jurisdiction between Pennsylvania and Virginia over that region, caused by the boundary line between the two provinces, not having been settled and run, as previously explained. Fort Pitt was somewhat repaired and its name changed to Fort Dunmore in honor of the then governor of Virginia;

* Clark to Dr. Samuel Brown, June 17, 1798.

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but Pennsylvanians adhered to the original name.

"Pittsburgh, and the country as far up the Monongahela as Redstone Old Fort, formed," says Bancroft, "the rallying point for western emigration and Indian trade. It was a part of the county of Westmoreland in Pennsylvania. Suddenly, and without proper notice to the council of that province, Dunmore extended his own jurisdiction over the tempting and well-peopled region. He found a willing instrument in one John Connolly, a native of Pennsylvania, a physician, land-jobber and subservient political intriguer, who had traveled much in the Ohio valley, both by water and land. Commissioned by Dunmore as captain commandant for Pittsburgh and its dependencies—that is to say, of all the western country—Connolly opened the year 1774 with a proclamation of his authority; and he directed a muster of the militia."*

At this period "no royal governor showed more rapacity in the use of official power than Lord Dunmore. He had reluctantly left New York, where, during his short career, he had acquired fifty thousand acres of land, and, himself acting as chancelor, was preparing to decide in his own court, in his own favor, a large and unfounded claim which he had preferred against the lieutenant-governor. Upon entering on the government of Virginia, his passion for land and fees outweighing the proclamation of the king and reiterated and most positive instructions from the secretary of state, he advocated the claims of the colony to the west and was himself a partner in two immense purchases of land from the Indians in southern Illinois. In 1773 his agents, the Bullets, made surveys at the Falls of the Ohio; and a part of Louisville and of the towns opposite Cincinnati are now held under his warrant. The area of the ancient dominion expanded with his cupidity." †

Being among the foremost, then, of the Virginia land-jobbers, it was but natural that Dunmore should take alarm immediately upon learning of the seeming determination of the Shawanese to prevent surveyors and emigrants from going down the Ohio. And his greed for land overshadowed his animosity toward those of the Virginians who were then making it troublesome for him because of their love of liberty.

As early as the twenty-fourth of March, 1774, there was a letter published, addressed to the governor, warning him of an Indian war and beseeching him to convoke the house of burgesses in order to raise men and means for the defense of the frontiers.‡ But he did not need urging to take some kind of action, for the reason just mentioned. In a month and a day from that publication he issued a proclamation not only as to the boundary troubles with Pennsylvania but also as to the annoyance from Indians. He declared that, inasmuch as there was

* 'History of the United States' (final edition), Vol. IV., pp. 418, 419.

† Bancroft's 'History of the United States' (final edition), Vol. IV., p. 418.

‡ 'American Archives,' Fourth Series, Vol. I., p. 283.

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trouble within his jurisdiction at Pittsburgh, and the authorities in that place and its dependencies would endeavor to obstruct his majesty's government thereof by illegal means, and inasmuch as that settlement was in danger of annoyance from Indians also, he thought proper, with the advice and consent of his majesty's council, to require and authorize the militia officers of that district to embody a sufficient number of men to repel any assault whatever.*

"Dr. Connolly," says Clark, "hearing of us sent a message addressed to the party [then, it will be remembered, at Wheeling], informing us that a war was to be apprehended, and requesting that we would keep our position for a few days; that messengers had been sent to the Indian towns whose return he daily expected, and the doubt respecting the war with the Indians would then be cleared up. The answer we returned was that we had no inclination to decamp for some time, and during our stay we should be careful that the enemy did not harass the neighborhood. But before this answer could reach Pittsburgh he had sent [on the twenty-first of April] a second express [this one] addressed to Captain Cresap, as the most influential man amongst us, informing him that the messengers had returned from the Indian towns and that a war was inevitable, and begged him to use his influence with the party to get them to cover the country until the inhabitants could fortify themselves."

"The time of the reception of this letter," continues Clark, "was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. The war-post was planted, a council called, the letter read and the ceremonies used by the Indians on so important an occasion acted. War was formally declared. The same evening two scalps were brought into camp. The following day, some canoes of Indians were discovered descending the river, taking the advantage of an island to cover themselves from our view. They were chased by our men fifteen miles down the river. They were forced ashore and a battle ensued. A few were wounded on both sides, and we got one scalp only. On examining their canoes we found a considerable quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores."†

The party soon after decamped and took the road to Redstone, now Brownsville, Fayette county, Pennsylvania. Two days after this—that is to say, on the thirtieth of April—Daniel Greathouse and others fell on some savages opposite the mouth of Yellow creek, a tributary of the Ohio flowing into that stream on the right, fifty-five miles, by course of the river, below Pittsburgh. Ten were killed and scalped and a child about two months old taken and given to a white woman.

*American Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. I., p. 283.

† Clark to Brown already cited. The letter of Connolly to Cresap was written April 21, 1774. It is very evident that the responsibility of the beginning of "open hostilities with the Indians" rests with that officer acting under the proclamation of Dunmore, in so far as the first organized effort is concerned on part of the Virginians.

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This occurrence took place on the thirtieth. It was then that Logan,* a Mingo chief, lost his relatives—mother, brother and sister. The child taken was Logan's niece. Thus far, all acts of hostility on the part of the borderers were committed by Virginians.

Nine days after, a resident upon the Youghiogheny river wrote George Washington that the inhabitants of his region were much alarmed, "many hundreds having gone over the mountains." At this date, a council was being held at Pittsburgh with several chiefs of the Delawares and a deputy of the Six Nations, also with eight others of the Seneca tribe. These savages gave the Pennsylvanians the strongest assurance that they wished for nothing more than to continue in peace with Pennsylvania. But the wrath of Logan was kindled, as might be expected, against the Virginians and could not be assuaged with words. "I am now setting out for Fort Pitt," are the further words of the writer just referred to, "at the head of one hundred men. Many others are to meet me there and at Wheeling, where we shall wait the motions of the Indians [Mingoes and Shawanese] and shall act accordingly." This leader of backwoodsmen was William Crawford (of whom more will hereafter be said), who had accepted a captain's commission. "We are," continues Crawford, "in great want of some proper person to direct us, who may have command, Mr. Connolly, who now commands, having incurred the displeasure of the people. He is unable to take command for two reasons: one is, the contradiction between us [Virginians] and the Pennsylvanians, [concerning the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia]; and the other, that he carries matters too much in a military way and is not able to go through with it. I have some hopes that we may still have matters settled with the Indians upon a method properly adopted for that purpose." Captain Crawford took a scouting party down the Ohio as far as Grave creek, but saw no Indians.

Early in June Logan, with a few Mingoes and Shawanese, began his work of death on Dunkard's creek, about ten miles from the mouth of Cheat river, on the west side of the Monongahela. Seven persons were killed and three missing. The savages were from Wakatomica, an Indian town on the Muskingum, near the present Dresden, Muskingum county, Ohio. "Our whole country is in forts," wrote Crawford on the eighth of the month, "of those left; but the major part is gone over the mountains."

But the depredations of the Mingoes and Shawanese under Logan had been anticipated by the Virginians, and frequent expresses reached Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, entreating assistance from Lord Dunmore, the governor. The latter, "following an intimation from the assembly in May,

* In Brantz Mayer's book on Logan and Cresap, a letter is cited by the author written to him by Lyman C. Draper, in which the latter says: "The aged Seneca, Captain Decker, told me that Logan's Indian name was Tah-gah-jute, or Short Dress." But Draper was misinformed by "the aged Seneca." It was not his Indian name at all.

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ordered the militia of the frontier counties to be imbodied for defence."

And now to return to the irate Logan. By the last of June he and his warriors had taken sixteen scalps in all, and the wrath of that chief was somewhat appeased for the killing of his relatives opposite the mouth of Yellow creek by the Virginians, but he soon appeared again upon the war-path.*

The Pennsylvanians were, from the beginning, utterly opposed to the taking up arms against the savages. It was, of course, to the interest of all those who were traders to oppose it; besides, hatred of the Virginians in the west added to this opposition. Messengers were dispatched to the Shawanese and Delawares by them with the assurance that "the outrages which had been committed" had not the countenance of that province. Wherever their traders could be notified, they were urged at once to return from the wilderness. As a consequence, but very few suffered.

At Pittsburgh Connolly planned the building of a stockade fort at the mouth of Wheeling creek, also one at the mouth of the Hockhocking, down the Ohio, intending to "send parties at the same time against the Shawanese towns," some of which were upon the Muskingum, others upon the Scioto, as already intimated. The expedition was approved by Lord Dunmore, who, in July, sent Major Angus McDonald over the mountains with a considerable force of Virginia militia, which, when embodied with those already raised in the west, amounted to seven hundred men. McDonald went down to Wheeling from Pittsburgh in order to take command, as there the whole force was gathered. A stockade fort ("Fort Fincastle," as it was called) was there erected under the joint direction of Major McDonald and Captain Crawford.

On the twenty-sixth of July about four hundred men having left Wheeling, arrived at the mouth of Fish creek, on the east side of the Ohio, twenty-four miles below. Here they determined to move against the Shawanese villages upon the Muskingum, in what is now Muskingum county, Ohio. The men were led by Major McDonald. Captain Crawford remained at Wheeling. The expedition proved successful. Wakatomica and other Shawanese villages were destroyed and considerable plunder secured. This was the first effective blow struck by Virginia troops in Lord Dunmore's war.

While these events were occurring on the Ohio, Lord Dunmore, "to restrain the backwoodsmen and end the miseries which distracted the frontier and to look after his own interests and his agents'," had, "with the hearty approbation of the colony, called out the militia of the southwest," and was himself marching towards Pittsburgh. He left

* "With chosen companions he [Logan] went out upon the war-path and added scalp to scalp, till the number was also thirteen [the historian having previously informed the reader that 'thirteen Indians were killed between the twenty-first of April and the end of the month']. 'Now,' said the chief, 'I am satisfied for the loss of my relations, and will sit still.'"—Bancroft's 'History of the United States' (final edition), Vol. IV., pp. 421, 422. But the fact is, as stated in the text, that he killed more than thirteen, and he did not long "sit still."

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Williamsburg on the tenth of July, Fredericksburg on the fifteenth, and Winchester some days later. Here he remained for some time, to get in order as many men as possible for service against the savages. Such as were raised in the counties of Frederick, Berkeley and Dunmore were put under command of Adam Stephen as colonel. About the end of August they marched for Pittsburgh, accompanied by his lordship.

It was by no means the intention of Lord Dunmore to assail the Indians beyond the Ohio (if it came to that) with his own force alone. He would have another body of militia march to the Ohio to coöperate with him. As early as the tenth of June he had authorized Colonel Andrew Lewis to march an army (to be raised in the southern counties) down the Great Kanawha river, erect a fort at its confluence with the Ohio, and then, if thought proper, attack the enemy in their towns. Settlers from the Greenbrier, the New river and the Holston, even from Watauga, assembled at "Camp Union," on the Great Levels of Greenbrier, and put themselves under the command of Lewis to swell his army for the march down the river to the Ohio, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles. With a force of about eleven hundred men, when all had joined his standard, either at the place of rendezvous (now Lewisburg) or while on the march, Colonel Lewis descended the Great Kanawha to its mouth.

But to return to Lord Dunmore. Upon his lordship's reaching Pittsburgh, in September, he succeeded in getting together a few individuals of the different nations of Indians living immediately beyond the Ohio—"some of the defiant ones"—to have a "talk." They promised to meet him at the mouth of the Hockhocking, below the mouth of the Little Kanawha, to "accommodate a peace." Dunmore had now under his immediate command about twelve hundred men; this included all the militia brought by him over the mountains, also those previously there under the command of Major McDonald, as well as those raised in the settlements "upon the western waters." The whole left Pittsburgh the last of September, seven hundred by water with his lordship and five hundred by land under command of Crawford, who had now been promoted to major. The latter, upon the arrival of the army at Wheeling, on the last day of the month, was immediately sent with his men, having in charge fifty pack-horses and two hundred bullocks, to meet Colonel Lewis at the mouth of the Hockhocking, an express having been sent to the mouth of the Great Kanawha with orders to that officer to march at once up the Ohio to the appointed place of meeting with his army, it being taken for granted by his lordship that Lewis had reached the Ohio. Dunmore was to follow Crawford in a few days.

Major Crawford, with his five hundred men, reached his destination in safety, crossing the Ohio and commencing at the mouth of the Hockhocking a fortification. His lordship arrived in

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time to assist in its construction. It was named Fort Gower. The savages who at "Fort Dunmore" promised to meet the governor down the Ohio with additional members of their respected tribes failed to arrive. Only two chiefs made their appearance and both these were Delawares. But that nation, it was well understood, was not hostile; so no treaty could be made with the enemy at Fort Gower. "The day after" [that is, after his arrival at the mouth of the Hockhocking], wrote Dunmore, "some of our friends, the Delawares, arrived according to their promise; but they brought us the disagreeable information that the Shawanese would listen to no terms and were resolved to prosecute their designs against the people of Virginia." "The Delawares," continues his lordship, "notwithstanding, remained steady in their attachment, and their chief, Captain White Eyes, offered me the assistance of himself and whole tribe; but apprehending evil effects from the jealousy of and natural dislike in our people to all Indians, I accepted only of him and two or three others, and I received great service from the faithfulness, the firmness and remarkable good understanding of White Eyes."*

As the express sent by the governor to the mouth of the Great Kanawha reached there in advance of Lewis' army and immediately returned, his lordship was ignorant, at this juncture, as to whether the colonel had reached the Ohio or not; so another express was dispatched, which, on the eighth of October, found him at Point Pleasant (at the mouth of the Great Kanawha), where he had arrived two days previous. But it was impossible for him to move up the Ohio, as ordered, to meet Dunmore, on account of the non-arrival of supplies and ammunition and a portion of his troops. And these facts were notified to his lordship by the return express. However, scouts had already been sent up the river by Lewis to the governor, reaching the latter before the last express sent out had got back, giving him the same information.

Lord Dunmore was unwilling to wait for Lewis, as the delay would much increase the expense, already very heavy, and because, from the accounts he had of the number of the enemy, he judged his own force was sufficient to defeat them and destroy their towns, in case they should refuse the offers of peace which he would make them; so he immediately sent orders to Lewis to cross the Ohio, march toward the Scioto and meet him at a certain place which he designated. His lordship thereupon put his own division in motion from Fort Gower for the same destination, which was not far away from the Shawanese towns. On his march one of his detached parties encountered a body of Indians lying in ambush, of whom they killed not less than six and took sixteen prisoners. After reaching the place appointed for the meeting of Lewis' division and his own, the governor learned that the Shawanese towns were deserted and that the main body

* Dunmore to Dartmouth, from Williamsburgh, Virginia, December 24, 1774, in MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. I., p. 457 (March, 1885).

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of the enemy, to the number of nearly five hundred, had some time before gone off towards the Ohio. Just then he received intelligence that the Indians had crossed the river near the mouth of the Great Kanawha with design of attacking the corps of Lewis. Following this was the arrival of a courier from the latter, giving an account of a battle having been fought between his force and the savages on the tenth.

Two men discovered the enemy at daylight on that day. One of the two was shot down; the other reached the camp of Lewis with the intelligence of the presence of the enemy. Colonel Lewis being informed of the advance of the enemy to within half a mile of his camp, ordered out, just as the sun was rising, three hundred men in two divisions, who, upon their approach, were immediately attacked by the Indians and a very warm engagement ensued. The commander found it necessary to reinforce the divisions first sent out, which (without the main body of the corps having engaged) obliged the savages to retire after an action which lasted till about one o'clock in the afternoon and a little skirmishing till night, under the favor of which, the Indians recrossed the Ohio and escaped. Colonel Lewis lost, on his side, besides his brother and two other colonels of militia, forty-six men killed and about eighty wounded. The loss of the Indians, by their accounts, amounted to about thirty killed and some wounded. "This battle," says Bancroft, "was the most bloody and best contested in the annals of forest warfare." The enemy was commanded by a Shawanese chief named Cornstalk, whose bravery throughout the action was most heroic.

"The event of this action," says Lord Dunmore, "proving very different from what the Indians had promised themselves, they at once resolved to make no further efforts against a power they saw so far superior to theirs, but determined to throw themselves upon our mercy; and with the greatest expedition, they came in search of the body with which they knew I marched, and found me near their own town the day after I got there." "They presently made known their intentions," continues the governor, "and I admitted them to a conference, wherein all our differences were settled."*

But before this was brought about, Colonel Lewis, whose corps after the battle of the tenth was reinforced by three hundred men from Fincastle, having crossed the Ohio on the seventeenth, and, in accordance with Dunmore's orders, having taken up his line of march for the Scioto to join his lordship, reached the governor on the twenty-fourth, breathing revenge against the savages. This was an element Dunmore found difficult to control during his further negotiations with the Indians; but no orders were intentionally disobeyed by Lewis, who was commanded to return to Point Pleasant.

The terms of reconciliation were completed at "Camp Charlotte," in what

* MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. I., p. 457 (March, 1885).

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is now Pickaway county, Ohio, and were, briefly, that the enemy should deliver up all prisoners without reserve; that they should restore all horses and other valuable effects which they had carried off; that they should not hunt on the Virginia side of the Ohio, nor molest any boats passing thereupon; that they should agree to such regulations for their trade with the Virginians as should be afterward dictated by the king's instructions, and that they should deliver into his lordship's hands certain hostages to be kept by Virginia until the authorities were convinced of the sincere intentions of the Indians to adhere to all the articles of the peace. "The Indians," wrote Dunmore, "finding, contrary to their expectations, no punishment likely to follow, agreed to everything with the greatest alacrity and gave the most solemn assurance of their quiet and peaceable deportment in the future; and in return I gave them every promise of protection and good treatment on our side."*

The Mingoes did not like the conditions of the treaty and had a mind to steal off (intending to take their prisoners with them and all their stolen horses) from their towns, in what is now Franklin county, Ohio; but Logan, their chief, who was not far away from "Camp Charlotte," disdained to flee, sending in his speech of submission, which has made his name immortal. He would not turn on his heel to save his life, was his declaration. Dunmore, having discovered the intentions of the Mingoes, sent Major Crawford, in the night, with a detachment against their towns, where now is located Columbus, Ohio, at which place it was understood the whole of those savages were to rendezvous the next day and start for the lakes to the northward. The result was that six of the Mingoes were killed, several wounded and fourteen taken prisoners. Two white captives were rescued. Crawford had only one man wounded. This effectually broke up the intended migration of the recalcitrant savages to avoid the terms of the treaty.

Colonel Lewis started on his return to Point Pleasant on the twenty-fifth, reaching that place on the twenty-eighth. Dunmore marched some days after with his corps and Indian hostages, halting his division at Fort Gower on the fifth of November. Here his officers, before crossing the Ohio, called a meeting and took into consideration the grievances of the colonies with the mother country, or, as they said, "the grievances of British North America." An officer present addressed the meeting in forcible and patriotic language. "Having now," said he, "concluded the campaign, by assistance of providence, with honor and advantage to the colony and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our country the strongest assurance that we are ready at all times to the utmost of our power to maintain her just rights and privileges." "We have lived," continued the speaker, "about three months in the woods, without any intelligence from Boston or from the delegates at Phila-

* MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, Vol. I., p. 457 (March, 1885).

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delphia. It is possible, from the groundless reports of designing men, that our countrymen may be jealous of the use such a body would make of the arms in their hands, at this critical juncture. That we are a respectable body is certain, when it is considered that we can live weeks without bread or salt, that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but the canopy of heaven, and that our men can march and shoot with any in the known world."

"Blessed with these talents," added the speaker, "let us solemnly engage with one another, and our country in particular, that we will use them to no purpose but the honor and advantage of America in general, and of Virginia in particular. It behooves us then, for the satisfaction of our country, that we should give them our real sentiments, by way of resolves, at this very alarming crisis."*

And these patriotic officers from beyond the mountains and from their homes in the west, did resolve (and that fearlessly "by order of and in behalf of the whole corps") that they would bear most faithful allegiance to his majesty, King George the Third, whilst his majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that they would, at the expense of life and everything dear and valuable, exert themselves in support of the honor of the crown and the dignity of the British empire. But as the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweighed every other consideration, they resolved that they would exert every power within them for the defence of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges—not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of their countrymen.

All this patriotism, so forcibly declared upon the soil of "the province of Quebec," in the hearing of his lordship, must have grated harshly upon his ears, notwithstanding his officers resolved further, that they entertained the greatest respect for him "who commanded the expedition against the Shawanese," and who, they were confident, underwent the great fatigue of the campaign just closed, "from no other motive than the true interest of their country."

Thus ended "Lord Dunmore's war." The troops of both divisions made their way to their homes, except a few left to defend the border should the treaty with the Shawanese and Mingoes prove a delusion.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

*'American Archives,' Fourth Series, Vol. I., p. 962.

[*To be continued.*]

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TERRITORIAL BENCH OF MINNESOTA.

III.

AMONG the first acts of President Buchanan's administration was the appointment of Rensselaer R. Nelson and Charles E. Flandrau as associate justices of the supreme court of the territory, in place of Justices Sherburne and Chatfield, whose terms had expired. Although they served in that position for a comparatively brief period, yet their names have become so prominently identified with the history of the territory and state, that a more than passing notice of their lives is due, not less to them than to the public at large.

Judge Nelson was born May 12, 1826, in Cooperstown, New York. His ancestors on the paternal side were of Scotch and Irish descent, and on the maternal, of Irish and English. His father, Honorable Samuel Nelson, was for many years one of the most eminent judges of the supreme court of the state of New York, and later acquired a National reputation as associate justice of the supreme court of the United States. In both capacities it is universally conceded that he occupied the highest rank as a jurist, and probably he had no superior on the bench. His opinions are models of strength, clearness and terseness, brushing away all sophisms and technicalities, and aiming straight to the root of the matter at issue.

The early life of Mr. Nelson was spent in his native place, and was marked by no incidents requiring special notice. His preparation for college was mainly at Hartwick seminary and in a military school in Cooperstown, and to some extent under a private tutor. He entered Yale college in 1842. The writer of this sketch (then being in the same college two years in advance) there first made his acquaintance. In scholarship he ranked above the average, though he never was ambitious for the highest honors of scholarship. The maxim of "*mens sana in sano corpore*" seemed to him of importance; and he did not make the mistake which too many do, of sacrificing health in striving for the empty honor of valedictorian. Boating had not then gained the prominence it has since attained. Football was the great game which absorbed the energies of college athletes. And there were giants in those days. Those who have witnessed the magnificent displays of such men as Kendrick and Moody, when pitted against each other, will readily admit that modern playing seems tame in comparison. It is said that both these champions have been known to send the ball clean over the old state-house on the city green. Mr. Nelson entered into these contests with peculiar zest, and they no doubt

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tended to develop the physical vigor for which he is noted.

In the same class with Mr. Nelson were Governor Harrison, ex-Congressman Kellogg of Connecticut and the Honorable J. B. Brisbin, known as one of the ablest and most brilliant lawyers in the state. He came to Minnesota at about the same time and has since resided in St. Paul. Another collegemate was Richard Taylor, son of President Taylor, who won high distinction in the Confederate army and rose to the rank of major-general.

Mr. Nelson graduated in 1846, and soon after entered the law office of James R. Whiting in New York city. Mr. Whiting was a very prominent and able lawyer, and for some time district attorney. He received the sobriquet of "Little Bitter," from his keen sarcasm in the famous Colt and Monroe Edwards trials, which were defended by the brilliant Tom Marshall and Senator Crittenden.

His preparation for admission to the bar was finished in the office of Honorable George A. Starkweather, in Cooperstown, in 1849. The same year he went to Buffalo with the intention of opening an office and commencing practice in that city. Here, however, his plans for location were unexpectedly changed. He there met the Honorable Nathan K. Hall, ex-member of congress and then partner of President Fillmore. Later he was appointed judge of the United States district court for the northern district of New York. Judge Hall, while in congress, had become acquainted with General Sibley, and largely through information derived from him, had become strongly impressed with the future importance of the northwest. He himself was desirous of removing to the newly formed territory of Minnesota, and was an applicant for appointment as governor. There is no doubt but that he would have received the appointment had it not been discovered that he was ineligible in consequence of having voted in congress for the admission of the territory.

Judge Hall strongly advised Mr. Nelson to make Minnesota his future home. At that time it required much faith and courage for a young man, dependent only on his brains for his fortune, to accept this advice, for the territory was almost wholly undeveloped, the population only a handful and the future unknown. Fortunately for Mr. Nelson, he possessed a good share of both these qualities, and he soon decided to make the venture. He abandoned the idea of commencing practice in Buffalo; but as the season was then too far advanced to make the journey without incurring some risk and much hardship, his removal was deferred till the following spring. He landed in St. Paul in the early morning of May 12, 1850. He climbed the steep bluff from the steamboat landing by a long pair of rickety wooden stairs. The aspect that met his view was not particularly inviting. A few cheap frame and log houses, with plenty of stumps and rocks in the ungraded streets, indicated the future metropolis.

The genial Jacob W. Bass was then

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postmaster, and kept his office in a seven by nine room, near the top of the bluff. Mr. Nelson wanted his mail—and he wanted it right off. Early as the hour was, he disturbed the postmaster in his morning nap. To this, doubtless, was due the fact that the worthy official for a moment forgot his accustomed suavity, and caused a chilling frost to fall upon the sanguine anticipations of the young tenderfoot. Learning from a brief interview that the young man had come to St. Paul to practice law, the bowels of compassion in the heart of Mr. Bass were deeply moved for the unfortunate young man. He said: "My dear young friend, I sincerely pity you. We have a population of six hundred, and fifty of them are lawyers, the most of them starving. I advise you to take the next boat east, because you have no chance here. We have too much trouble with the lawyers here already." From our present standpoint the advice seems ludicrous, but from that occupied by Mr. Bass at that day, it cannot be doubted it was given in entire good faith. Mr. Bass (although he has since become a millionaire from his investments in St. Paul) at that time knew as little of its future as a native of Japan.

Fortunately for himself and the future commonwealth as well, Mr. Nelson did not act on this advice. He immediately opened an office and entered upon the practice of his profession, which he prosecuted till the year 1854 with as large a measure of success as could be anticipated from the limited business and eager competition which then existed in the territory. So favorably had he become known in 1853, that his friends strongly urged him to permit them to use his name as a candidate for nomination for delegate to congress. For so young a man the temptation was a flattering one, and probably most in his position would have yielded to it. But he had little taste for the uncertainties and unsatisfactory results of political life. Mature reflection convinced him that his true vocation was the law, and he declined to permit the use of his name for that position. And since, he has never entertained the idea of striving for or accepting any political office or honors whatever. The honored position he has so long acceptably filled is far more to his taste and the natural bent of his mind than could be the highest political preferments. His political views were always clear and decided on National questions, and generally in accord with those held by the Democratic party. But he has always studiously avoided making them prominently public, and in his long judicial career no one has ever whispered that they have affected in the slightest degree his decisions on the bench.

In 1854 certain business interests called Mr. Nelson to the town of Superior, at the head of the lake in Wisconsin. While there Governor Barstow appointed him district attorney of Douglas county, Wisconsin, which was the first civil appointment he ever held. During the time he was there, he was largely instrumental in organizing and naming this county in honor of his warm friend, Senator Stephen A. Douglas.

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The business interests of Superior not then being sufficient to justify à longer settlement in the town, Mr. Nelson returned to St. Paul in the fall of 1855, and resumed the practice of his profession. He continued the same without interruption until the spring of the year 1857. In April of that year he was appointed by President Buchanan associate justice of the supreme court of the territory, and immediately qualified and entered upon the discharge of his duties.

Judge Nelson held this position a little less than a year. In 1857 a state constitution was adopted and state officers elected, who entered upon the discharge of their duties in January following. The territory that year was in a transitional state, which to some extent affected the business of the courts. After the appointment of Judge Nelson but one general term of the supreme court of the territory was held (so far as the reports show), viz., in January, 1858. The court then consisted of William H. Welch, chief-justice, and R. R. Nelson and Charles E. Flandrau, associate justices. Two opinions written by Judge Nelson, in cases argued at that term, appear in the first volume of 'Minnesota Reports.' This, however, does not indicate the amount of judicial work done by him during his brief term of service. A quite large amount of chamber work then devolved upon him as the judge of the district court, then residing in St. Paul. Indeed, in that capacity he made the decision in one case, which may properly be termed a "cause celebre" of the territory.

Many Minnesotians are still living who remember the intense excitement caused by the passage of a bill by the legislature in 1856, removing the capital from St. Paul to St. Peter. It was one of those singular freaks of legislative action, difficult to account for, but of which history furnishes not a few examples. In due time Judge Nelson was applied to for a mandamus to compel all territorial officers to remove their offices to the new capital. The matter was elaborately argued by Judge A. G. Chatfield in favor of issuing the writ, and General L. Emmett opposed. Very great interest was felt in the decision of the question. Judge Nelson wrote a somewhat elaborate opinion denying the application. Being an opinion delivered in chambers, it does not appear in the published reports, but may be seen in the records of the State Historical society. It is curious as probably being the only existing record of what was one of the most exciting episodes in the history of the territory, and of which perhaps a large majority of the present inhabitants of the state are entirely ignorant. It is needless to say that this decision effectually settled the question, and the scheme was not again heard of. The decision was based upon the ground that the legislature had exhausted its power and authority to locate the seat of government by previous legislation, and the power was not in the nature of a continuing trust.

On the eleventh of May, 1858, President Buchanan nominated Judge Nelson United States district judge for the

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district of Minnesota. He was at once confirmed by the senate, without the reference of his name to a committee.

Soon thereafter Judge Nelson qualified and entered upon the performance of his duties, and has continued in the discharge of the same ever since. The business of the court has year by year steadily increased, so that the labors of the district judge have become arduous, requiring nearly all his time in their performance. Many cases of great importance, involving difficult and intricate questions of law, are accumulating. The bar practicing in that court, for ability and high standing, will not suffer by comparison with that of any other in the west. Judge Nelson is yet scarcely past the prime of life, with a vigorous constitution and unimpaired health, with a reasonable prospect of many years of active labor before him. It is, therefore, perhaps too early to attempt to give any complete estimate of his character and qualities of mind as a judge. Nevertheless, a few leading traits may be here noted.

Less than three years after his appointment the War of the Rebellion broke out. His devoted attachment and unswerving loyalty to the Union are evidenced by some of his charges, in the first years of the war, to the grand juries. No suspicion of sympathy with any phase or object of the Rebellion ever attached to his name. And this, not alone that he would keep the judicial ermine unsmirched by any contact with political life, but mainly because every instinct of his loyal nature was abhorrent to the idea of any dismemberment of the Union. After the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution, on one or two questions arising under the Civil Rights bill, he was overruled by the United States supreme court. This certainly is not to be wondered at, considering the wide diversity of sentiment that has existed, even in the supreme court itself, on some of these amendments, and the further fact that there were no precedents to guide the judicial mind; and in this connection it may be stated, that it may well be doubted whether any judge has occupied the bench as long as Judge Nelson and had as few decisions overruled.

In his preparation for the bar, Judge Nelson had become versed in the complicated system of pleading and practice which had grown up in New York in the course of centuries, previous to the introduction of the code. This proved of great advantage to him when he commenced practice in Minnesota, where the code had been adopted, and not less in the discharge of his duties when he was called to the bench, for the old system of pleading was adhered to in the United States courts, although in matters of practice and construction of statutes, the decisions of the state supreme court were usually followed, when not conflicting with decisions of the United States courts. The idea of the framers of the code was so to simplify pleadings and practice that "every man might be his own lawyer." It is needless to state that the idea was chimerical. The only immediate re-

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Chas. E. Flanders.

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sult was, that the new system, for many years, became an inextricable muddle of incongruities, imposing greatly increased labor on the judiciary and from which it has not yet been wholly rescued.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Judge Nelson as a judiciary officer is his strong common sense, united with a keen, innate perception of equity, which enables him at once to grasp the merits of a controversy and disentangle them from the sophisms and technicalities which ingenious pleaders and advocates may seek to throw around them. This quality is not less important in court than jury cases. In his charges to the jury, they are not left in doubt as to the facts they are to find nor as to the law governing the cause. In case of error in the latter, counsel can always rely on being granted the full benefit of their exceptions. And so the rights of both parties are strictly guarded, and justice rarely fails. To such litigants as do not desire justice (of which there are always some in every court), these qualities in a judicial officer may not seem desirable. To the great mass, however, of clients and attorneys, they are those which are most indispensable in a judge.

Dignified and yet always courteous on the bench, in private life Judge Nelson is one of the most genial, open-hearted and interesting of companions, and lives in the enjoyment of a large circle of warm friends, who esteem him not less for his high abilities than his lovable social qualities. He has devoted thirty years of the best portion of his life to the service of his adopted state. With his ripe experience, if his life is spared, still greater benefit to the state, with attendant honors to himself, may be expected in the future than have been realized in the past.

CHARLES E. FLANDRAU.

Charles Eugene Flandrau was born July 15, 1828, in New York city. His life has been filled with stirring incidents, many of them verging on the romantic. On his father's side he was of Huguenot descent. Thomas Hunt Flandrau, his father, was born at New Rochelle, Westchester county, New York. His ancestors resided at La Rochelle in France. His mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Macomb. She was the daughter of Alexander Macomb, who was born in Belfast, Ireland, July 27, 1750, and came to America in 1760. He married Catiche Navarre at Detroit, Michigan, May 4, 1773. She died November 17, 1789, leaving ten children. Her husband again married in July, 1791, Jane Rucker in New York city. He was for many years a leading merchant in New York, and died in Georgetown, District of Columbia, at the age of eighty-four years.

Mr. Flandrau's grandmother on his mother's side was born in Nassau, New Providence, August 27, 1761, and was named Janet Marshall. She first married John Peter Rucker, and had one son. In July, 1791, as above stated, she married Alexander Macomb. The issue of this marriage was three sons and four

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daughters. She was the step-mother of General Alexander Macomb, who was commander-in-chief of the United States army immediately preceding General Winfield Scott. She died in Georgetown, District of Columbia, March 3, 1849, in the eighty-eighth year of her age.

The emigration of a considerable body of Huguenots to America, about the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is a matter of history. Some settled north and some south. Their strong qualities of honesty, loyalty and patriotism and religious sentiment have impressed themselves not only on their descendants but on the different communities where they settled. The colony which located in New York purchased a large tract of land in Westchester county, and located a town which they named New Rochelle. It is to-day one of the most beautiful of the numerous thriving villages on the north shore of Long Island sound.

From thence, when quite young, Mr. Flandrau's father emigrated as far west as Utica, New York, and studied law in the office of Nathan Williams, an eminent lawyer of that village. Soon after being admitted to practice, he formed a law partnership with Colonel Aaron Burr, formerly vice-president of the United States, and went to the city of New York, where he practiced with Colonel Burr for several years. He married Elizabeth Macomb in 1824 or 1825, and shortly afterwards returned to Oneida county, New York, where he continued in the practice of his profession until his death, which occurred January 2, 1855. He was a graduate of Hamilton college, New York.

The youthful education of the subject of our sketch was carried on at Georgetown, District of Columbia. The memory of that time seems to be clouded in a haze of obscurity. History does not record that the boy took high prizes in scholarship, deportment, or recitations in the catechism. Diligent search has also failed to establish the fact that he stood at the head of his class in the youthful pranks characteristic of all active minded boys. That he was not entirely unaccomplished in these early essentials of youthful education, may be to some extent inferred from subsequent characteristics, later developed. We have not, however, deemed it essential to pry too closely into his youthful history.

At thirteen years of age his mind was so mature that he felt qualified to decide on his future vocation in life. He would enter the navy and become a commodore or rear admiral. To this end, he applied to Badger of North Carolina, then secretary of the navy, for a midshipman's warrant. He did not lack influence to procure the appointment, but his age was against him—he was one year too young. Nowise discouraged, he immediately shipped before the mast in the United States revenue cutter *Forward*, and served in that capacity for one year. At the expiration of that time he again shipped in the revenue cutter *Van Buren*, and served on her for another year. He then made several coasting voyages in merchantmen, continuing in this occupation in all for some three years. Whether

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it was that hardtack and junkbeef had, by this time, lost their charms for him, or that he found the road to promotion too slow, history saith not. Suffice it to say that at this time he decided to abandon a seafaring life, and returned to Georgetown to school. But having once tasted the sweets of freedom, the restrictions of school life were in the highest degree irksome to one of his mercurial temperament, and he soon left for New York, to "seek his fortune."

Here he decided to learn the business of mahogany sawing, and for that purpose entered the employ of Mahlon Bunnell, who had a large establishment at the corner of Pike and Cherry streets. In this business he continued for three years and became proficient in all branches of the trade. But still he was dissatisfied and felt that he had not yet found his proper life vocation. He went to Whitesboro, New York, entered his father's office and commenced the study of law. Here he diligently prosecuted his studies till January 7, 1851, when he was admitted to the bar in Oneida county. He had at length truly found his life's work. He entered into partnership with his father, under the firm name of F. H. & C. E. Flandrau, in Whitesboro, Oneida county, and so continued until the fall of 1853.

Whether the famous slogan of Greeley, "Go west, young man," had then been uttered I do not know; suffice it to say that many of the brightest and most enterprising young men of New York and the east were eagerly alive to the advantages of the great northwest. Minnesota being the latest admitted territory naturally received a large part of this emigration. In the latter part of November of 1853, Mr. Flandrau, in company with Horace R. Bigelow, landed in St. Paul. They immediately opened an office for the practice of law on Third street, near where Dawson's bank formerly stood, under the firm name of "Bigelow & Flandrau."

At that early day the practice of law in Minnesota was neither arduous nor specially remunerative. Some business was furnished by the United States land offices. But commerce was in its infancy, and the immense and profitable business since furnished to the profession by railroads was then wholly unknown. Consequently most lawyers found themselves with more or less spare time on their hands. It so happened that during the winter of 1853-4 certain capitalists in St. Paul engaged the services of Mr. Flandrau to make explorations in the Minnesota valley and negotiate for the purchase of property connected therewith, and especially of the Captain Dodd claim at Rock Bend, now St. Peter. His report was favorable to the purchase; and he was so impressed with the prospective advantages of the country that he decided to locate in the valley himself. St. Peter was then unknown. Traverse des Sioux was the only settlement in the vicinity, and consisted of a few Indian traders and their *attaches* and a number of missionaries. Here he located. He here met Stewart B. Garvie, a Scotchman, who had just been appointed clerk of the district court of Nicollet county by Judge Chatfield, and occupied an office with him. As may well be imagined, law business was exceedingly limited. The young men were frequently at their wit's end for devices to

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"keep the wolf from the door." Nay, they did not wish to keep him from the door. Instead of an enemy, he became a friend, thus reversing the aforesaid saying. They placed a dead pony within easy rifle-shot of the back window of their office, which proved an attraction to these prairie rovers, and every night many of these brutes fell victims to the unerring aim of these young lawyers, and each pelt added seventy-five cents to their meagre exchequer. History does not record whether they were reduced to the extremity of using their flesh as food. It is to be hoped not.

But this state of things was not to last. With the opening of the season of 1854 immigration began to pour into the Minnesota valley. In June of that year the first house was built in St. Peter, and thereafter for the next few years the progress of the settlement was rapid. Judge Flandrau continued to reside at Traverse des Sioux until 1864 and to practice until called to the bench, as will hereafter appear. In this connection it may be stated that Mr. Flandrau was admitted to the bar of Illinois in October, 1853, on his way to Minnesota, and to the bar of the state last named soon after his arrival in St. Paul. In 1854 he held the offices of notary public, deputy clerk and, later, district attorney of Nicollet county.

Of course a young man possessed of the active intellect, indomitable energy and perseverance and acknowledged ability of Mr. Flandrau, could not, in a new country where some of these qualities are more rare than in the east, long remain in obscurity.

With his enthusiastic temperament, and at that time, it is not strange that political life had some attractions for Mr. Flandrau. Not that he ever seriously entertained the thought of abandoning his legal practice and entering into politics as a profession, but rather as a temporary pastime. In 1856 his friends persuaded him to allow the use of his name for member of the territorial council. He was elected in the fall of that year, the term being for two years. He served as an active and influential member on several important committees for one year. He resigned in 1856, owing to the pressure of other important duties, the discharge of which were incompatible with that position.

On the sixteenth of August, 1856, he was appointed by President Pierce United States agent for the Sioux Indians of the Mississippi. The position was one of great responsibility, involving, for the faithful discharge of its duties, much arduous and disagreeable labor. He accepted the office and for more than a year discharged its duties to the entire satisfaction of the government. The duties of this position, however, proved irksome in the extreme to one of his cultivated tastes, in addition to the fact that the future offered little opportunity for advancement. He accordingly resigned the position in the spring or summer of 1857. In the same year his former constituents again demanded his services in a legislative capacity. He was elected a member of the constitutional convention and served in that branch of the same presided over by the Honorable H. H. Sibley. It is needless to state that he took an active part in the interesting debates and was

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largely instrumental in shaping many of the important features of the Organic law.

July 17, 1857, Mr. Flandrau was appointed by President Buchanan associate justice of the supreme court of the territory of Minnesota. But one general term of that court was held, at which he occupied a seat on the bench, viz., in January, 1858. The business of that term was small, for reasons heretofore explained, and no opinions are on file written by Judge Flandrau at that session. He, however, held several terms of the district court, in various counties in his district, and in the brief time during which he presided in that capacity, he was noted for rapid and correct dispatch of business, and became very popular with the bar and the communities with which he came in contact in the discharge of his duties. To accommodate attorneys, jurors or suitors, he not infrequently held court till late at night, and never allowed his personal convenience to interfere with the public interest. By this course much time and money were saved to the counties —an important consideration in those early days.

On the twenty-fifth day of October, 1858, he was appointed by Governor H. H. Sibley judge-advocate general of the state of Minnesota. This office he held during the administration of Governor Sibley.

At the convention of the Democratic party held in 1857 for the nomination of state officers, under the constitution which had been framed the same year, he was nominated as associate justice of the supreme court for the term of seven years. The whole ticket was elected, and on the ratification of the constitution by congress, early in 1858, he qualified and entered upon the discharge of the duties of the office. For nearly seven years thereafter his whole time and attention were unremittingly devoted to the performance of the new duties which he had undertaken. And these involved no small amount of responsibility.

It is to be considered, as before remarked, that pleadings and practice at that time were in a transitional state. The code had but recently been adopted. Lawyers were here from nearly every state in the Union. Each of the older states had its own precedents and line of decisions. These were often conflicting. Minnesota had as yet uniformly followed none of them. The first supreme court of the state had not the benefit of a systematic line of decisions of the territorial bench. A beginning was to be made. In the conflicting decisions in different states on commercial and real estate law, the court was forced to select certain principles which should govern it in its rulings. In many cases it was of more importance that the law be definitely settled than the principles adopted in settling it. And it naturally occurred, that as both the associate justices received their legal training and education in New York, the decisions of the courts of that state were usually followed when applicable. The construction of a large number of statutes was also to be determined for the first time. From these causes, more than ordinary labor was imposed on the court compared with the number of cases on the calender.

The record of Judge Flandrau's ability as a jurist is found in the first nine volumes

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of 'Minnesota Reports.' His opinions speak for themselves. While the decisions are those of the court, the expression of them is in his own language in the cases assigned to him. It will be generally conceded that this language is uniformly terse, clear Anglo-Saxon, leaving nothing in doubt and obscurity. Having a clear idea in his own mind of the points decided, he had the somewhat rare faculty of making his ideas clear to others, with the reasons for them. The rapidity with which his work was done was remarkable, and his industry untiring. To this is due the fact, that at almost every term he wrote more than his equal share of opinions. As one helping largely to lay the foundations of the system of jurisprudence of the state, both in the constitutional convention and on the bench, he has received the unanimous commendation of the people and can look back on an enviable record. And how firmly the judicial foundations were laid may be judged from the fact, that in nearly twenty-five years that have elapsed since the expiration of the term of the first supreme court judges, a less number of their decisions have been overruled than of the court of appeals of the state of New York during the same time.

On the tenth day of August, 1859, Judge Flandrau was married to Isabella Ramsay Dinsmore, daughter of Colonel James Dinsmore of Boone county, Kentucky. The issue of this marriage was two daughters, both of whom are living. His wife died on the thirtieth day of June, 1867. She was one of the most accomplished and beautiful ladies in Minnesota, and her early death was deeply regretted by a large circle of friends.

Subsequently, on the twenty-eighth day of February, 1871, he married Mrs. Rebecca Blair Riddle, daughter of Judge William McClure of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The issue of this marriage is two sons.

It was in the summer of 1862 that the most exciting and absorbing event in the life of Judge Flandrau and of the history of the state occurred. On the eighteenth of August of that year, without warning, like a thunderbolt from clear sky, the news was flashed over the state that the whole tribe of Sioux Indians were on the war-path, and indiscriminately massacring men, women and children on the frontier.

The news of the outbreak reached Judge Flandrau at his residence in Traverse des Sioux, at four o'clock in the morning of the nineteenth of August, by a carrier who had been sent from New Ulm, a German town distant about thirty-two miles from Traverse. Appreciating the situation instantly, he put all his women and children into a wagon, and instructed them to fly to the Mississippi river at St. Paul or Minneapolis, which were about ninety miles distant, and there await events. The next day they safely reached the house of the writer in Minneapolis, in a very exhausted and demoralized condition.

As soon as the judge was relieved of his domestic impediments, he proceeded to St. Peter, a mile away. A company of about one hundred and fifteen men was at once raised, armed and equipped as best it could be done under the circumstances.

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Wagons, horses, arms, ammunition, provisions, in fact, everything that was needed was either furnished by the people or impressed into the service. So rapid was the preparation that the little band was ready to move to the front by noon, and arrived within sight of New Ulm by nine the same evening. They were none too early, as the town was being attacked by about one hundred Indians, and a considerable portion of it was on fire. The command advanced upon the town, drove out the Indians, extinguished the fires and calmed the excitement of the people. The timely arrival of these citizen troops undoubtedly saved New Ulm from destruction and the people from massacre.

On the formation of this company, Judge Flandrau was chosen its captain, and led it to the rescue of the exposed frontier settlement of New Ulm.

Preparations for defence were instantly made. Judge Flandrau was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of all the forces. He hastened to place the men under his command under the best discipline attainable, and spent the time between the day of his arrival and the next Saturday, being the twenty-third of August, in strengthening the defenses of the town. On the morning of the twenty-third, the Indians who had been besieging Fort Ridgley abandoned their attempt on that post and attacked New Ulm in full force. They had about six hundred and fifty men, all well armed with rifles, while the defenders of New Ulm did not muster more than three hundred men, the large majority of whom were armed with shotguns. Ample notice of their approach was given by columns of smoke, as they destroyed every house and stack in their line of march. An effort was made to check their advance by a line of battle on the open prairie, which, owing to the inferior arms of the whites, was unsuccessful. What followed can best be told in the graphic language of Judge Flandrau himself in his official report to the governor of the battle, as the same is quoted in Heard's 'History of the Sioux War and Massacre':

> At nearly ten o'clock A. M. the body of Indians began to move toward us, first slowly, and then with considerable rapidity. Their advance upon the sloping prairie in the bright sunlight was a very fine spectacle, and, to such inexperienced soldiers as we all were, intensely exciting. When within about one mile and a half of us the mass began to expand like a fan and increase in the velocity of its approach, and continued this movement until within about double rifle shot, when it had covered our entire front.
>
> Then the savages gave a terrific yell and came down upon us like the wind. I had stationed myself at a point in the rear where communications could be had with me easily, and waited the first discharge with great anxiety, as it seemed to me that to yield was certain destruction, as the enemy would rush into the town and drive all before them. The yell unsettled the men a little, and just as the rifles began to crack, they fell back along the whole line, and committed the error of passing the outer houses without taking possession of them—a mistake which the Indians immediately took advantage of by themselves occupying them in squads of two and three, and up to ten.
>
> They poured into us a sharp and rapid fire as we fell back, and opened from houses in every direction. Several of us rode up the hill endeavoring to rally the men, and with good effect, as they gave three cheers and sallied out of various houses they had retreated to, and checked the advance effectually. The firing from both sides then became general, sharp and rapid, and it got to be a regular Indian skirmish in which every man did his own work after his own fashion.
>
> The Indians had spread out until they had got into our rear and on all sides, having the very de-

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cided advantage of the houses on the bluff, which commanded the interior of the town with the exception of the wind-mill, which was occupied by about twenty of the Le Sueur tigers, who held them at long range.

The wind was from the lower part of the town, and this fact directed the larger part of the enemy to that point, where they promptly commenced firing the houses and advancing behind the smoke. The conflagration became general in the lower part of the town on both sides of the street, and the bullets flew very thickly both from the bluff and up the street. I thought it prudent to dismount and conduct the defence on foot. Just at this point Captain Dodd of St. Peter, and someone else whose name I do not know, charged down the street to ascertain whether some horsemen seen in the extreme lower town were not our friends coming in, and were met about three blocks down with a heavy volley from behind a house, five bullets passing through Captain Dodd's body and several through that of his horse. The horsemen both turned and the captain got sufficiently near to be received by his friends before he fell. He died about five hours after being hit. Too much cannot be said of his personal bravery and general desire to perform his duty manfully. Captain Saunders of the Le Sueur company was shot through the body shortly after, and retired, placing his rifle in effective hands, and encouraging the men. The fight was going on all around the town during the whole forenoon and part of the afternoon, sometimes with slight advantage to us, and again to the Indians; but the difficulty which stared us in the face was their gradual but certain approach up the main street behind the burning buildings, which promised our destruction.

We frequently sallied out and took buildings in advance; but the risk of being picked off from the bluff was unequal to the advantage gained, and the duty was performed with some reluctance by the men. In the lower part of the town I had some of the best men in the state, both as shots and for coolness and determination. It will be sufficient to mention two as types of the class of the best fighting men—Asa White and Newell Houghton—known to all old settlers.

They did very effective service in checking the advance, both by their unerring rifles and the good example their steadiness placed before the younger men. We discovered a concentration of Indians on the side of the street toward the river and at the rear of the buildings, and expected a rush upon the town from that position, the result of which I feared more than anything else, as the boys had proved unequal to it in the morning; and we were not disappointed, for in a few moments they came on, on ponies and on foot, furiously, about sixty in number, charging around the point of a little grove of oaks.

This was the critical point of the day, but four or five hours under fire had brought the boys up to the fighting temperature and they stood firmly and advanced with a cheer, routing the rascals like sheep. They received us with a very hot fire, killing Houghton and an elderly gentleman whose name I did not know. As they fled in a crowd, at a very short range, we gave them a volley that was very effective and settled the fortunes of the day in our favor, for they did not dare to try it over. I think after once repulsing them in a fair fight we could have successfully resisted them had they returned a second time, as the necessary confidence had been gained. White men fight under a great disadvantage the first time they engage with Indians; there is something so fiendish in their yells and terrifying in their appearance when in battle, that it takes a good deal of time to overcome the unpleasant sensation it inspires. There is a snake-like stealth in all their movements that excites distrust and uncertainty and which unsteadies the nerves at first.

After this repulse the battle raged until dark, without sufficient advantage on one side or the other to merit mention in detail, when the savages drew off, firing only an occasional shot from under close cover. After dark we decreased the extent of our lines of barricades, and I deemed it prudent to order all the buildings outside to be burned, in order to prevent them from affording protection to the savages while they advanced to annoy us. We were compelled to consume about forty valuable buildings, but as it was a military necessity, the inhabitants did not demur but themselves applied the torch cheerfully. In a short time we had a fair field before us of open prairie, with the exception of a large brick building which we held and had loopholed in all the stories on all sides and which commanded a large portion of our front toward the bluff. We also dug a system of rifle-pits on that front outside the barricades, about four rods apart, which completed our defences.

That night we slept very little, every man being at the barricades all night, each third man being allowed to sleep at intervals. In the morning the attack was renewed, but not with much vigor, and subsided about noon.

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Omitting some further incidents, the report continues as follows:

I held a council of officers and we determined to attempt an evacuation of the town, carrying off all the inhabitants, women, children, sick and wounded, to the number of about two thousand. This movement was a very perilous one to undertake with the force at our command, but the confused state of the town was rapidly producing disease among the women and children, who were huddled in cellars or in close rooms, like sheep in a cattle car, and we were fast becoming short of ammunitions and provisions. I feared the result of another attack by a larger force, and all the people decided that they would abandon the town at the first opportunity, as residence there was impossible under the circumstances.

At daylight next morning the barricades were broken and the wagons taken out and put in motion. The scene was one of indescribable confusion and destruction. The poor people, naturally desirous of carrying off all they could, filled their wagons with boxes and baggage to the exclusion (as we found before the train was complete) of many of the women and wounded. I was, therefore, compelled to order all articles of a bulky nature to be tumbled out and their places supplied with more valuable freight. It was hard, but necessary, and the inhabitants yielded with less reluctance than I had anticipated.

About 9 A. M. we moved from New Ulm with one hundred and fifty-three wagon-loads of women, children, sick and wounded, and a large company on foot. Captain Cox took the general disposition of the escort, and the various commands were posted so as best to protect the whole in case of an attack. It was a melancholy spectacle to see two thousand people who, a few days before, had been prosperous and happy, reduced to utter beggary, starting upon a journey of thirty miles, through a hostile country, every inch of which we expected to be called upon to defend from an attack, the issue of which was life or horrid butchery. Beggary, starvation and probable destruction were at one end of the road, a doubtful escape from the latter at the other. We took the latter alternative and, under Providence, got through.

This was undoubtedly as gallant a defence as the records of Indian warfare disclose. The loss of life was less than might have been expected, being, on the part of the whites, ten killed and fifty wounded; on the part of the Indians, supposed to be equal if not greater, though the casualties on their side can never be known, as they removed all the wounded and as many of the dead as possible. Still, ten of their dead were left on the field after their retreat.

Judge Flandrau continued in the service for some time after this battle. On the twenty-ninth of August of the same year Governor Ramsey commissioned him, as he deemed best for the defence of the frontier, to raise troops, appoint officers and generally do whatever was necessary. It was a broad commission and could only be granted to one in whom great confidence was reposed. Under this commission he acted, raised many men, which were posted from New Ulm to the Iowa line. Later, and on the third of September, 1862, he received a commission from Governor Ramsey of colonel of state militia, under which he also acted, together with a letter of authority from General John Pope of the United States army, of date of September 4, 1862. When the state and United States forces were fully organized and in command of the situation, Judge Flandrau turned over his command to Colonel M. Montgomery of the Twenty-fifth regiment of Wisconsin volunteers and resumed the discharge of his judicial duties.

On turning his command over to General Montgomery, Colonel Flandrau issued the following valedictory order, which describes the situation:

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ORDER NO. 203.

HEADQUARTERS IND. EX., SOUTHERN FRONTIER, SOUTH BEND, October 5, 1862.

To the soldiers and citizens who have been, and are now, engaged in the defence of the southern frontier:

On the eighteenth of August last your frontier was invaded by the Indians. You promptly rallied for its defence. You checked the advance of the enemy and defeated him in two severe battles at New Ulm. You have held a line of frontier posts extending over a distance of one hundred miles. You have erected six substantial fortifications and other defensive works of less magnitude. You have dispersed marauding bands of savages that have hung upon your lines. You have been uniformly brave, vigilant and obedient to orders. By your efforts the war has been confined to the border; without them, it would have penetrated into the heart of the state.

Major-General Pope has assumed the command of the northwest, and will control future operations. He promises a vigorous prosecution of the war. Five companies of the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin regiment and five hundred cavalry from Iowa are ordered into the region now held by you, and will supply the places of those whose term of enlistment shortly expires. The department of the southern frontier, which I have had the honor to command, will, from the date of this order, be under the command of Colonel M. Montgomery of the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin, whom I take pleasure in introducing to the troops and citizens of that department, as a soldier and a man to whom they may confide their interests and the safety of their country, with every assurance that they will be protected and defended.

Pressing public duties, of a civil nature, demand my absence temporarily from the border. The intimate and agreeable relations we have sustained toward each other, our union in danger and adventure, cause me regret in leaving you, but will hasten my return.

CHAS. E. FLANDRAU,
Col. Comd'g Southern Frontier.

In the spring of 1864 he resigned the position of associate justice and went to Nevada to join Judge Atwater, as partner in the practice of law in Carson and Virginia City. Here he remained for about a year. He then went to Washington to attend to the business of the firm before the departments. He intended to return, as the business was remunerative and satisfactory. Owing to the fact, however, that his family were unwilling to accept the trials and hardships of a new frontier life, he abandoned the plan, and having received a favorable offer of partnership in St. Louis from Colonel Musser, he accepted it and engaged in the practice of his profession in that city in 1865.

But an experience of less than a year in that staid, slow-going old city, satisfied him that he could not be content with such surroundings. The active, stirring life of Minnesota was far more in accord with his tastes; there, too, were hosts of early and warmly attached friends. Meanwhile, in the latter part of 1866, Judge Atwater had returned to Minneapolis and resumed the practice of his profession. He invited Judge Flandrau to join him in a partnership, which the latter accepted, and returned to Minnesota in the early part of 1867. During the same year he was a candidate of the Democratic party for governor, running against William R. Marshall, but was defeated. He was again the candidate of the same party in 1869, for the office of chief-justice of the state, against Judge Ripley, and was again defeated. It is needless to state that neither of these nominations were sought by Judge Flandrau—on the contrary, he was strongly averse to the use of his name for either of them. But he was intensely loyal to his party, and as that party had stood by him in the days of its prosperity, he would not refuse to be its standard-bearer now that it was in a hopeless minority.

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In 1867 he was elected city attorney of Minneapolis, and in 1868 the first president of the board of trade of that city under its first organization.

In 1870, having received a favorable proposition from the firm of Messrs. Bigelow & Clark of St. Paul to form a partnership with them in the practice of law, he accepted the same and soon after removed to that city, where he has since resided. The firm has always enjoyed a large and lucrative practice, and although there have been some changes in its membership (the present firm being Flandrau, Squires & Cutcheon), it has always been ranked among the leading firms in St. Paul. Judge Flandrau is president of the Bar Association of Ramsey county, and (in length of practice), if we are not mistaken, the oldest attorney in active practice at the bar of the state of Minnesota. But he is yet in the full vigor of his intellectual and physical strength, and to all human observation, is good for twenty years more of as hard work as he has ever yet performed.

In this brief sketch of the life of Judge Flandrau, two or three striking traits of character cannot fail to have impressed themselves on the mind of the reader. And first the remarkable versatility of mind and talent displayed. This is evident from the number of different occupations in which from early youth he has been engaged, and the numerous and varied offices he has held. And in all these he has acquitted himself as though each had been the sole occupation of his life. Though in fact, after arriving at adult years, each has been subsidiary to his main profession, yet, in politics, as Indian agent, as a military leader, as a popular speaker, he has demonstrated that had he selected either as a specialty, he would as easily have taken a front rank as in that of jurist.

Another striking characteristic is his grasp of mind, quickness of perception and power of concentration, united with great physical endurance and habits of industry, enabling him to accomplish an amount of labor, within a given time, which but few could achieve. These qualities were largely inherited, for in youth he had not the advantage of that thorough mental training which so largely conduces to success.

Judge Flandrau has always been universally and deservedly popular with all classes with which he has come in contact. The reason is not far to seek. He is naturally gifted with unusual conversational powers and a sunny, genial disposition. He is also an attractive extemporaneous speaker, which makes his services sought on numerous public occasions. But more than all this, his readiness to assume the laboring oar in all enterprises in which he is called to act, thus relieving his associates often of much hard work without pecuniary advantage to himself, have secured him the friendship of large numbers who dislike the labor usually imposed as a condition of success.

And in view of what has been remarked, it is needless to say that Judge Flandrau is not less a success in social than in public life. He is or has been connected with all the social and business clubs in St. Paul. From qualities before adverted to, he is almost always requested to assist at public dinners. He is not only the

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originator of wit himself, but the creator of it in others. With such characteristics most men would jump at the conclusion, uttered by Daniel Webster in speaking of the profession, as applicable to Judge Flandrau, viz.: "that lawyers work hard, live well and die poor." The first two parts of the proposition in his case are true—fortunately the last not, so far as at present appears. On the contrary, Judge Flandrau, from the emoluments of his profession and judicious investments in real estate in the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, has accumulated, if not a fortune (as the word now goes), at least an ample competence, which relieves him from dependence on his profession for support and provision for his family in the future. And if it be true that "republics are ungrateful!" to those who depend on them for support, it is not true that the citizens of republics are slow to recognize deserving merit.

ISAAC ATWATER.

JOHN B. SANBORN.

The historian who seeks to portray the life and advancement of a people, or the subjugation of a wilderness to the uses of civilization and the domination of man, must, no matter how far he may be under the control of theories pointing otherwise, come at last to the individual and seek his true relation in the lives and records of those by whom the works he would describe have been performed. Thus biography becomes not merely a sidelight to history but the very essence and vitality of history itself. In the story of the leader, you tell that of his times as well.

Viewed thus, it does not need to be said that the true story of the great Northwest cannot be told, as we are from time to time trying to tell it in these pages, without more than a passing reference to the soldier, jurist, orator and high-minded and liberal-spirited citizen whose name may be found above. While his works have largely been performed in behalf of the section to which he belongs, his fame is National, and those who know and appreciate his worth, may be found in every corner of the land. The events of his busy and useful life have two reasons for relation—they illustrate the days in which he has lived, and they form a powerful incentive to the grand army of youth who aspire to walk also in the path of honor to reach the goal of success.

The qualities of courage, determination and industry that have made General John B. Sanborn of St. Paul, Minnesota, what he is, were not accidental gifts of nature, but came to him by natural heirship from a brave and self-reliant race who "carved their history upon the granite rocks of their native state." The characteristics of his ancestry have ever been a sturdy self-reliance, an earnest acquisition of knowledge, advancement in various departments of industry and an intense love of country. The family descent in this country alone may be traced back through over two centuries, and to a period over a century before the territory now comprising the state of Vermont was detached from the New Hampshire grant, as it was then known, when Reuben Sanborn moved from Hamp-

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Truly Yours.
John B. Sanborn.

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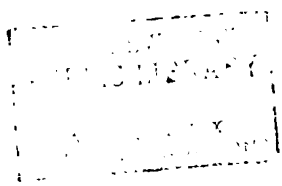

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ton and settled in that mountainous region where is now located the town of Epsom. The line may be traced back still farther into the original home of the family in England, but such quest is not material to the purpose of this sketch.

John B. Sanborn was born in the town of Epsom, Merrimack county, New Hampshire, December 5, 1826, upon a farm which has been in the family possession for seven generations.* His boyhood years were passed in the quiet of home, where his physical frame was undergoing proper development by work on the farm and temperate living, while his mind was being strengthened and his heart kept pure by the high precepts and worthy examples of the simple and honest lives about him. It was the expectation of the boy up to the time he was sixteen years of age, that he should remain upon the farm and care for his parents through their old age, but the failure of health of his brother while in college changed that plan. The brother came home, and, under the necessity of an out-door life, took the place of the younger son, and allowed the latter to go forth and seek his proper sphere. He went to work to seek an education with the energy and industry that have marked his career, and after a proper preparation in Pembroke and Thetford academies, entered Dartmouth college in 1851, where he remained one term, and then decided to enter directly upon the study of law. He entered the office of Asa Fowler at Concord, New Hampshire, where he continued until his admission to the bar in July, 1854. He commenced practice at Concord, but impelled by the advantages to be derived from settling in a newer and less crowded field, and led by the chances offered young men of his stamp of mind and character in the then opening northwest, an examination of the field led him to the fortunate choice of Minnesota and St. Paul, and accompanied by Theodore French, a young lawyer friend whom he had met in Concord, he set forth to seek his fortune in the pioneer lands of the distant west. The account of that trip has been tersely placed upon record by Mr. Sanborn himself, in these words:

About the last of November, 1854, French and myself started from Concord and went to Boston and bought about four hundred dollars worth of law books and shipped them direct to Galena, Illinois, the terminus then of the railroad, and followed on by rail, stopping a day or two in New York and Chicago and Galena and Dubuque. We reached Dubuque the fifth day of December, 1854, and attempted to get passage for ourselves and baggage to St. Paul upon M. O. Walker & Co's stage line, then carrying the mail between the two points by a road on the west side of the river, running through Elliota, Preston, Rochester, Cannon Falls, etc. The fare charged us was one hundred and twenty dollars apiece. We brought our Yankee wits to bear upon the situation, and concluded that we would buy an entire outfit, a pair of horses, harness, wagon, robes, etc., and put in our baggage and drive up more cheaply. We did so, and soon found that we had all the passengers that we could take care of to come through with us, and we reached St. Paul on the evening of the twenty-first of De-

* Mr. Sanborn has related this somewhat remarkable fact, in the following words: "The family homestead in Epsom, New Hampshire, has descended by primogeniture from generation to generation, since 1750, until it reached the children of Henry F. Sanborn, my only brother. At this time it is owned one-half by myself, and the other half by my brother and his son, and still remains in the Sanborn name. Rather a rare instance in this country of a homestead remaining in the same family from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty years."

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cember, 1854, having more money in our pockets when we had settled with the passengers we had brought through, than when we started, and sold our horses, wagon and harness at a profit of about three hundred dollars.

There was no question about the future to two young men of that sort. The partnership of Sanborn & French was formed on January 1, 1855, and a successful practice followed as a matter of course. Two years later, Charles C. Lund became a member of the firm, the name of which was changed to Sanborn, French & Lund. Upon the death of Mr. French in February, 1860, the name was again changed to Sanborn & Lund, which so continued until January 1, 1862, after the senior member had entered upon the service of his country in the Union army. These successive firms occupied a high position in the legal world, achieving a large practice in the state and National courts and a reputation nowhere excelled for ability, honesty and success.

Mr. Sanborn occupied a position in the Minnesota legislature in 1859-60, consenting to a nomination and an election thereto in order that he might aid in placing the laws of the state in better shape, as many of them, especially in those passed at an early date and relating to township and county organizations, with some relating to the general government of the state, were quite defective in their operation. Placed at the head of the judiciary committee of the house, and possessing legal knowledge and ability of the highest order, he soon became a recognized force in all the proceedings, and was instrumental in formulating and aiding in the enactment of a system of laws, which corrected many of the evils above mentioned and restored financial order and strength to the treasury of the state. He rendered such able service in this capacity, that at the end of his term he was promptly elected to the senate, and was entering upon a career of enlarged usefulness and influence when the storm of the Rebellion broke over the land, and he gave his service to his country in another and more active field.

In April, 1861, Mr. Sanborn was requested by Governor Ramsey to accept the position of adjutant-general and acting quartermaster-general of the state—a position full of responsibility and labor, and in which he showed great executive ability and the highest efficiency in equipping the Minnesota regiments and getting them into the field. But he could not consent to remain at home while others were marching to the front, and in December he accepted a commission as colonel of the Fourth Minnesota infantry. His headquarters were at Fort Snelling, and he was given command of all the troops along the frontier of the state. He remained in this capacity and location during the winter, and in the spring of 1862 his regiment was ordered into active service in the south, and became a part of the army at Pittsburgh Landing, reaching that point in season to be assigned a position in the forces then advancing toward Corinth. Colonel Sanborn's command was extended to a semi-brigade, consisting of a battery and three regiments. He bravely and successfully held his position until the surrender of the works at Corinth, when he was

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assigned to the command of the first brigade, forming a portion of the Seventh division of the Army of the Mississippi, and which subsequently became the Seventeenth Army corps.

While the soldierly qualities of Colonel Sanborn were recognized and often displayed in minor engagements and the control of his men, it was at the battle of Iuka, on September 19, 1862, that he was given an opportunity for that display of gallantry which won him his stars. In that fiercely fought battle his command was composed of only twenty-two hundred men, and such was the position of danger in which they were placed, and so gallant was the fight they made with the foe, that in one hour and a half nearly one-third of his men were swept away; but they never faltered or wavered, standing their ground heroically, and pressing forward with such gallantry that the day was won. The promotion of their brave leader to a brigadier-generalship followed as a matter of course, and it was the verdict of all that the honor was most honorably won.

In the battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills and at the siege of Vicksburg, General Sanborn exhibited upon many occasions and under many trying circumstances that courage, firmness and excellent judgment which had advanced him so rapidly forward in the road of promotion. He shared danger and privation with the common soldier, and bound his men to him by ties stronger than those of authority. At the siege of Vicksburg he was in command of a division for a portion of the time, so conducting himself as to receive the thanks of Grant himself, and the congratulations of his equals in command.

After the fall of Vicksburg, General Sanborn was transferred to the command of the military district of southwest Missouri, which he assumed on October 20, 1863, and operated against the army under General Price, in the autumn of 1864. Such was his success in that campaign that, on the recommendation of General Rosecrans, he was promoted to the rank of brevet major-general. Among the more conspicuous features of his operations in Missouri were those at Jefferson City, California, Boonville, Independence, Little Blue and Big Blue rivers, on the Osage, Marias des Cygnes, Mine Run, Newtonia, and at other points where conflicts of lesser note occurred. It is needless to say that he bore an honorable and conspicuous part in all these operations, and sustained the high reputation already won. He remained in command of that department until June 7, 1865, and found abundant labor in addition to the active service above enumerated. His principal duties were the maintaining of discipline and improving the efficiency of his own command, protecting the country and the people from the incursions and ravages of the bands and organizations of rebel bushwhackers that constantly infested it, resisting the advance of the Rebel army of the southwest, attacking and defeating that army again and again, at the places above named, and in the restoration of the functions of the civil law, and the protection of persons and property thereunder. Upon his immediate duties following the close of the war,

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General Sanborn has himself commented in the following words:*

The surrender of the large Rebel armies on the Atlantic coast was immediately followed by the surrender of the Rebel forces in southern Missouri and northern Arkansas, and as southwest Missouri was *de jure* in a loyal state, it opened a field for the reconstruction of society under the civil law immediately. To that end general orders No. 35 were issued by me on the eighth day of May, 1865, the substance of which was to relinquish martial law, and the refusal longer to control and govern the country thereby, and applying it only to two classes of offences, viz.: Efforts and attempts to intimidate judges, jurors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, etc., and any refusal of these officers to act at once upon the proper complaint or information of any citizen. At the same time I placed the whole Federal force in the district at the command of these officers of the peace. This gave confidence to these officers immediately, and the energy with which they commenced to enforce the statute and civil law struck terror into offenders, and order and general security to person and property was very speedily restored, and that in a community and over a large scope of country where martial law had held sole and exclusive sway for four years, and where the people had come to feel that there was no security or safety in any other system of law or government, and that to cast it off for the old system was not desirable.

The wisdom and efficiency of General Sanborn's course in this difficult position is vouched for by Governor Thomas C. Fletcher of Missouri, who, on June 1, 1865, addressed him a warm letter of commendation, in which he said:

The order is most admirably conceived, clearly expressed, and has throughout the right tone, and in it I recognize and gratefully acknowledge the most effective assistance I have yet received towards the re-establishment of order in Missouri. Be assured that when peace and the arts of industry shall once more have assumed their legitimate sway in the state which you have done so much to save, your name will be cherished with increasing reverence as our prosperity flows on in an uninterrupted tide.

* From a report to the adjutant-general of the army, made on July 30, 1872.

The above is but a mere outline of General Sanborn's services during the War of the Rebellion, made of necessity brief because of the space at command. He was made member of several important courts-martial, and performed other special services needless to detail here. A volume could be filled with the personal events and incidents of his army career, gleaned from the lips of those who were with him, or modestly told by himself when camp-fire meetings, or other reunions of the boys in blue, set the train of memory in motion. But all that must be foregone, and space only taken for a few lines at the close of an address of anecdote and reminiscence, delivered by General Sanborn, at a meeting of the department of American history of the Minnesota Historical society, in October, 1877:

Reminiscences of this kind of the campaign (against Vicksburg) do not afford a glimpse even of the great struggle, the gigantic efforts, the unutterable sufferings and sacrifices made by the army of the Tennessee to maintain the supremacy of the Federal power, by reducing this stronghold and gaining the undisputed mastery over the Mississippi river. Were all the official reports of all the officers of the army read here to-night (and these reports fill volumes), but a faint idea would be obtained. The great motive power of this effort was pure love of country and sincere devotion to the welfare of organized society. In the failure of this effort the leading spirits of that army thought that they saw, or feared that they saw, the overthrow of this government, and in its overthrow they clearly saw the failure of the last great Republican government on earth; society disorganized and reduced to chaos; intelligence and virtue overwhelmed in a sea of ignorance and brutality, and religion and purity superseded by bacchanalian revelry and superstitious degradation. Hence, in the estimation of these men, the struggle was to save the government and all the blessings that upon it depended. Institutions of learning and religion, the liberty of the masses

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and civilization itself were at stake upon the decision of the issues of that hour, and their full appreciation by the army nerved it to strike such blows as would and did overwhelm all opposing forces.

The war ended, active service of another character was in store for General Sanborn. In June, 1865, he was ordered by General Dodge, then in command of the department of Missouri, to proceed to the plains, take command of the district of the Upper Arkansas, with headquarters at Fort Riley, and make a campaign against the Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne and Arrapahoe and Apache Indians. He assumed such command on July 12, and found two thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry under his control. The men were wretchedly supplied, and two weeks were spent in getting them in moving order. The cavalry was put in forward motion on August 1, and before long word was received from the Indians that they did not want war and never had, with a request that General Sanborn should meet them in council. Such conference was held on August 18, and the gratifying result was a pledge on the part of the Indians to cease all acts of violence or injury to the frontier settlements and travelers on any lines of travel, and to meet commissioners on behalf of the United States on October 4, and agree upon terms of perpetual peace. The quiet and security of the southern plains was at once restored, without interruption, during the two following years.

General Sanborn was designated as one of these commissioners on part of the United States, the other members being General Harney, Kit Carson, William Bent and Judge Brown. A treaty was successfully arranged, after which General Sanborn, in November of the same year, was ordered by the President to visit the Indian territory and settle the differences between the several tribes, and restore amicable relations between the late slaves and their former masters, and at the same time settle the disturbances existing in the regions of Fort Smith and Fort Gibson. Arriving in the territory early in December, he found a highly disturbed condition of affairs, but, with characteristic energy and vigor, he succeeded by four months of hard labor in restoring order and establishing a reconciliation among the tribes. As this labor was in a field of events hardly noticed in the excitement attendant upon the close of the war and reconstruction, and as the settlement of these new relations between the Indians and their former slaves forms a new and unique page in American history, an interesting extract from the report of General Sanborn already referred to, is given as follows:

My first step was to publish in form of a circular the instructions received from the interior department, which set forth fully the object of my mission and the end sought by the government. This circular was distributed to all the government officials and the leading men of the respective tribes of Indians. I followed this up with consultations and councils with the representative men of the respective tribes. No difficulty whatever was experienced in securing absolute freedom and every right from the Creek and Seminole natives to their former slaves. These tribes at once recognized them as a band, and allowed them a chief with a seat and vote in their councils, and at once entered into contracts with them for their labor. Order and good feeling prevailed in these tribes.

With the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees the case was different. Each of the tribes protested against their former slaves remaining with them or in their country. But when satisfied that

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it was the determined purpose of the government to protect these freedmen, either in certain sections of the reservations of the respective tribes that might be especially set apart for them, or wherever they should live on these reservations, their prejudices, though strong, yielded to discretion, and in two months after my arrival in the territory, all seemed to have concluded to sustain the government fully in whatever course it should adopt as to the freedmen of these tribes. Their old slave codes, which were among the greatest obstacles that I had to overcome, as they felt that what was lawful might and ought to be done with impunity, were soon repealed; contracts in writing were made by nearly all who employed Negro labor, or with whom these freedmen lived, and the heart-burnings, bitterness and strife that existed between the two races on my arrival, making the person and property of both insecure, disappeared under the policy of the government in the short space of four months, and the freedom of the black race and the harmony and happiness of both races in that territory was secured.

Early in April, 1866, General Sanborn had the pleasure of informing the secretary of the interior that he had fully performed the duties and accomplished the mission for which he had been sent into the Indian territory; that satisfactory relations existed between the freedmen and their former masters in that country, and that all further services required by the government could be as well performed by the Indian agents and superintendents as by officers of the army. He was directed to proceed to Washington, where, on April 30, he was honorably mustered out of a military service of exceptional value, and in which he had shown the possession of all the qualities needed to fit him for any form of authority or responsibility in military life.

General Sanborn immediately returned to the practice of law, reopening his office at St. Paul, and at the same time becoming the senior member of the newly established firm of Sanborn & King, at Washington, D. C. In July, 1878, he retired from the last-named connection. On January 1, 1871, he associated a nephew with him in his practice at St. Paul, the firm's name becoming John B. & W. H. Sanborn, to which, in 1881, another nephew, Ed. P. Sanborn, was added, with no change in the firm's name. That connection has since remained without change.

Although busy in his extensive law practice and other material connections, General Sanborn had proved himself too valuable a servant of the public to be long allowed the quiet of private life. In 1867 he was appointed one of the peace commissioners to treat with the hostile tribes of Indians, including the Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Navajoes, Shoshones, northern Arrapahoes, Crows, and the numerous bands composing the Sioux nation. He was associated in this service with General Sherman, General Harney, General Terry and Senator John B. Henderson. They made a thorough investigation of the needs and demands of these tribes, and fixed upon a policy to be pursued by the government towards them, which resulted in a comparative success, because it was economical and at the same time secured reasonable safety to the settlers on the frontier. Out of his knowledge of the red men, as brought forth by experience and viewed under the lens of his abundant common sense and penetrating judgment, General Sanborn early reached conclusions regarding the treatment of the Indian that the Nation would have done well to heed.

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"All humanity, all economy, all sound policy," said he in a public address,* "require that at this most favorable opportunity the government shall designate certain territories wherein it will gather the Indians and throw around them the strong arm of its power. Here let the government dispense its charity, and always be provided with means to relieve want and starvation. Let the legislative department appropriate a sufficient amount to collect and subsist the Indians on these reservations and make proper improvements thereon. . . . Of all policies towards the Indians, that of war is the most objectionable. Our annual loss of life while at war with them is not less than five hundred, while they lose not over one hundred, and we expend from twenty-five to forty millions of dollars. . . . For less than one-sixth of the expense of war, all the Indians needing subsistence could be supplied; and no rule pertaining to them is so general as that, when well fed, they are always friendly, and when starved, they are always dangerous and hostile. . . . Why cannot a policy so sound and so economical be adopted? Would it not have been better for the government to have had twenty thousand dollars in subsistence supplies at Redwood in 1862, than to have had our fair frontier all desolated, and had forty millions expended in fruitless war? Would it not have been better for the government to have had the treaty made at Laramie in 1851, with the western Dakota and other tribes, giving them an annuity of seventy thousand dollars for forty years ratified, than to have had it cut down to ten years, and at the end of that time compelled to expend twenty-five millions and lose a thousand valuable lives? Would it not have been better for us when the princely territory of the Cheyennes was overrun by the gold-seekers, to have spent two millions in feeding and providing them a home elsewhere, than ten millions in hopeless war, with the loss of eight hundred lives? . . . Let these slaughters cease, or let the government cease to be responsible for them. Let that policy be adopted, and let that department have control of these affairs that will give protection to red, and consequent security to white men. Let our courts be opened to hear and redress their grievances, and the privileges of our naturalization and pre-emption laws be extended to them. Let them be localized, educated and Christianized. Those Indians who survive the existence of their nations will mingle in the great ocean of European life that is now rolling and surging around them. But little can be hoped for them as a distinct people. The sun of their day is fast sinking in the western sky. It will soon go down in a night of oblivion that shall know no morning. As we remember what they have been and contemplate their early doom, a feeling of subdued sadness steals over us, like that produced by the fading and falling leaves of autumn, intensified by the knowledge that no spring-time shall renew their fading glory, and no future knows their fame."

General Sanborn has, also, served the public in capacities other than those enumerated above. He has always been

* From an address delivered before the Young Men's Christian association, at Winona, in January, 1869, on "Indians and Our Indian Relations."

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a prominent leader in political affairs of his state. In 1872 he was elected to the legislature of Minnesota. On one occasion he came within two votes in the caucus of an election to the United States senate. Again, in 1882, he served once more in the legislature, which position he mainly accepted that he might assist in restoring the credit of the state and placing it upon a sound financial basis, and it was at that session that the $2,500,000 of state bonds, which had been issued under an act passed in 1858, and stood repudiated from that time, were taken up and canceled and the stain of repudiation removed.

In this connection it will be pertinent to mention the fact that, upon the resignation of Judge McCreary as circuit judge of the eighth district of the United States circuit court, the name of General Sanborn was so strongly and highly recommended for appointment to that responsible position that President Arthur acknowledged these endorsements to be by far the best, as coming from the bar of that judicial district, but geographical position determined the appointment, and as Kansas was the most central, Judge Brewer of that state was given the position. The recommendations of General Sanborn were unsolicited by him, and were a spontaneous tribute to his personal worth and legal abilities. In 1881 he was elected president of the St. Paul chamber of commerce, which responsible position he so ably filled that he was continued therein by successive elections until 1886. He has been vice-president and trustee of the Bankers' Life Assurance association, and is president of the St. Paul Roller Mill company, for flouring wheat. He is a member of the executive council of the State Historical society, and was commander of the Minnesota commandery of the Loyal Legion in 1885. Well, indeed, has it been said that he has "conferred honor upon all of these positions of trust, and has seen the expansion of his adopted city from a moderate frontier village to the splendid proportions of one of the leading commercial and manufacturing centres in the Valley of the Mississippi, with magnificent public buildings, elegant stores, great flouring-mills and warehouses, fine hotels and churches, an admirable system of public schools, and the conveniences of metropolitan life, embraced in street railways, water supply, gas-works and improved streets, through which St. Paul challenges comparison with any other city of its population upon the continent. To all of these enterprises General Sanborn has liberally contributed his energy and capital, and is, therefore, a part of the broad and generous enterprise with which he is surrounded."

In addition to his qualities as a jurist, a law-maker and a soldier, General Sanborn is a thinker and writer who, in many public addresses and otherwise, has shown a literary capacity of superior order, and to eloquence has added a soundness of judgment and grace of expression that give to his papers and addresses a double value. He is a close student of books, his law and general library constituting a collection of rare value. His life has been one devoted not merely to himself but largely to the good of others, and, while generous and ready with his means in all worthy causes, he

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has, by industry and keen business sense, amassed an ample fortune which he worthily enjoys. With professional honor of the highest order, he unites many graces of character that have won for him the respect and admiration of the community in which he lives. No better heritage can any man leave for those who shall come after him than may be found in the honorable name that John B. Sanborn will bequeath to his children when his long and useful life shall be brought to an end.

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

A TRIP TO CALIFORNIA IN 1869.

IT is only a few of the many things of interest to me in my trip that I shall attempt to note in this article. None except those who have visited California, can have an adequate conception of the sublimity and beauty of the scenery. Her mountains are giants with a plenty of gold in their pockets, and her sunny valleys a paradise of fruits and flowers.

My visit was made in the memorable year in which the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railways were completed, connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific ocean by links of iron that can never be broken. The completion of this bold enterprise was regarded as a great National event. The last spike, which was made of solid gold, was driven at Ogden with due ceremonies of a public character. The east and the west were made happy, and for the first time shook hands with each other across the continent.

When I arrived at Council Bluffs I was surprised to find them a series of sand-hills, standing like sentinels arrayed in brown caps and flowing frocks, as if stationed there by nature to prevent intruders from passing the gateway into the golden west. They maintained a respectful silence, however, and allowed us to pass unchallenged over the treacherous waters of the Missouri river to Omaha, at the hazard of our lives, in a rickety old ferry-boat.

Here we encountered a waiting crowd who were, like ourselves, "westward bound." A half dozen beautiful palace cars, the first I had seen, were speedily added to the train and the thrilling words given—"All aboard." In the scramble to get seats in the palace cars I lost my wife. The train started at high speed. It was an agonizing moment for me, but in passing into the car ahead I found her feeling quite as much alarmed as myself. There was nothing new, however, in the fact that she often gets ahead of me.

On our way up the beautiful valley of the Platte we were overtaken by a terrific thunder-storm. The heavens became, suddenly, as black as a starless midnight. The lightning flashed in every direction, and electric balls of fire rolled over the plains. It seemed as if the artillery of heaven had made the valley a target and that we were

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doomed to instant destruction. But happily our fears were soon dissipated. The storm was succeeded by a brilliant rainbow. This reassured us, and we "went on our way rejoicing."

The next day, soon after sunrise, we passed a village of prairie-dogs. They suspended their frolics, and from every roof and door of their conic little sandhills, gazed at us with inquisitive eyes. Several gentlemen stepped to the platform of the cars and saluted the inoffensive villagers with a few pistol shots. They returned the salute with a yelp and retired, unharmed, into their domiciles. In an hour afterward we arrived at the breakfast station, a small shanty built partly of boards and partly of canvas. Here the passengers were replenished with an excellent breakfast—a chicken stew, as they supposed, but which, as they were afterward informed, consisted of prairie-dogs—a new variety of chickens, without feathers. This information created an unpleasant sensation in sundry delicate stomachs.

The distance from Omaha to the apex of the Rocky mountains is five hundred and fifty miles. Instead of seeing mountains in the distance as we approached the apex at Sherman, we saw none, and began to think the "Rockies" a myth. The entire distance is simply an ascending plain, so gentle that you hardly perceive it. It is a region barren of woodlands. A tree of any kind is a rarity. On our way we passed a herd of antelopes feeding on the wild grass in the distance. They are beautiful animals. We also passed two bears walking leisurely amid a cluster of dwarf pines and within rifle shot. The puff of the locomotive did not seem to disturb their meditations.

Soon after this the train ran thundering into the town of Sherman, which consisted, at that time, of but one small cabin, a wind-mill, a well and a water tank. Here we were at the highest point of the Rocky mountains, eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. I stepped from the cars to take a view of the sublimities of the scene. The only mountain, worthy of the name, which I could see, was Pike's Peak in the distance; yet I felt patriotically proud in the thought that I was standing erect on the back-bone of the continent—the highest position in life that I had ever attained.

From Sherman we gradually descended towards the Pacific and ran nearly on the old overland route. The early immigrants by this route encountered untold sufferings and disasters. The wayside is still strewn, here and there, with the relics of their time. At Bitter creek we saw the bleaching bones of many of their horses and oxen that drank at this Lethean stream and died on the spot.

Both on the right and on the left, as we proceeded, surprises caught the eye. They were of a physical character, and seemed to be the freaks of nature in a frolicsome mood. At one point she had introduced a silent civilization and built a village—a group of hills, known as the Buttes, which in the distance look like a veritable town composed of human dwellings in various styles of antique architecture, interspersed with a liberal sprinkling of temples or church edifices resembling cathedrals. I could hardly believe from its appearance that it was not

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a living village, with streets and an active population. At another point we passed through a deep, narrow and dismal pathway, called Weber's canyon, overhung with rocks—castles in the air—that varied in height from five hundred to a thousand feet. They seemed ready to fall and crush us. The scene is as fearful as it is sublime. There ran through the canyon, however, a laughing, merry, girlish rivulet that cheered somewhat my gloomy apprehensions. This very remarkable canyon was doubtless formed by volcanic action—an earthquake that split the mountain range, and thus opened and graded a railway route into the beautiful valley of Salt Lake—the holy land of many wives.

Here I was induced to pay the saints a visit, and, leaving the cars, proceeded by stage-coach to Salt Lake City. My wife was careful to accompany me. The road angled along the borders of the lake whose margin is lined with an accumulation of crystallized salt, pure and white, and ready for domestic use. The Mormons help themselves to all the salt they need. The lake is a marvel. Neither fish nor amphibian can live in its saline waters. It is an American "Dead sea," about fifteen miles long and nearly twice as wide. It is begemmed with several beautiful islands. It has no outlet, but receives the fresh waters of two rivers, Bear river and the Jordan, and yet it retains the same degree of saltness. It is encircled by mountains, and seems to have been formed by some grand geological convulsion.

In approaching Salt Lake City, which is located on the banks of the Jordan, we passed through a streamlet of hot water gushing at the roadside from a cavity in the earth. The degree of its heat was so felt by the horses as to induce them to quicken their speed in fording it. The city, in point of wealth and beauty, far exceeded my expectations. It is a perfect Eden, and might have been, for ought I know, the original Eden in which Adam and Eve luxuriated at the creation. It was on a lovely day, in the month of September, that we arrived. The streets were lined with modest cottages, half hidden amid fruit trees, which were laden with a ripened wealth that tempted us. The branches of numerous trees projected over the sidewalks, and seemed to invite the pedestrian to help himself. This we did, nor did we think it "forbidden fruit." In passing I noticed that many of the cottages were supplied with two or more front doors, and was told that these doors indicated the number of happy wives that belonged to the "much married" proprietors.

The hotel at which we stopped was spacious and somewhat imposing in its style of architecture. The landlord was a native of Maine, and removed at an early day to this "land of promise," where he became a Mormon with all the rights and privileges of the faithful. He had two wives at the hotel and three in cottages. He circulated daily among them all, and staid over night wherever night overtook him. He was said to be rich, and if he was not "henpecked," he certainly ought to have been. He appeared to be a very pleasant and intelligent gentleman.

The central part of the city is finely

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built, and characterized by its commercial activities. The streets are broad, and some of them have channels of water flowing on either side fresh from the melting snows of the adjacent mountains and sufficient for irrigating the gardens.

The Mormons, whatever may be their faults, appear to be a quiet, orderly people. They maintain excellent schools and allow no intoxicating liquors to be sold. They love amusements and support a theatre. They are as tenacious of their faith as they are of their life, if not more so. Theirs is substantially an orthodox faith, except in one respect, that of polygamy. We attended a Sunday service at the Tabernacle—a huge circular structure, in which ten or twelve hundred persons had assembled, converts to Mormonism, who had been gathered from every civilized land. We heard the famous Brigham preach. He literally preached his gospel to "all nations of every tongue." He claimed to be inspired. He exhibited a degree of refinement and intelligence in his discourse which surprised me. His adherents evidently regarded him as a divine personage. I was told he had nineteen wives—no wonder he died a martyr to polygamy. Time will doubtless deify him.

The next day we turned our backs on the charms of the saintly city and resumed our trip westward. In ascending Promontory Point we gained a point that gave us a splendid view of Salt Lake valley. We soon entered upon the vast alkaline plain through which flows the River Humbolt. It is a barren region, interspersed here and there with shattered mountains, broken into pillars that looked skyward and which were apparently split or hewn to order. We were struck with awe, as well as with a realizing sense of the sublime, in passing between the palisades, so called—a twin range of perpendicular rocks, fifteen hundred feet high or more. At a station in this region we were regaled with the sight, for the first time, of a group of wild Indians. Some of the squaws were burdened with pappooses strapped to their backs. They expected and received a "shower" of donations from the passengers in the shape of "cold victuals" and "silver quarters." This made them happy. Among them were some of the finest specimens of physical manhood that I ever saw.

We found but few stations on the route over the mountain plains where we could obtain meals or refreshments. These few were far apart and generally built of poles and cotton cloth. The little mining town of Reno was built much in the same way. Here we began to ascend the eastern slope of the Sierras. The highest point is Summit Station, seven thousand and forty-two feet above the level of the sea. Here the scene, as far as the eye can reach, is sublime. It looks as if it had been the battle-field of conflicting earthquakes, a perfect chaos of fractured mountains. In passing the infant village of Colfax we saw for the first time miners at work, shoveling surface-soil into a plank sluice of running water to sift the particles of gold from it. The gold being the heaviest, sank to the bottom in the artificial eddies, and on turning off the water, was easily gathered and "bagged." In a few hours after passing Colfax we descend from the sublime heights of the

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Sierras into the Sacramento valley of California, a beautiful section of the Pacific coast. It is said that grains of gold can be found diffused in the soil throughout the vast extent of this valley. Its wheat fields are immense. We saw miles of wheat in sacks, piled like cord-wood in rows alongside the railway track, awaiting transportation to market. We reached San Francisco in the dusk of the evening, at an hour too late to see, or even catch a glimpse of the wealth and wonders that surrounded us on every side.

HARVEY RICE.

[*To be continued.*]

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF OHIO.

A HUNDRED years ago to-day (April 7, 1888) the first permanent settlement by the white race was made within the present limits of Ohio. That settlement was made, as we all know, at the mouth of the Muskingum river, by an association of New Englanders known as the "Ohio Land company," under the leadership of General Rufus Putnam.

It may be well here, perhaps, to indulge in a remark or two in regard to existing historical facts that had a direct and, doubtless, a controlling bearing upon the important event of the first permanent settlement of Ohio.

Virginia's claims to lands extending westward to the Mississippi river were founded upon several charters granted by King James the First, bearing dates respectively, April 10, 1606; May 23, 1609, and March 12, 1611.

To the foregoing charter-titles was added the title obtained by conquest of the country during the Revolutionary war, which was subsequently ratified by the treaty of peace of 1783.

Let it be remembered that Virginia not only in colonial times but also during the early years of the commonwealth, asserted ownership and claimed the right of jurisdiction over the country that by act of the Continental congress in 1787 became "the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio." This ownership and right of jurisdiction was not only claimed but also exercised not only by the colony but also by the commonwealth. First, by the act of the house of burgesses in 1769, establishing the county of Botetourt, whose western boundary was the Mississippi river, and which embraced the settlements of St. Vincent's (now Vincennes) on the Wabash river, and of Kaskaskia and Cahokia near the Mississippi, also that of Detroit on the Detroit river, near the head of Lake Erie, and several others, being chiefly some French settlements at different points, in each case of quite limited population.

It must be admitted, however, that civil government in the portion of Botetourt county situated northwest of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi was, for a number of years, merely a nominal affair, because of the sparseness of the inhabitants and other causes. Even in the act to organize Botetourt county, it was expressly provided that no taxes should be

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collected from its extreme western inhabitants for the building of a court-house and jail, because of the certainty that at a not remote period the western portion of the county would be set off into a new county, when they would have to bear the expense of erecting public buildings without the aid of the eastern and more populous and wealthy portion of Botetourt.

And so it came to pass, for soon after the conquest of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and other military posts by General George Rogers Clark, in 1778, which was effected by Virginians mainly, and under Virginian authority, the legislature of said state organized the county of Illinois, which embraced all that portion of Botetourt county situated northwest of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi rivers. Colonel John Todd, a resident of Kentucky (then a portion of Virginia), was appointed by the governor of Virginia civil commandant and lieutenant of Illinois county, and he served as such until his death, which occurred at the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks, in August, 1782, where he held the chief command. He was a popular civil officer as well as a military commander; and civil government in Illinois county, Virginia, was perpetuated by the appointment, as his successor, of Timothy de Montbrun, who probably exercised his functions until the date of Virginia's deed of cession, in 1784, possibly until the territory was organized.

The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States had its final ratification in January, 1784; but negotiations for the termination of hostilities and ending the Revolutionary war, with hopes of speedy success, had been in progress for several years. When the successful issue of negotiations for peace had become inevitable, or, in fact, had been agreed to by the negotiators, but not finally ratified by the two governments interested, the general assembly of Virginia, in 1783, passed an "act authorizing the Virginia delegates in congress to convey to the United States all the right of that commonwealth to the Territory Northwestward of the River Ohio."

Pursuant to the foregoing action of the general assembly of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe being Virginia's representatives in congress, did, as per deed of cession, on the first day of March, 1784, "convey, in the name and for and on behalf of the said commonwealth, transfer, assign and make over unto the United States in congress assembled, for the benefit of said states, Virginia inclusive, all right, title and claim, as well of soil as of jurisdiction, to the territory of said state lying and being to the northwest of the River Ohio."

Upon the presentation of said deed of cession, congress resolved on the same day "that it be accepted and the same be recorded and enrolled among the acts of the United States in congress assembled."

The United States having thus secured title to the "great northwest," congress soon thereafter deemed it advisable to take the preliminary steps looking to the permanent establishment of civil government in the new and extensive territory of which that body had just become the custodian, the manager and, in a sense, the owner. Accordingly, after much mature

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deliberation and careful consideration of the whole subject, as well as prolonged discussion of the important questions involved, congress, on the thirteenth of July, 1787, gave to the world the results of its deliberations in "an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio," which has come to be best known as "the Ordinance of '87," sometimes also called "the Ordinance of Freedom."

The above was the ordinance that led to the formation of the "Ohio Land company," and to Ohio's first settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum river, by General Rufus Putnam and his brave associates, on the seventh of April, 1788, just a hundred years ago! And this is an event of no inconsiderable importance to mankind in general, and especially to a large portion of the people of the great northwest, whose centennial anniversary celebration of the first settlement of Ohio by their ancestors is now in progress at many points within the original limits of the Northwest Territory, which so cordially adopted the Ordinance of Freedom as its fundamental law—its constitution indeed—and which was also done substantially by Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin when they became states, they all having been originally a part of "the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio."

The Ordinance of Freedom, whose centennial anniversary was extensively celebrated on the thirteenth of July of last year,. was an instrument of great historic interest—it was indeed one of the grandest achievements of the closing years of the Continental congress! It was, for the most part, based upon the true principles of equal rights, of wholesome righteous government—upon knowledge, education, freedom, Christianity. It asserts civil and religious liberty, maintains the rights of conscience, demands the establishing and maintenance of common schools, proclaims the freedom of all men perpetually, guarantees justice and equal rights to every person, and the protection of law to all alike. Such are the principles proclaimed by Freedom's ordinance — principles that may well be declared "the grandest, noblest ever promulgated by human legislators;" and taken all in all may be justly considered as a "great monument of civil jurisprudence!" The remark might here be appropriately added that, quite similar in spirit, in the main, are the principles and provisions of Freedom's ordinance and the Constitution of the United States; and no marvel, for deliberation upon, and consideration and discussion of, the features and principles of both Ordinance and Constitution were conducted in neighboring cities at the same time—in part, at least—the former by congress and the latter by a convention, some of the members of the one being also members of the other body, and the consideration of both instruments, though not their adoption, having also been contemporaneous events—the former body, that adopted Freedom's ordinance (the Continental congress), being presided over by General Arthur St. Clair, and the latter body, the constitutional convention, that formed the Constitution of the United States, having General George

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Washington for its president, or its presiding officer.

Soon after the adoption of the Ordinance of Freedom, on the thirteenth of July, 1787, the preliminary measures that had been taken looking to the formation of the Ohio Land company were pushed to rapid completion in New England; and on the twenty-seventh of October, 1787, Rev. Manasseh Cutler and Major Winthrop Sargent, agents for the aforesaid company, negotiated with the Board of Treasury for the purchase of a tract of land of about a million and a half of acres, situated northwest of the Ohio river. But the contract was subsequently modified so that patents were at last issued to the company for only about nine hundred and sixty-four thousand acres, the company finally paying for that quantity of land, and no more.

The modification of the contract which reduced so largely the number of acres sold to the Ohio Land company came about by obtaining the consent of the government to reserve for future sale sections eight, eleven and twenty-six of the tract of one million and a half acres, the proceeds of the sales to go into the National treasury, and by a gift of one hundred thousand acres of the aforesaid tract, by the government to the Ohio Land company, called donation lands, which reduced the sale to the company to that extent. The further modifications of the contract were the giving of a further gift of two townships of land as a college endowment (Ohio university), at Athens, and by the donation of every sixteenth section for school purposes, also of every twenty-ninth section for the support of the gospel, being called the ministerial section. Thus it was that by donations, reservations and the exercise of great liberality on the part of the National government, the burdens of the "Ohio Land company" were greatly mitigated, and important human interests were correspondingly promoted thereby.

The members of the "Ohio Land company" consisted chiefly of officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army, residents for the most part of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. The company at first elected a board of directors, and that board held a meeting November 23, 1787, and their first act was to elect General Rufus Putnam their superintendent or leader, and he accepted the position. Congress had, the previous month (October 16, 1787), appointed General Arthur St. Clair of Pennsylvania governor of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio;" Major Winthrop Sargent, secretary, and three territorial judges, who were to be ready to proceed to the Northwest Territory during the succeeding summer, to put in motion the machinery of civil government. And this fact stimulated the Ohio Land company to greater activity, and led to their early removal to their western wilderness home. Accordingly, early in December, 1787, six boat-builders and a number of other mechanics were sent forward to Simrall's Ferry (then a well-known crossing place on the Youghiogheny river), under the leadership of Major Hatfield White, where they arrived in January, 1788, and at once proceeded to build a boat in which the members of the company could float down the Youghiogheny, Mononga-

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hela and Ohio rivers to the mouth of the Muskingum at Fort Harmar, on the Ohio.

At the aforementioned meeting of the directors of the Ohio Land company, held on the twenty-third of November, 1787, Colonel Ebenezer Sproat of Rhode Island, Anselm Tupper and John Matthews of Massachusetts and Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs of Connecticut were appointed surveyors. Preliminary steps were also taken at this meeting to secure a school-teacher and chaplain, which resulted in the appointment of Rev. Daniel Story to serve both as teacher and chaplain. Mr. Story accepted both positions, and some time during the next year reported at the mouth of the Muskingum ready to serve the people there and in parts adjacent as their first school-master and missionary.

Early in the winter the remainder of the pioneers, embracing most of the then members of the Ohio Land company, probably with the aforenamed surveyors, left their New England homes and started on their toilsome journey to the western wilderness. They passed over the Alleghany mountains, and reached the Youghiogheny river, at Simrall's Ferry, about the middle of February, 1788, where they rejoined their comrades of the advance party, who had gone before them to build a boat and prepare to make the latter part of their long journey—being a voyage down our western rivers—as comfortable as possible.

The boat-builders and other mechanics that had gone in advance of their associate members of the Ohio Land company to Simrall's Ferry, completed the task assigned them on the first day of April, 1788. They called the boat that was to convey our pioneers to their destination, the *Mayflower*, and it was loaded at once, and on the next day the emigrants embarked, and the voyage down the Youghiogheny was commenced without delay. The *Mayflower* was upwards of forty feet long, twelve feet wide, was of about fifty tons burden, and was placed under the command of Captain Jonathan Devol. Her bows were raking or curved like a galley and strongly timbered; her sides were made bullet-proof and she was covered with a deck roof, so as to afford a better protection against the hostile savages while floating down towards their western home, and during its occupancy there while building their cabins.

The *Mayflower* got under way at Simrall's Ferry, April 2, 1788, passed out of the Youghiogheny into the Monongahela, and arrived at the forks of the Ohio (now Pittsburgh) during the first twenty-four hours after embarkation, accompanied by a flat boat and three canoes, and arrived safely at its destination on the seventh of April, 1788, having entirely escaped attacks from the savages; and then and there (at the mouth of the Muskingum river) was made the first permanent settlement of civilized, English-speaking people, within the present limits of Ohio, just one hundred years ago.

The following gentlemen composed the colony of forty-eight heroic emigrants that arrived in the *Mayflower* at the mouth of the Muskingum river, April 7, 1788. They at once placed themselves under the protection of the guns of Fort

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Harmar, proceeded without delay to erect habitations for immediate occupancy, cleared land to raise a crop of corn and all necessary vegetables and to build a town upon, and generally tried to be as useful as possible, and get in their time in a manner becoming to the first settlers of a new country. Well may they be regarded as the founders of a great state! Now for their names:

General Rufus Putnam, superintendent or leader; Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, Major Anselm Tupper and John Matthews, surveyors; Major Hatfield White, steward and quartermaster; Captain Jonathan Devol, commander of the *Mayflower;* Josiah Munroe, Captain Daniel Davis, Peregrine Foster, Captain Jethro Putnam, Captain William Gray, Captain Ezekiel Cooper, Jervis Cutler, Samuel Felshaw, Hezekiah Flint, Hezekiah Flint, jr., Amos Porter, Josiah Whitridge, John Gardner, Benjamin Griswold, Elizur Kirkland, Samuel Cushing, Oliver Dodge, Isaac Dodge, Jabez Barlow, Daniel Bushnell, Ebenezer Corry, Phineas Coburn, Allen Putnam, David Wallace, Joseph Wells, Gilbert Devol, jr., Israel Danton, Jonas Davis, Theophilus Leonard, Joseph Lincoln, William Miller, Earl Sproat, Josiah White, Allen Devol, Henry Maxon, William Maxon, William Moulton, Edmund Moulton, Simeon Martin, Benjamin Shaw and Peletiah White.

A second company of about twenty emigrants, principally from Essex and Middlesex counties of Massachusetts, says Rev. Timothy Flint, left in the early summer of 1788 for the mouth of the Muskingum river, and after a nine weeks' journey, arrived there early in July. Another company also arrived in August, one of these being under the leadership of Rev. Manasseh Cutler. The latter company was composed of eight families, consisting of men, women and children—the men of this and the previously named company being, presumably, at least most of them, members of the "Ohio Land company." The whole number of men in the territory upon the approach of autumn, in 1788, is given by the author of the 'History of Athens County' at one hundred and thirty-two, civil government having been, meanwhile, firmly established, Judges Parsons and Varnum and Secretary Sargent having arrived in June, and Governor St. Clair in July of said year. In the meantime other emigrants from various localities, but principally from New England, had arrived and settled permanently at or near the mouth of the Muskingum river.

Many of our Muskingum pioneers were representative men—"men of mark." All accounts represent them as men of intelligence and character—as men of vigorous intellect, of mature judgment, of ability and large experience, of talents of a high order, men who possessed in large measure true manly characteristics, noble qualities and heroic virtues. In short, as one of our historians long ago wrote, "they were just the kind of men to found a state in the wilderness." They possessed great energy of character, were enterprising, fond of adventure and daring, and were not to be intimidated by the formidable forests that were to be subdued, nor by the ferocious beasts sheltered therein by day and night, nor even by the

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still more to be dreaded savages, who stealthily and with murderous intent roamed throughout their length and breadth, and who were liable to be encountered at all times, and always at a disadvantage, whether by day or night, in either "wold or clearing," in the "waste howling wilderness," in prairie or in forest. Our pioneers had been soldiers—not holiday soldiers, but soldiers of the Revolutionary war—and their army experience had taught them what it was to endure hardships and privations, and they were now quite willing to encounter the sufferings and perils incident to pioneer life on the frontiers and in the wilderness, which was filled with savage beasts and more savage men. A better set of men, even though nurtured in revolutionary times, could not have been selected for pioneer settlers in these far-off western regions, than were the New England colonists at the mouth of the Muskingum river, who cast anchor there just a hundred years ago! Brave-hearted, courageous, hero emigrants to the hitherto unsettled northwest were they verily, who, having triumphantly and with high honors passed the fiery ordeals of the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars, had volunteered to found a state and to establish American institutions, American civilization, American statesmanship, American laws, American jurisprudence, an American system of education, American usages, manners and customs, in this, the then uninhabited wilderness of the great northwest!

In the light of the foregoing facts and reflections, it is not surprising that one of our historians has written, that "if any state in the American galaxy of states ever had a better start, or in its incipiency gave higher promise than Ohio, I am not aware of it." And no marvel that one who knew, personally, many of the founders of Ohio as well as did General Washington, should have thought and said of them that "no colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just been commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." Words of significance and great weight are these. And it affords me the highest degree of pleasure to close this paper with a full endorsement of the truth respecting our countrymen, our honored ancestors, contained in the ten thousandth time quoted passage from one of the letters of the father of his country—the immortal Washington! "Honor to their memory now and evermore!"

ISAAC SMUCKER.

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THE TSIMSHEANS (TSIM-SHE-ANS) AT METLAKAHTLA (MET-LA-KAHT-LA).

On our return from Alaska, our steamer anchored off Metlakahtla, an Arcadian village of civilized Indians, built round a bay on the Chimsgan peninsula, just below the Alaskan boundary line, and but a little way south of Fort Simson, in British Columbia, the chief Hudson Bay company trading-post of the region, where the great canoe market and the feasts and dances of the Indians enliven the centre of trade each fall. The coast is as rugged and fierce as the natives who inhabit it. Metlakahtla, in the distance, looks like a New England village, with its white frame houses and large, white, frame meeting-house.

The story, as learned, of these Indians—of their terrible barbarity—is almost too horrible to believe. Nine Tsimshean tribes centre around Fort Simson, notorious on the whole coast for their cruel, blood-thirsty savagery. Given up to dark superstition and atrocious habits of cannibalism, they were constantly waging wars upon the neighboring tribes. Their warfare was carried on with revolting cruelty, and in taking captives they enslaved the women and children and beheaded the men. The Indians of Alaska and North Pacific are far superior to the North American Indians, and show evidence of greater intellectual capacity. Mr. William Duncan of England left mercantile life to take up this missionary work, under the auspices of the English Church Missionary society, in 1857. He came round Cape Horn. He was urged by the governor of the Hudson Bay company the folly of attempting to civilize the murderous hordes of the north Pacific, warning him that they would murder him. Mr. Duncan seems to have been one of the noblest and most heroic men that ever undertook to Christianize and civilize Indians. General Sheridan says, "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian." Mr. Duncan showed most conclusively that they are subject to the same influences that white men are. The Tsimsheans' beliefs and superstitions are merely based on their rich fund of legendary lore. They have a version of the creation and the flood; they believe in a good and evil genius, and in special deities who control the seas and the storms. They believe that the world was once wrapped in utter darkness and inhabited only by frogs. The frogs refusing to supply the devil with ooluchan, he, to be avenged, sneaked into heaven and stole daylight, which was kept there in the form of a ball, and broke it over their heads, and thus gave light to the world. The chief traits of the devils were lying and stealing. The world was at one time very close to heaven, so very close that the people in heaven could hear the voices of those on earth, and the people on earth could hear

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the voices of those in heaven; the children of the earth made such a clamor that they disturbed the great Shimanqet Lakkah, and he shoved the earth a long way off. In the next world the good will have the best quality of fish and game, while the wicked will receive only that caught out of season and of poorest quality.

The medicine man, claiming direct intercourse with the spirit world, held great influence over the people. He arrayed himself in the skin of a lion or wolf, the head and muzzle of which formed a helmet, the tushes falling about his temples; a hideous carved mask covered his face, while armlets and anklets of repulsive design encircled his shriveled limbs. To add to the ferocity of his appearance, the exposed parts of his body were daubed with red and black paint, and he was covered with pendent charms, such as dried skunk skins, distended fish bladders, tails of animals, feathers, rare shells, highly polished little horns, eagles' claws, engraved bones and teeth, which dangled about him as he advanced into the room, with a series of postures and jerks, armed with a mystic wand and a large wooden rattle, fashioned in the form of an eagle, with a demon covered on its back pulling out a man's tongue with its teeth. He proceeds aggressively to overpower and frighten away the evil spirits by giving vent to a series of unearthly wailing and gutteral sounds, vehemently brandishing and marking time with the rattle. If not successful in frightening away the evil one by these noises, he begins to hack the ailing part and suck or burn it out. The Shaman receives a liberal retainer, in view of securing his cleverest arts in exorcising the invading demon. This evil spirit was supposed to be sent by some designing enemy, who, if discovered, was killed by relatives of the afflicted. If the patient recovered, the Shaman received an additional fee; if he died, the fees must be forthwith returned, and sometimes he also suffered death as a penalty for his "bad medicine."

All of the northern Pacific tribes of Indians are full of inordinate personal pride and vanity. Because of a slight taunt or insult, a man will sometimes kill a slave or destroy all his property, believing that he thereby wipes out the disgrace. "Some years ago," says Mr. Welcome, "an officer in charge of a division of an Arctic search expedition, indiscreetly gave out that he was about to send for a certain prominent chief, word of which reached the ears of the chief in question, who was in the habit of being waited upon, or the honor of his presence requested; so when the officer's emissaries arrived, they were carved and grilled and eaten by the affronted chief and his council—this to wipe out the insult. They give great feasts when they accumulate enough property, and impoverish themselves. Most of their property is in blankets and furs—which is their money—which they bring out from a box, or from an old-looking pile of rags, and display them to us for sale. Sometimes at their feasts they kill their slaves and give away their furs and blankets; and the one who can give the greatest feast and give away the most is considered the most prominent and greatest man among them. When the girls reach the age of puberty, they

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are confined for one month in an isolated cabin; no one is allowed to see them at this time, and it is supposed that they are away on a voyage to the moon, or to some other celestial abode, and at the end of the month they return to their people amid great feasting and rejoicing. It is on the occasion of a feast accompanying Potlach, or giving away, or destroying of property, or the return of a maiden, or the initiating of youth into the mysteries of Shaminism, that dog-eating and cannibalism, devil dancing and other wild revelries occur. In one of his letters Mr. Duncan writes:

> To attempt to describe their condition would be but to produce a dark, revolting picture of human depravity. The dark mantle of degrading superstition envelopes them all, and their savage spirits, swayed by pride, jealousy and revenge, were ever hurrying them on to deeds of blood. Their history is little else than a chapter of crime and misery.

Shortly after Mr. Duncan's arrival, he witnessed, while standing on the gallery of one of the bastions, a most sickening sight—a party of hideously painted and bedecked cannibals, tearing limb from limb the body of a woman who had been foully murdered by a chief, each struggling for a morsel of the human flesh, which they devoured, accompanying their fiendish orgies with unearthly howls and the weird beat of their medicine drums. Bespattered with the blood of their victims, maddened with rum, frenzied by their hysterical enthusiasm in these superstitious rites, they wrought themselves into a wild, furious delirium, imitating ravenous wolves in their ferocity. These ceremonies continued during the night, and were followed by debaucheries lasting for several days, during which most terrible atrocities were perpetrated, several of their number being slain just without the gates of the fort."

These were the barbarians whom Mr. Duncan came across the Atlantic to civilize. He commenced at once to learn their language, and he called Clark, one of the most intelligent Tsimshean natives, to assist him in learning it. In the fort all intercourse with them was by means of signs common to the coast—no white man had ever been able to master the language. At the end of several months, he was able to write sufficiently in the language to explain to them what he wished to accomplish among them and to bring to them a message from God, not to trade for their blankets and furs, and to show to them how they could be equal to the white man. They considered him a supernatural being and he was received kindly by them, notwithstanding the warning he received from the inmates of the fort that his life was in danger. It was difficult to gain their attention; they were so much interested in the buttons on his coat. He repeated over and over what he desired to teach them until they gave due heed to what he wanted them to learn. Their figures of speech were picturesque and expressive. One minister says: "Mr. Welcome addressed them, 'Children of the forest,' and was not a little confused when he found that his interpreter could only render it in the Chinook jargon, 'Tanass man cupah hyyn stick,' signifying little men among many sticks and stumps."* He told them the simple

* Speaking of translations, Professor G. F. Wright told the Boston ministers the other morning of a ludicrous turn in an Indian version of the Twenty-

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story of the Bible and Jesus Christ, and the terrible crime of murder, and contrasted what made the difference between them and the white man. He opened a school at one of the chief's, and children and older persons gladly came. He built a log school-house. They soon began to see the difference between the white men and themselves, and learned the secret about eternal things, which they did not possess. He was a good pastor. He visited the homes of all classes and learned all their customs and got into their hearts, and he found that they were susceptible to kindness and attention, the same as white people. The Shamans, or medicine men, were his greatest hindrances, for they soon learned that their sorcery would come to an end if the people were enlightened, as they would not then believe in their jugglery. But he was determined to thwart them in their fury to stop the schools, and many times, by his boldness and daring, prevented them from murdering him. They found in him a friend when they were sick or in trouble. He showed them the material advantages to be gained by following the teachings of Christ and the new life. He did not teach them spiritual things first. Mr. Duncan found them extremely filthy. I don't think we ever saw in all our travels such filth and stench as we experienced in their huts and cabins in Alaska. Mr. Duncan went to the foundation of things and at once set about cheapening the price of soap by teaching them how to make it. They formerly had to pay one mink skin, worth a dollar, for a bar of soap the thickness of one finger, whereas he produced a large bar for sixpence. This was only a beginning of the introduction of other industries, which had a decided effect upon them. One of the great difficulties in Alaska, we learned at the Indian school in Sitka which we visited, was that when the boys and girls are educated that they cannot find employment among white people, and go back to their tribes, and are taunted and laughed at until they return to their former habits, and become ten times worse than before. In Alaska, the Alaskan Commercial company, which has a monopoly of the fisheries and trade in furs, opposes all territorial government, education, and every civilizing effort, because it affects unfavorably its greed of gain. We met their agents everywhere decrying the schools, the missions, and opposing the admission of Alaska as a territory under the laws which govern other territories of the United States. You cannot buy an acre of land in Alaska, for there is no title to the land; you cannot erect a saw-mill to saw lumber for immediate use on the spot without being subject to be taken up and prosecuted for trespass by the government. When any movement is made to get appropriations from congress for educational and other matters for the good of Alaska, agents and lobbyists are sent to Washington to work against their passage, be-

third Psalm, which he found in his Alaska peregrinations. The missionary had been handicapped in his endeavor to translate "The Lord is my Shepherd," by the utter absence in Alaska of anything like the ordinary sheep. He finally thought he had surmounted the difficulty, and, passing the result of his labors over to the natives, was dumfounded to hear them read, "The Lord is a first-class mountain sheep-hunter."

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cause, forsooth, it would affect unfavorably the trade of the Alaskan Commercial company. The mineral laws alone are in force there.

Mr. Duncan soon began to have great opposition in his work from the Hudson Bay company, because these civilizing habits which he taught the Indians affected their trade. At the end of four years he had a number of sincere followers; but the influence and bad habits of the whites, and the drunkenness which gathers around a trading-post, and the influence and intercourse with the Indians who continued their heathenish rites, and who tried in every way by taunting them to destroy the work of the Christian white man, were difficulties not easily overcome.

"One of the most serious difficulties," says Mr. Welcome, "in reforming the women, lay in the practice of the parents selling their daughters, and that the men hired out their wives and slaves to white men for prostitution. In holding slaves as their concubines, not unfrequently the white traders left children of their own blood in slavery."

Mr. Duncan decided to go off by himself and gather the Indians about him where they would be safe from these influences. He selected a place called Metlakahtla, about twenty miles from Fort Simson, and the site of one of the ancient Tsimshean villages. Metlakahtla presented the advantages of good and convenient fishing and hunting grounds, a good harbor and a suitable soil for gardening; besides, nature has modeled its surroundings on a plan of remarkable beauty and grandeur. Mr. Duncan pulled down his school-house and formed his materials into a raft to be navigated to Metlakahtla harbor. He describes as extremely solemn and impressive the embarkation of his little flock of fifty Tsimshean Indians, in their six canoes. They had great opposition from the Shamans, and some promised to follow them.

Now, in about twenty or twenty-five years, they have built up a model town, that they have reason to be proud of. Those who joined Mr. Duncan in the new location subscribed to the following rules:

1.—To give up their ahhid or Indian devils.

2.—To cease calling in Shamans or medical men when sick.

3.—To cease gambling.

4.—To cease giving away their property for display.

5.—To cease painting their faces.

6.—To cease indulging in intoxicating drinks.

7.—To rest on the Sabbath.

8.—To attend religious instruction.

9.—To send their children to school.

10.—To be cleanly.

11.—To be industrious.

12.—To be peaceful.

13.—To be liberal and honest in trade.

14.—To build neat houses.

15.—To pay the village tax.

Is not the above a pretty good set of rules to govern any community? A strip of land was marked out for church purposes and the rest of it divided among the Indians.

Most of those who knew of Mr. Duncan's movements prophesied that his efforts to civilize such barbarous tribes of cannibals would be a failure, but he

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put his whole heart and soul into the work. His faith has been proven in the wonderful results attained, and the self-respecting, self-supporting community at Metlakahtla proves that the Indian can be civilized as well as educated in one generation, if the right man and the right means are employed. He placed upon the Indians themselves much of the responsibility. He taught them to govern themselves. He organized a village council of twelve, including the chiefs who had joined him, and a constabulary force. He was obliged often to use his own judgment arbitrarily, but the council was consulted on all important matters. It could not be expected that their sense of justice and right would predominate, having been educated so many years in such barbarous practices. Their sitting in judgment was often very anomalous, especially in passing judgment upon the offences of their own people. "Various public works," says Mr. Welcome, "were required, and consequently a tax was necessary. This was fixed at one blanket, valued at two dollars and a half, for each male adult, and one shirt, valued at one dollar, for such as were approaching manhood. The first assessment yielded to the exchequer the following unique return: One green, one blue and ninety-four white blankets, one pair white trowsers, one dressed elk skin, seventeen shirts and seven dollars." They were put to work in making the premises healthful by digging drains, making roads, etc. They built two large houses to accommodate the wild Indians who came to trade with them, so that they should not mingle with their old companions in their uncivilized state. They dug wells and formed a public common and play-ground. He introduced innocent games to keep them from the more deleterious games of gambling, to which they had habituated themselves. He introduced trades and encouraged them to hunt and fish and gather berries, and planned for the sale by exporting their various products of furs, fish, etc. It was with great difficulty that he could change their former customs and habits, as they clung to them with great tenacity. He freed all slaves that he could reach. Many fugitives came to Metlakahtla, and he kept them until they could be restored to the original tribes from whence they came. It was as terrible a crime in the eyes of the old chiefs as the harboring of slaves by the Abolitionists in this country, before the war, in the eyes of those south of Mason and Dixon's line. His life was often in danger, but he was supported in his work by his followers. Slavery still exists in Alaska and British Columbia, but I have no doubt to a limited extent among the inland tribes, owing to Mr. Duncan's humane work in offering an asylum for slaves from all parts of the Indian settlements in the northwest.

The hostility of the Hudson Bay company's agents to Mr. Duncan was great on account of his buying his own vessel to transport the products of his settlement, to prevent imposition and extortion, and his introduction of the trades and industries of civilization interfered with that monopoly. All the coast traders lost no opportunity to traduce him, charging that his mission was simply a private money-making scheme. The slave-traders

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and the Shamans and chiefs were alarmed to see that Mr. Duncan's success in civilizing the Indians was destroying their power and influence, and all were sworn enemies, using every effort to overthrow his mission.

His heroic conduct at this time in treating the small-pox, which broke out among the Indians with fearful ravages, destroying thousands of lives, added greatly to his influence. He vaccinated all who came to him, and only five Tsimsheans who came with him from Fort Simson died, and they took the plague while caring for outside sufferers. The Indians were so demoralized at its terrible ravages that trade and all avocations among the tribes were suspended. He did all he could to relieve them far and near. Great numbers came to him for aid, and as far as he could he ministered to them, guarding the welfare and safety of his own people. All this gave him great favor with the Indians.

He fought all adverse influences single-handed, in this community of half enlightened savages. On the first voyage of the vessels, made to Victoria, Mr. Duncan could not get a pilot, so he navigated the vessel himself. The Indians had contributed something towards its purchase, and at the end of a few months a handsome dividend was paid on each share. His own share of the profit he devoted to the objects of the mission. He established a store on the plan of a coöperative stock company, in which each villager held at least one share. They were astonished when they found that their investment of ten blankets had swollen to eleven. This was a new revelation. Formerly, in storing up their furs and blankets in their own huts, they became injured and depreciated by mildew and insects. Prosperity began to smile on this Arcadian community. Mr. Duncan, with his wonderful zeal and great energy, conquered in spite of the many obstacles which threatened their progress. As they began to show signs of development, he delivered simple lectures, illustrated by maps and a stereopticon, on history, geography, astronomy, morals, etc. He seems to have had the power to wield with success all that was necessary as pastor, ruler, and in every calling to instruct and civilize these Indians. At one of the elections for village councilmen, an incident occurred which some of our politicians would be amused at. "The ballot in favor of a candidate must be unanimous, in order to secure election. On one occasion a black ball was cast, and as the nominee enjoyed an excellent reputation, Mr. Duncan gave out that he would like to see the dissenter privately. Early the next morning the individual called, and complained that on a certain day the candidate had been given one dollar too much in making change at a store, and had asked him if he ought to keep it. 'He ought to have known himself that he ought to be honest, without asking me; that is why I thought he ought not to be a councilor.'" The severest form of punishment was public whipping for the crime of threatening or attempting bloodshed, and which occurred only four or five times; they were naturally so proud and vain that they considered it a great disgrace. A way of dealing with some offences was to hoist

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a black flag over the prison. The people would inquire of each other, "Who is the offender?" When it was known, public opinion made it so warm for him, that he was obliged to reform or leave the village.

To keep up with their growth in civilization, the old houses were pulled down and new and better ones erected. The cost of the new houses was beyond their means, and Mr. Duncan promised to assist them for each house sixty dollars in lumber. A new church holding twelve hundred people, a town hall, dispensary, reading-room, market-house, blacksmith, carpenter, cooper and tin shops, work sheds and soap factory were built, and a sea wall to protect the village, water power and saw-mills were erected. An old Indian who heard that Mr. Duncan intended to make water saw wood, said, "If it is true that Mr. Duncan can make water saw wood, I will see it and then die." Mr. Duncan used the profits from various investments, received assistance from friends and used his own private funds. He visited England in 1870, and procured machinery and learned various trades, such as weaving, wire making, twine spinning, brush making, etc. He also learned the gamut of several instruments, and on his return to Metlakahtla, organized a brass band of twenty-one instruments, which has gained great renown on the coast. An organ was placed in the church. On his return he was received with all pomp and honor, as if he had been a king. His account was exceedingly graphic and interesting. They assured him that they had constantly prayed for his safe return, and now God had answered their prayers and revived their hearts after much weeping. Many sat up all night with him talking over what had happened. What a contrast between this and his reception in 1857. Then they were all superstitiously afraid of him.

Such a grand success and change at Metlakahtla had its influence upon the other tribes far into the interior and up and down the coast. A number of chiefs had been converted, some of them the most fierce barbarians, and Segair, a leader of the cannibal feast which Mr. Duncan witnessed on his first arrival and who boasted of the number of lives he had taken, was "at length humbled and led like a lamb." He, at one time, tried to assassinate Mr. Duncan. He became a cabinet-maker and carpenter, and a truly exemplary Christian. The Indians from Metlakahtla went out among all the tribes in all that region at their own expense and taught them in a simple, figurative language. Here is a sample of their method:

Brothers, sisters, you know the way of the eagle? The eagle flies high and the eagle rests high! He rests on the highest branch of the highest tree, then he is free from fear of all beneath him! Brothers, sisters, Jesus to us is the highest branch of the highest tree! Let us rest on him, then we too need not fear; all our enemies are beneath us.

The whole coast, both Indians and whites, heard of the wonderful change, and flocked to the village to trade and see the almost marvelous change. The Chilkat Indians (whom we visited in Alaska) have the reputation of being a fierce and blood-thirsty tribe—and who live five or six hundred miles from Metlakahtla—visited them, arraying themselves in all their magnificence of barbaric finery, so as to impress the people with

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their greatness and importance. They were astonished at the sight of the buildings and of their thrift, so much like the white people of Victoria. They wanted to see the man who was chief and manager of the village, who had wrought such wonders. He came to them with his common working clothes on. They pretended that they could not see him and looked over and beyond him; they preserved their countenances in solid rigor to maintain their great dignity, never uttering a word, save the ceremonies of a formal greeting. He conducted them to his house and gave them the place of honor for distinguished guests. They continued to look at him in utter silence for some time, and finally broke out, "Surely you cannot be the man! Why, you are a little man and we expected to see a great and powerful giant, gifted in magic, with enormous eyes that could look right through us and read our thoughts. No, it is impossible! How could you tame the wild and ferocious Tsimsheans, who were always waging war, and were feared throughout the whole coast. They tell us you have God's book and you have taught them to read it; we want to see it." Upon the Bible being placed before them, and on being told that it was by following the teachings of this book that the Metlakahtlans had become enlightened, each one touched it reverently with the tip of his finger and said, "ahm, ahm," it is good, it is good. They returned, after remaining several days trading, etc., and seeing the wonderful village, no doubt impressed with the wonderful sights.

The influence of these Christian Indians for good has been very great on our Alaskan tribes. While our soldiers were at Fort Wrangell some of these Metlakahtlans were employed as laborers. They were sober, Sabbath-keeping Indians, and through their influence a considerable number of the Stickeens, at that place, were led to Christ before Mrs. McFarland, our first missionary teacher, reached Alaska. They became members of the first church organized there under the successful labors of Rev. Mr. Young. Phillip, the first teacher and native preacher, and Mrs. Dickinson, the interpreter, were both educated at Metlakahtla. One Sabbath morning, soon after the church was organized, as the people were gathering for public worship, five stalwart-looking Indians, clad in army blue, and each with a waterproof on his arm, walked into the chapel and reverently worshiped God there, although it appeared afterward that they could not understand the dialect used in the services. They proved to be Metlakahtla Indians who had been carrying goods up the Stickeen river to the Cassar mines. On their return, Saturday night overtook them at Fort Wrangell, and, true to their principles, they fastened their boats to the shore and kept the Sabbath. Monday morning they went on their way homeward. But such an object lesson could not fail to have an influence on the ruder and less Christianized race. They have influenced for good all the tribes with whom they have come in contact.

Mr. Duncan was inspired to dedicate himself to this great work of civilizing these people on account of a graphic portrayal of the barbarous degradation of

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the Tsimshean savages, in Admiral Pre-roth's narrative. After twenty-five years' absence, the admiral says: "God has brought me back again, midst all the sundry and manifold changes of the world, face to face with these tribes, amongst whom I have witnessed only bloodshed, cannibalism and heathen deviltry in its grossest form. Now they are sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in their right mind. The very church warden, dear old Peter Simpson, who opened the church door for me, was the chief of one of the cannibal tribes."

"Mr. Duncan began his work," says Mr. Welcome, "by first mastering the tongue and then studying, in their own homes, the minds and inner life, the habits and customs of these painted, half-naked savages, as at night they clustered round their hearthstones, the blazing fire casting a weird glow over their swarthy faces. He learned from them their ideas of the creation, of the mystery of death, their religious superstitions, their history as told in legends; in short, he studied them and their capacities as a student studies the relative equivalents of the elements in chemistry. As a Samaritan to their sick; as a peace-maker when fierce passions stirred strife; as a comforter in their hours of trouble and woe, he not only won their affection and confidence but he also implanted in their hearts the germs of good-will and forbearance toward each other. He exemplified and upheld by his own pure life those true principles of morality that stand the crucial test of the ever suspicious scrutiny of the savage."

He dispensed with everything in the way of form or ceremony that would distract their minds, and taught them the simple truths of the Christian religion. Someone says, "The first step towards teaching a savage is to feed him; the stomach satisfied, he will listen to instruction, not before." Mr. Duncan grasped intelligently the true science of civilization; he learned the insistent needs and pliant capacities of the savages. We have seen how effectively he provided for these needs and trained these capacities.

In 1881, after Mr. Duncan's wonderful success, he met with great persecution from those who naturally should have been his warm friends and supporters. He was only a layman, and would not take Church of England orders. His answer to the bishop of Columbia, who urged him, was "that he feared that church orders would prove to him what Saul's armor was to David—only an incumbrance—and therefore he preferred the sling and stone." Though Metlakahtla might rightly be considered Mr. Duncan's own particular domain, and the Indians have proved their appreciation of his faithful, unselfish labors by a love and devotion rare in such races, his plainest rights have been invaded and an effort made to drive him from his field of labor and to divide and distract his followers. A few years ago a bishop was appointed for the diocese, which includes Fort Simson, Metlakahtla and a few other missions. The bishop disapproving of Mr. Duncan's labors as layman, and because he would not take church orders and identify himself more closely to the ecclesiastical system of the Church of England, went to Metlakahtla and took possession as a superior officer.

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Mr. Duncan moved from the rectory and the bishop took charge of the church services. Every unfair and unchristian means were used to antagonize him, which threatened a war at one time. The bishop informed the Indians that their store and warehouse were situated on ground belonging to the church. The Metlakahtlans at once went in a body, in their matter-of-fact way, pulled down the buildings and erected them outside the prescribed limits. The bishop attempted to interfere, but was roughly handled, and he sent to Victoria for a British man-of-war to protect him. The whole stay of the bishop has been marked by trouble and turbulence, and these scandalous disturbances in a Christian community have an influence for evil and affect the work Mr. Duncan has done there. Everybody up and down the coast speaks in praise of the work he has done in the twenty-eight years that he has been there, and the Indians themselves almost worship him. Says Mr. Welcome: "The Church of England society concluded that the forms and ritual of the church were safe and suitable for the Indians to follow; but Mr. Duncan, as he grew in experience, saw more and more clearly that the distinctive views of the ministers and bishops, as well as the order of service of the church—especially in the administration of the Lord's Supper—were calculated to bewilder, rather than edify the Indians, in their present stage of progress." Thus all this trouble, which is a disgrace and a scandal to Christian people. Professor Max Muller in one of his lectures says: "We want less of creeds, but more of trust; less of ceremony, but more of work; less solemnity, but more of love."

Efforts were made to tempt Mr. Duncan to submit to and accept the society's dogmatic views, without success. He was conscientious in believing that his plan was the only way to reach the Indians successfully. He was attacked in every way, and, feeling that his motives might be misconstrued, determined to resign and seek other fields, and he so signified to the society. He abdicated the mission at Metlakahtla to an ordained clergyman sent out by the society, and had only been absent a few weeks for a new mission when Metlakahtla was thrown into a state of dreadful confusion and the organization well-nigh wrecked. The Church of England conference finally passed a vote unanimously declining to advise Mr. Duncan to resign. The bishop still kept up the fight against him in a most vigorous manner, attacking his character, publishing a pamphlet of disclosures, etc., making gross charges, but failing always to give the statements of the Metlakahtlans. They voted unanimously to have him remain, and he did not desert them. The story of persecution is too long and outrageous to continue at this time; suffice it to say, "That the government of Canada," says Mr. Welcome, "spent $30,000 of public funds in coercing and terrorizing the Metlakahtlans with men-of-war. Adding this to the society's outlay makes $61,000." Their land was taken from them by the government of Canada, supported by Sir John McDonald. "Ignoring," says Mr. Welcome, "all precedents in British and American law and custom, the Indians

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of British Columbia, without conquest, treaty or compensation, are declared to have no rights in the land which has been occupied for centuries by them or their ancestors, and this, their land, is now claimed to be the property of the queen, while these 'ancient children of the soil' are driven from their homes to seek homes in Alaska under the United States government. The United States have great reason to feel humiliated by the history of their treatment of the aborigines, but the one great principle, which is also recognized by Great Britain, has at all times prevailed and been maintained, namely, that the Indian has the right of possession which can only be taken from him by conquest or obtained through treaty or compensation. But the Canadian government seems to have wrested the land and homes from these Indians because they have not the power to resist what is not a whit better than highway robbery."

Alaska is only thirty miles distant from Metlakahtla. Mr. Duncan was delegated to visit Washington and lay the case before the United States government and ask certain privileges and encouragement for them to move into Alaska. Every encouragement was given Mr. Duncan by the authorities of our country that was consistent with international courtesy. He addressed the following letter to the secretary of the treasury, dated February 9, 1887:

SIR:—I have the honor to address you on behalf of a community of Tsimshean Indians, numbering about one thousand souls, now located at Metlakahtla, British Columbia, near the border of Alaska, and in whose interests I have been deputed to visit Washington.

This people for twenty years have been struggling their way to civilized life, and their substantial progress has won for them the admiration of all who have visited their settlement.

Of late years, however, their prosperity has been cruelly arrested by the untoward action of the Provincial government in reference to the land question. It would seem that British Columbia has assumed that the Indians have no rights in the land, and a land policy has been adopted there, altogether foreign to the edicts and usages which have been followed in all other parts of Canada.

The Indians, thus wronged, are driven almost to desperation, but rather than proceed to hostilities, they have decided to abandon their homes and seek protection under the American flag. They are now looking anxiously to this country for sympathy, and for permission to build themselves a village in Alaska. The losses involved in such a removal, to such a poor people, are very appalling, hence the burden of my letter, which is, that if you can, by any lawful means, permit them to take into Alaska their belongings, free of duty, you will confer a great favor upon a deserving and suffering community.

I have, etc.,

W. DUNCAN.

Governor Swineford of Alaska indorsed the request.

The removal of these civilized and largely educated Indians into Alaska will not only add a number of industrial enterprises but will have a beneficial effect upon the natives of that territory. They will make good, industrious citizens, whose influence upon the native tribes of Alaska will go far toward their complete civilization."

"Dr. Jackson, United States agent of education in Alaska, says: 'A few years ago congress was ready to vote a large sum of money to encourage a colony of Icelanders to remove to Alaska; surely the government can afford to help these people who ask for no money help.' The secretary of the treasury granted the request of Mr. Duncan relative to free entry of all articles

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belonging to such Indians, except such as may be found to consist of merchandise, imported and intended as such for sale. All lands in Alaska being public domain, the government cannot set apart any reservation in Alaska and the land there can only be dealt with by congress. But the Metlakahtlans might move into Alaska and settle upon unoccupied land, reporting the occupancy to the department, and ample provision will be made to meet the necessities of law-abiding inhabitants." *

Mr. Duncan, therefore, with the Metlakahtlan Indians, left their homes, with all their industries, and moved into Alaska, settling at Port Chester, Annette island, where he has founded the new town of Metlakahtla, and it is rapidly being built. These English people clogged the departure of the Indians in every way. Senator Vest, who visited them last summer, found their canoes on the shore and the Indians ready to sail. The ecclesiastics seized their church, their village hall, their cannery and their store and workshop. They stole from them eighty thousand feet of lumber, and they had white men under arms ready to fire on the Indians if they attempted to bring away the buildings which they had made themselves. The poor savages were almost afraid to take away their personal property, but they bore as Christians what these fanatics put upon them. There are now about one thousand or more of them in Alaska.

They are clearing the forest, and have a line of houses nearly a mile long among the big trees on the shore. They have put up a steam saw-mill, and have built a salmon cannery one hundred feet long and thirty-four feet wide. They are going to put up a big general house, and they hope to extend their civilizing work to other Alaskan tribes. They are a valuable addition to our people in Alaska, and there is no doubt that Uncle Sam will give them a good title to their new home. It remains to be seen whether this new move for liberty of worship will prove as successful on a small scale as that of the Pilgrim Fathers. The last information that I have from them is that they are not contented. They are fearful of being shut off from fishing in British waters, and being excluded from Victoria, their most accessible market, by the customs tariff. It remains to be seen how much they are willing to sacrifice for liberty.

The passage of Senator Dawes' "Severalty bill" gives hope of a new era in the treatment of the Indians of the United States. The President has appointed commissioners under the bill, and the process of allotment has already begun. The work of civilization and education has not, however, kept pace with the work of allotment. The friends of the Indians are divided in opinion, one party wanting guardians, or receivers, appointed to take care of his property, who shall be amenable to the courts like other guardians; the other, that of creating a non-partisan commission, who shall take charge of all Indian tribes during the period of transition from the reservation system to that of Indian civilization. We think we have demonstrated what has been done by one individual with the Tsimshean Indians,

* For many of the facts stated, I am indebted to Mr. Henry S. Welcome's very interesting book of nearly five hundred pages.

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and what can be done with our Indian tribes, with teachers employed who are devoted and self-sacrificing in their work. The government, we learned, has a sort of contract system with the Presbyterian missions in Alaska, to give a certain amount towards educating the Indians; and also in other sections, a sort of partnership with different religious organizations, which has created a good deal of denominational jealousy, on account of so large a proportion of Indian education drifting into the hands of the Roman Catholics. The Indian agents appointed by the government are not working in harmony with the teachers of Indian schools, and in some cases at cross purposes. We have some evidences of the same jealousy existing in our own country, as in the case we have been considering. It becomes us as American citizens to study the Indian problem, of which we read so much. What is this problem? The *Christian Union* answers the query thus:

> It is the question how Indians shall be brought to a condition of self-support, and of equal rights before the law, in which they will no longer require the special protection and control of the government. It is important for the white people of our country that the Indians should have a fair chance, should be improved and civilized. If the inferior race is not instructed and elevated, it will be pauperized and debased. Whenever this is the fate of an Indian tribe, its women will be an everlasting curse to young white men and to the homes of white people. Perhaps a part of the retribution for our National wrong and injustice to the Indians may come upon us in that way.

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS.

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SOCRATES.

INSPIRED by the gods, Socrates, the Greek,
Became truly wise, nor deigned he to speak
Of the faults of his wife—Xantippe, the scold,
Whose ringlets were red as the rainbow of old.
Whether born of the earth, or born of the skies,
She charmed him at sight with her magical eyes.

Though with beauty endowed, the pride of the young,
Her dowery in fact was—a vindictive tongue;
And the honeymoon passed, as we may suppose,
Away with the breath of the bridal rose.
But, alas! how sad, how sad did it seem
To the Sage when he found his love but a dream,
And his wife but a thorn for the rest of his days,
With a temper that broke, unrestrained, in a blaze.

In the rage of blind passion, and quick as a wink,
She upset his table, his inkstand and ink;
Wasted his wine, and crumbled his cake,
And scolded in volleys that kept him awake;
Then regaled him with slush, and stamping the floor,
Seized him by the collar and turned him out door.
He took to the groves, and taught Grecian youth
The lessons of life and a love for the truth;
And, doubtless, drank hemlock and breathed his last breath,
Rather than live on and be scolded to death!

HARVEY RICE.

March 2, 1888.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

IT has long been accepted by everybody as a fact about which there could be no question, that Put-in-Bay derived its name from the fact that Commodore Perry "put in" to that safe and capacious harbor, after his memorable victory of September 10, 1813. Yet the duty of the historian requires that this popular belief should be demolished, and that, too, upon evidence so positive and direct that there can be no question concerning it. Put-in-Bay was known and written of by that name long before Commodore Perry or his brave sailors made their appearance upon the blue waters of Lake Erie.

To the proof: The attention of the writer was recently called to a book printed "for John Stockdale, Piccadilly, in 1807"—a second edition of the work, which bears the following title: "Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796 and 1797," by Isaac Weld, jr. In Volume II, on page 307, may be found the following—where the writer was describing the adventures of certain friends from England: "They had traveled, it seemed, from Philadelphia to Virginia, afterwards to Kentucky, and had found their way from Ohio to Detroit on horseback, after encountering numberless inconveniences. There they engaged a passage in a little sloop bound to Fort Erie [near Buffalo], the last vessel which was to quit that port during the present season. They had embarked the preceding day, *and in the night had run into Put-in-Bay*, as the wind was not favorable for going down the lake." The *italics* are our own. The account goes on to describe a tour of the island, made by the travelers while waiting.

As Weld speaks of the name as one well known at that early day by all travelers of the great lakes, it would be interesting to learn how long it had been in use, and by whom it was bestowed. If any correspondent can throw any light upon the subject, it would be gladly received.

THE Oneida Historical Society of Utica, New York, has always something on hand for the benefit of its members and the public. An interesting paper was read before it on the evening of March 26, entitled, "The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization." Its author was Rev. W. T. Gibson, D. D.

MARTHA FINLEY, author of 'The Elsie Books,' 'The Mildred Books,' 'Wanted, a Pedigree,' and other well-known works, writes us that she has read with pleasure Miss Annie E. Wilson's story of Daniel Boone and his wife, published in the December, 1887, number of this magazine, but desires to note an exception as to one statement made therein where reference was made, on page 150, to "A wandering adventurer, named Finlay," who visited Daniel Boone in 1768. "That wandering adventurer," writes Mrs. Finley, "was Major John Finley, an elder brother of my grandfather, General Samuel Finley, one of the early settlers of Chillicothe, Ohio. Both brothers fought for their country in the Revolutionary War, and their services were deemed by congress deserving of large grants of land. Major John Finley, my great uncle, located his at the Blue Licks of Kentucky, and I believe his descendants are still there. He was the first white man who ever entered that state, and as a brave pioneer, a Christian

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gentleman, a Revolutionary hero, is, I think, as worthy of honorable recognition and the kind and grateful remembrance of his countrymen as Boone himself."

REFERRING to the paper of Professor Hinsdale, in a recent issue, on the "National Capital," Mary D. Steele, a valued contributor, writes: "That paper reminds me of a valuable old letter which is in my possession. Its writer, Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, was a celebrated man, and was born on Long Island in 1763. He was professor of chemistry and natural history in Columbia college, New York, and a practicing physician with large practice. He was a representative in congress from 1801 to 1804, a senator from 1804 to 1809, and again a representative from 1810 to 1813. He died September 8, 1831. John Smith, the recipient of the letter, was a general of militia of New York, a member of the state legislature from 1784 to 1799, a representative in congress from 1799 to 1804 and a senator from 1804 to 1813. He was appointed United States marshal for New York in 1813, and died in 1816. As a matter somewhat curious and interesting to the historical student, I will mention that Senator Smith was a descendant of Chief-Justice Smith of the province of New York, who was a colonel in the English army before he emigrated to America. Chief-Justice Smith received a patent for an immense tract of land on Long Island, which was erected into a manor—the manor of St. George—at the beginning of the reign of James II. Many acres of this land are still owned by his descendants."

THE letter to which reference is above made is given in full, *verbatim*, as follows:

NEW YORK Oct. 30. 1802

MY DEAR SIR

I very much fear the project of taking an House at Washington will be attended with too many Inconveniences to be attempted during the ensuing short Session which you know cannot exceed three months.

Here are the difficulties: if we get an house we must buy Kitchen furniture, dining room apparatus, and Beds and bedding for our private Chambers. In addition to all this, we must purchase our pots and Kettles, plates glasses, knives and forks, carpets, Chairs & tables at New York and send them by Water to Alexandria. And supposing all this done, what shall we do with our things at the end of the Session? Really my friend I feel staggered at the thought of all these purchases and preparations.

Further, upon this plan, we must purchase our Potatoes, flour, Beef, Pork, Salt-fish, apples, Wine &c &c at this Place and send them on also. How shall we manage all this?

What fare we shall have, I know not. The Post master General was here two days ago. He informs that there has not been a house built on the Capitol hill during the Recess: and but three [or] four, and those mere huts, near the President's house. I have been told that all the boarding houses on the Hill except Washington's have failed.

Well I believe we must take our chance and rough it as well as we can. If the Hill should not suit us we can try the Seven buildings or even Georgetown upon a pinch, & the exercise will do us service. We have lost Mr Low from the Hill, he has gone to England.

My information from Cadiz a few days ago leads to a belief that the Spanish Captures of American ships will be put in a train of settlement. This will be good for the Merchants and for the administration. Granger says that in Connecticut there will in a twelve month or two be certainly a republican house of Assembly! What think you of Rodneys success in Delaware? This is the second time that that little state has been divided by the number of about 15 or 16 votes. Steady Citizens.

If agreeable to you we will travel on together & you may drop me a line of the day you will be in town. If your other friends are not too importunate with you I should be glad you would make my house your habitation.

Yours truly & Respectfully

SAM'L L. MITCHELL

To Genl. John Smith,
Fire place Suffolk County

IN the "Log Book" commenced in this issue, D. W. Cross, esq., commences a series of local happenings in the olden days, that will be continued from month to month, and will revive memories in the old, and excite interest and curiosity in the young. Mr. Cross wields a sharp and graphic pen, and as he has been a close observer of events, his articles are sure to attract attention. Two other writers of local repute whose contributions may be found in this number, are Honorable Harvey Rice and George F. Marshall, esq. Mr. Rice's poem is one of his brightest and wittiest productions in that line.

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THE winter meeting of the Firelands Historical society was held at Milan on February 22. Exercises of an appropriate and interesting nature were presented, and all reports showed that the society was in good shape, and the work to which it is devoted being carried forward with the best results. One feature of unusual interest is thus spoken of by the Norwalk *Chronicle*: "Judge Rush R. Sloane of Sandusky next gave an intensely interesting and instructive address filled with valuable data relating to the anti-slavery movements on the Firelands, and abounding in numerous graphic details of historical facts pertaining to the acts, movements and experiences of those who were most actively engaged in the underground railroad enterprises of fugitive slave days. At the conclusion of the address, G. T. Stewart, esq., moved that a vote of thanks be given to Judge Sloane for his able and interesting address." A copy of the address has been secured, and will appear in the May number of this magazine.

REFERENCE having been made to the first celebration of the year at Marietta, that of April 7, information of the second, or that of July 15, will be in order. That date has been selected as the anniversary of the inauguration of General Arthur St. Clair, the first governor of the Northwest Territory. Competent committees have had all the arrangements in hand, and announce a full and varied programme of exercises. As the fifteenth falls on Sunday, appropriate services will be held in the churches of the city, and in the afternoon an address on the religious progress of the century in the Northwest Territory will be delivered by a clergyman of National renown. There will also be religious services in the evening, the whole under the direction of the ministers of Marietta and vicinity. The programme for the remaining days has been arranged so that a time has been set apart for each of the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, closing with Ohio. Addresses of a historical nature by some of the most eminent orators of the country will be delivered. Historical pageants, street parades, historical representations on the Ohio and Muskingum rivers at night, accompanied by fire-works and grand illuminations, display of pioneer relics, documents and many things of a historical nature, which are numerous in this locality, will be on exhibition during the celebration. There will be a large encampment of state troops present, who will participate in all parades, salutes and escorts. The committees further announce that "it is expected that in addition to many prominent people who have been invited and expressed their intention of being present, that the President of the United States, governors and commissioners representing Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, many of whom have accepted invitations already, will be in attendance."

As the April celebration was in commemoration of the first actual settlement of Marietta, so this occasion marks events of equal importance. On July 15, 1788, Governor Arthur St. Clair and the territorial judges, duly commissioned by President Washington, arrived at Marietta, armed with the Ordinance of 1787, and on that eventful day the governor promulgated the ordinance and established civil government in the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," out of which were subsequently erected the great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. The surveys and clearings having progressed sufficiently and law having been established for the coming tide of emigration, the first actual settlers and their families, with General Tupper, arrived on August 19, 1788. It is the totality of these great events, beginning with the enactment of the great ordinance July 13, 1787, and culminating in the settlement and establishment of civil government thereunder at Marietta, July 15, 1788, that it is now proposed to celebrate on July 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19.

THE *Wisconsin State Journal* of March 20 contains an extended report of a lecture delivered in that city by Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical

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society, upon "The Division of the Northwest into States"—a subject upon which he has bestowed unlimited study and research. That the subject was graphically and ably handled, need not be guaranteed to those who have made Mr. Thwaites' acquaintance through these pages or elsewhere. In conclusion he made this true and happy point: "America is said to have no history. On the contrary, it has the most romantic of all histories. A hundred years, though a mere nothing in the prolonged career of the old world, is a period quite long enough in our own land to warrant the brand of antiquity. In the rapidly-developing northwest, a hundred years mark the gap between a primeval wilderness and a complete civilization. Time, like space, is, after all, comparative. In these hundred years the northwest has developed from nothing to everything. It is as great a period, judging by results, as ten centuries in Europe—perhaps fifteen. And that is why it is that the American centenarian of to-day is older by far than the fabled Methuselah."

CORRESPONDENCE.

A RESPONSE TO MR. BUTTERFIELD.

MR. C. W. BUTTERFIELD:

My Dear Sir: I have read with much interest your "open letter" to me in the March number of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, and note carefully the letter quoted therein.

I should have said, and intended to say, in my article to which you refer, that Mrs. Owen was the first woman to settle in the Ohio company's purchase. Neither she nor the one to whom you refer can truthfully be the first American woman to settle in the territory. The families you name were, I think, among those who might be truthfully called squatters. There were many of this class who came to the north bank of the Ohio river and settled there, against the law of congress forbidding such settlement prior to the survey of the country. Many were compelled to leave by government soldiers. This family may not have been disturbed. However, Mr. Butterfield, we cannot assert that your protégé was the first white (American) woman to settle in territory northwest of the River Ohio. Turn to page 203, of the 'History of Illinois,' by Davidson and Stuve, good authority. Moreover, what they say is from the 'Annals of the West,' also good authority. On this page and part of page 304 you will read this:

. . . . . Three hundred boats arrived at the Falls of Ohio in the spring of 1780, mostly destined for Kentucky. Among the emigrants to Illinois we note the names of James Moore, Shadroch Bond, James Garrison, Robert Kidd and Larken Rutherford, the two latter having been with Clark. They were from Virginia and Marylands *With their families*, they, *without* molestation, in these perilous times, crossed the Alleghanies, descended the Ohio, stemmed the Mississippi and landed safely at Kaskaskia. James Moore, the leader, and a portion of his party located on the hills near Bellefontaine, while Bond and the rest settled in the American Bottom (from which circumstances that name is derived), near Harrisonville, afterwards known as the block-house fort. James Piggot, John Doyle, Robert Whitehead and a Mr. Bowen, soldiers in Clark's expedition also, shortly after settled in Illinois. *Doyle had a family* and taught school. He was, perhaps, the first teacher to make that profession his business in Illinois. He also spoke French and Indian, and in the latter language was frequently employed as an interpreter. *Not until 1785 was this little band of American pioneers* reinforced. Then came Joseph Ogle, Joseph Warleg and James Andrews, all from Virginia, *and each with a large family.*

In the following year the American settlements were again augmented by the arrival of James Lemen, George Atcheson and David Waddell, *with their families*, besides several others.

Now, my dear sir, who was the first (American) woman settler in the territory?

Yours very truly,

A. A. GRAHAM.

COLUMBUS, O., March 17, 1888.

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To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

AN EARLY ERIE ACCIDENT.

THE following account of an incident on Lake Erie in the early history of our western country—or rather what was then our western country—I find in a worn and faded letter dated at Cleveland, Ohio, November 13, 1825. It was written by my father, Alva R. Chapman, then a youth of nineteen, on his way from his home in central Massachusetts to Detroit. He says:

"I embarked [at Buffalo] on Board the *Pioneer*, a very beautiful new steamboat, on Friday, at 9 o'clock, bound to Detroit, and touching at the several ports for the landing of passengers. On Saturday evening we had head winds, which obliged us to cast anchor off the mouth of Grand river. The storm continued to increase until Monday morning, and then became squally. The wind being in the northeast, our anchor dragged towards the shore. The cries of the terrified women made me mad, so I kept on deck. A second anchor was thrown out, and the steam crowded, until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when she ran stern foremost over the sand bar. They immediately let go the cables and gave her to the mercy of the waves, when she hurled herself very near the shore, and before dark all were safe on the land—the vessel and all. For the first time I beheld a wreck. I found myself about thirty miles from Cleaveland. The next day I made a visit to 'Squire John Wait's in Bricksville, and the next day I went to see Mr. Joel Wait."

I would say that these Waits were relatives of his, who had been among the earliest settlers in the Western Reserve. I would gladly know something of them. I have wondered, too, if any passenger of the "beautiful new steamboat" *Pioneer*, on that trip, still survives. If there should be one among your readers, I have no doubt the above will be a pleasant reminder; at all events, I think it is worth preserving.

T. J. CHAPMAN.

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

THE PIONEER HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF LICKING COUNTY, OHIO.

In 1867 a number of the citizens of Licking county, Ohio, became impressed with the belief that the time had fully come to make systematic efforts to write and preserve the pioneer history of our county, a few of our early settlers being still among us, who could furnish all necessary information to make our history complete. It was also thought desirable to secure and preserve full and accurate descriptions of the antiquities and ancient works of the Mound Builders in Licking county, and to make a cabinet collection of minerals, fossils and relics of the prehistoric races. Accordingly a meeting of the citizens was held to organize a society to promote the aforenamed objects, the result being the establishment of a society with the above named title, officered as follows: President, William Stanbery; vice-presidents, Dr. J. N. Wilson, Thomas J. Anderson and Daniel Forry; recording secretary, Isaac Smucker; corresponding secretary, William Spencer; treasurer, Enoch Wilson; chaplain, C. Springer.

The society was composed of resident pioneer and historical members, antiquarian members and corresponding and honorary members, aggregating nearly four hundred. Many meetings were held during the early history of the society, some of them numerously attended. Twenty or more members, and a number that were not members, were appointed to prepare papers to read at the meetings of the society, and a hundred and twenty of them were written, read and published either as newspaper articles or as pamphlets, and were afterwards used, by consent, by the compiler of the 'Licking County History' (a volume of more than eight hundred double-column pages), thus aiding much in making it one of the best county histories in Ohio. Those papers treated of the antiquities of the county, of its topography, its geology, its paleontology, its mineralogy, its pioneer and later history, and gave a sketch of the local history of the county by townships, neighborhoods and small localities, and of its county-seat and smaller towns.

The following list comprises the names of the authors of those pioneer, historical and antiquarian papers and pamphlets: Rev. C. Springer, Rev. H. M. Hervey, Rev. T. W. Howe, Rev. W. Bower, Rev. S. P. Hildreth, Judge Scott, Judge Brumback, Rev. Mrs. Elizabeth Springer, Mrs. Catherine Stadden, D. D. Woods, Isaac Smucker, Governor Greiner, Rev. Israel Thrap, Dr. J. N. Wilson, Dr. James H. Coulter, Jacob Winter, William Knowles, John White, Jacob F. Conine, M. M. Munson, esq., J. G. Brooke, Captain E. Z. Clark, C. B. Giffin, B. C. Woodward, Colonel John Noble, William Wing, Joseph M. Scott, esq., A. B. Clark, esq., Major Pratt, M. L. Wilson, Revel Everett, esq., Samuel Park and General Rufus Putnam.

The society has collected hundreds of curiosities illustrating our Indian and pioneer history, also a library of books and pamphlets both ancient and modern, numbering many hundreds, some of them quite rare and valuable. Its cabinet of minerals, fossils, numismatic specimens and implements and ornaments of the prehistoric occupants of the territory that now comprises the county of Licking, together constitute an exhibition of no inconsiderable interest and value to those of archæological tastes, or such as take pleasure in the study of our pioneer history or have a pride in our later history as well, and especially to those interested in the antiquities which are so abundant in central Ohio.

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The resident pioneer members of the society are less numerous than they once were, many of them having deceased. The other classes of members have not diminished but rather increased. Meetings continue to be held annually, or oftener, and never without interesting historical or antiquarian literary exercises. The following officers were chosen at the last annual meeting in July last: President, Isaac Smucker; vice-presidents, E. F. Appy, E. Nichols, M. M. Munson; recording secretary, C. B. Giffin; corresponding secretary, E. M. P. Brister; treasurer, James H. Smith; historian, S. J. Ewing; poets, A. B. Clark, Martha Wintermute; chaplain, Rev. R. K. Nash; librarian, J. H. Smith; executive committee, A. B. Clark, W. T. Evans, J. V. Burner, Lucius B. Wing, J. C. Hartzler, Griff Rosebraugh and S. J. Davis.

DOCUMENTS.

AN ANCIENT ESTIMATE.

AN Estimate of the Cost of Forty six and half Bushels of Corn purchased at Cataragaras—

To Cash paid the Indians at Cataragaras	$17 53
" Colo Reed for hire of his Batoe 10 days @ 50 Cents per Day	5 00
" do for hire of William Butler 10 days @ 1 Doll. per day	10 00
" Said Butler's Rations for 10 days at 1½ Rations per Day is 18 Ra. @ 18 Cents	3 24
" 1 Keg Whiskey said to Contain 10 Galls @ 52 Cents per Gall. in Pittsburgh	5 30
" Carriage of do from Pittsburgh	2 00
Dolls.	43 07

or 92 Cts & 6 mills per Bus.

Camp Presqu' isle October 16th, 1795.

DEAR SIR

Above is an Estimate of the Cost of the Corn purchased at Cataragaras of the Indians agreeable to your request, By which you will observe that the hire of the man and Boat at that extravagant rate bares a proportion to the Cost of the Corn equal to 39 Cents & 2 mills per Bus. which deducted from the above estimate of 92 Cents & 6 mills, would reduce the price to 53 Cents & 4 mills per Bus. was there no expence necessary in that way—It is also very obvious what a difference there would be in the price of the Corn Could it be brought in Larger Boats so that the expence would not bare so large a proportion to the Cost of a Bushel—

To trade with the Indians on the most advantages terms it is very Essential to have small Silver to pay the Indians, and at the same time a little whiskey is highly necessary —altho you are obliged to give away considerable, Nevertheless it will bring the Cost and more & make trade with them much easeyer— I observe some of them brought down Small quantities of Corn on purpose to get a drink when they would not have brought it for the money.

This year has been but poor for Corn with the Indians. Three of the Chiefs told me that all the head men of the Castle had considered on the Scarceity of the present Year for Corn and the distance the have to bring down to the Boat, not less than 4 miles from the Seneca and 5 from the Delaware Castles, (That the wished very much to trade and be friendly with the people at Presqu' Isle) But they did not think they Could Spare much more this season, unless the United States Could give them one Shilling York Currency a String. That perhaps the next year they might have plenty, then they would not Care so much for it—

I was obliged to Buy nearly all I got by the

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String or load, and was obliged to take 4, 5 & 6 Strings for a Bushel for which I gave them 4s. per Bus. In my estimate I have Calculated the Strings at 5 per Bus. I measured one or two of them and find they will hold at that or very near it—the Greatest part I have got is old Corn, 8½ Bus. of which is Shelled the residue in the ear.

It is my opinion that a load more may be got at Cataragaras if you would give 1s. per String—and from information 100 Bus. may be got at Buffalo town at perhaps a less price—

From what observations I could make, the method I would recommend to get the Corn from the Indians would be to let them Shell it at the Castle and purchase it there of them at some price by the Bushel, that would be satisfactory to them and the U. States taken care to get good measure and allowance for it to Shrink if green.

The would if they could Spare it Shell a load a day, while which was doing and one person was Settling & trading with them, I would get two or three Horses, which may be hired of them at a low rate and have it Carried down to the Boat—Bags ought to be taken from here to Pack it down in, But Flour Barrels that could be headed up would be the best to bring it up in as it would be less liable to damage by getting Wet and one of those boats would Carry more so than any other way to work well—

If you recollect Colo. Reed said he would send a Boat also he did so, But he having got only 4 Bushels I put in from 16 to 20 Bushels of mine in his boat—Otherways I do not think I should have been able to have Brought what I purchased in one Boat—In the String from 30 to 40 Bus. would be a very good load for one of those boats, and for this Season rather much—Whereas in the Barrels as mentioned above they might with much more Convenience Carry from 45 to 50 Bushel and work better and safer.

By the Estimate you will see I was gone 10 days, every day except the two first sunday & monday I have been Sick, and Continue so still.

I have endevored to set up long enough to give the above information to you, that no time on my part should be lost in making my report.

My head is so dissey and akes so intollerably that I make no doubt you will find many errors in this Schroll, for fear of the atact of the Ague I have so hurried that I fear you will scarcely be able to read it much more make sence of it.

As I have some money in my hands of yours if you will give me orders I will pay Colo. Reed for the Hire of the Man & Boat or pay it to Mr. Seton or on sight of your order to whose favor you may please to draw on me for the Same—

With due Respect and Regard I am
Dear Sir your most obt & Humble Servt
A. HUNN Ensign & P. M.

Major Isaac Craig D. Q. M. G.
Pittsburgh.

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AMONG THE BOOKS.

'PEN PICTURES AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF OLD SETTLERS OF ST. PAUL, FROM 1838 UP TO AND INCLUDING 1857.' By Major T. M. Newson, St. Paul, author of 'Thrilling Scenes Among the Indians,' etc.

This book of seven hundred and fifty pages, the character of which is described in the above title, is a valuable contribution to the history of the northwest, prepared by a man whose knowledge, education and ability as a writer have fitted him for the task he has so successfully accomplished. He is among the best known of the literary men of the west and is a member of the editorial staff of the *St. Croix Valley Standard*. Of the book itself the following has been aptly said: "There is probably no way in which the average American can get so clear, comprehensive and correct view of the growth of that marvel of progress, Minnesota, as to read a book entitled 'Pen Pictures,' just put forth by that western *litterateur*, Major T. M. Newson of St. Paul. There is not a dull page in it—hardly a page that is not full of interest even to the thoughtful stranger. The book is written with the editorial swing of the veteran journalist; the pictures are vivid with color, graphic with form and movement, vital with life, picturesque and breezy, and new stories and incidents embellish every page. Nobody can read the book without getting an excellent idea of the frontier methods of development, of the struggles, exposures, privations, quarrels and amusements of a new settlement. It is quite dramatic, with all the vigor and rapid actions of a play."

'RECOLLECTIONS OF EMINENT MEN: WITH OTHER PAPERS.' By Edwin Percy Whipple. With an introduction by Rev. C. A. Bartol, D. D. Published by Ticknor & Co., Boston.

The place held by E. P. Whipple in American literature for so long a time, and his acquaintance through many years with the men described in the above title, give to his recollections an unusual value. The introduction is such an analysis and description of Mr. Whipple as author and man, as those who best knew him will best appreciate, because of its justness and truth. The work is one of rare interest, and takes us close to the men of eminence of whom it treats—to Choate, to Agassiz, to Emerson, Motley, Sumner, Ticknor, Arnold, and many others of whom we all delight to read. The sketches are traced in that rapid, easy grace of which Mr. Whipple, as an essayist, was so rare a master. Analysis, description and anecdote are commingled so well that one never tires; and the insight into the life of these, our teachers, becomes a lesson of itself. The essay on George Eliot alone is a book in itself, and rewards one well for the purchase, if nothing else should be read. The collection is one that will take a permanent place in American literature.

'A MEMOIR OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON.' By James Elliot Cabot. Vols. I and II. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York. Received from Cobb, Andrews & Co.

Mr. Emerson, as man, as poet and as philosopher, will always be a new and entertaining theme for American readers. He is one of the favored few in the world of letters who never grow old; and his departure from the scene of his labors and his triumphs has by no means lessened the general interest in himself or his works. In these two volumes the whole story of his life is told in such manner that, while his best admirers must be satisfied, those who are disposed to criticise must feel that the verdict is just. The work has been performed by the literary executor of Mr. Emerson, and the author has therefore had

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material not accessible to anyone else—material of which he has made judicious use. The purpose held in mind by Mr. Cabot can be best stated in his own words: "My object in this book has been to offer to the readers and friends of Emerson some further illustrations, some details of his outward and inner history that may fill out and define more closely the image of him they already have, rather than to attempt a picture which should make him known to strangers, or set him forth in due relation to his surroundings, or to the world at large." And yet a careful perusal of the book will prove that this object not held in mind has been accomplished as well as the one that was. The result is the story of a strong, simple, pure life; of a man whose impress was laid upon his generation for all time; and a story, too, that gives all the facts as they properly belong—shading nothing, withholding nothing and adding nothing that does not of right and justice there belong. Mr. Cabot's life of Emerson, we are sure, will become the standard, no matter how many others may appear.

'PRE-GLACIAL MAN, AND THE ARYAN RACE: A HISTORY OF CREATION, AND OF THE BIRTHPLACE AND WANDERINGS OF MAN IN CENTRAL ASIA, FROM B. C., 32,500, TO B. C. 8,000, WITH A HISTORY OF THE ARYAN RACE, COMMENCING B. C. 15,000; THEIR RISE AND PROGRESS, AND THE PROMULGATION OF THE FIRST REVELATION; THEIR SPIRITUAL DECLINE, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE NATION, B. C., 4,705; THE INROAD OF THE TURANIANS, AND THE SCATTERING OF THE REMNANTS OF THE RACE B. C., 4,304, AS DECIPHERED FROM A VERY ANCIENT DOCUMENT. ALSO AN EXPOSITION OF THE LAW GOVERNING THE FORMATION AND DURATION OF THE GLACIAL PERIOD, AND A RECORD OF ITS EFFECTS ON MAN, AND THE CONFIGURATION OF THE GLOBE. A CHAPTER ON THE DELUGE, ITS CAUSES, LOCALITY AND EXTENT; AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE OANNES MYTH.' By Lorenzo Burge. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

We have given the above title and sub-title in full, because a full description of the contents of the book is given therein, with greater condensation than another than the author would dare attempt. The center-thought of the whole is that the early chapters of Genesis of themselves form an allegory that contains within itself "a history of creation, of the pre-glacial man, of the Aryan race, and of the Asiatic deluge." "Great as is the value of this history," continues he, "it has been preserved merely as a vehicle in which to transmit a record of the first revelation made by the Deity to man through the Aryan race; the duty laid upon that race to promulgate it, their neglect of that duty, and their consequent removal by God from the civilized world." This theory is ingeniously carried out, and one cannot but become interested in following it through step by step, no matter how widely he may dispute either premises or conclusions. All possible aids that could be obtained in support of the theory have been sought out and carefully used—geology, astronomy, history, and "the traits of human nature." The book is of deep interest, whether as a study or pastime for the student. It abounds in illustrations.

'A HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.' By Edward Stanwood. Published by Ticknor & Co., Boston.

Not only as a hand-book of political reference, but as a complete record of National politics, this book must prove itself of great value, and fill a place in the reference libraries that no other one work of which we have knowledge can fill. While it professes to be "little more than a record of the circumstances of such elections, and of whatever had an appreciable influence upon the result of each election," it is in reality more, for it points the way to many things not expressed or described, and gives the story of our great contests in an unbiased manner, and an unusual fairness of statement, and with as great fullness as one would wish in a work of its purpose. Great care and good judgment have been exercised in the selection of material and the choice of authorities. A full history of the electoral system is given, followed by the contest of each fourth year, up to the election of Garfield in 1880; with an appendix describing the conventions

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of 1884. Some of the chapter headings are as follows: "Jefferson and Burr," "An Election in War Time," "The Era of Good Feelings," "The First Dark Horse," "The Democrats Reunited," "The Kansas-Nebraska Contest," "The Last Struggle for Slavery," "The War Election," "The Greeley Campaign," "The Disputed Election," etc. Many side notes of information are scattered all the way through, making it one of the handiest and most useful books the student of American history can possess.

'THE UNITED STATES OF YESTERDAY AND OF TO-MORROW.' By William Barrows, D. D., author of 'Twelve Nights in the Hunters' Camp,' 'Oregon: The Struggle for Possession,' 'The Indian's Side of the Indian Question,' etc. Published by Roberts Brothers: Boston. Received from Cobb, Andrews & Co., Cleveland.

We have already referred to Dr. Barrows' qualities for work of this character, and little more need be added in connection with that point, except to say that in this new and brightly written book he has kept up to the high level of his reputation and given us one of the most charming books of the year. Its purpose, to use his own words, is "to answer questions." It was his opportunity some years ago to reside for a number of years west of the Mississippi, and since then he has made many visits to that region, collecting information of a varied character, which he is now sending forth for the edification and instruction of the people. Some idea of the character and scope of the work may be gained from the following citation of several chapter headings: "How Large is the West?" "Surprising Distances in the United States;" "The Six Growths of the United States;" "Ancient Chicago;" "Wild Life on the Border;" "Pioneering in Education;" "Lynch Law;" "The Railway System of the West;" "The Empire of the Future," etc., etc. The topics under consideration, so varied in character and wide in range, have been so skillfully handled that they seem almost as one, and the information conveyed is so stated and fortified that one feels sure that it is correct. The style of Mr. Barrows is easy and graceful, modeled after that of no one, and yet with a touch of Irving in his descriptive passages. Each theme is treated as though it was the outcome of earnest study, and those who know the author's methods of research and verification need not be told that he has made himself master of his subject before attempting to discuss it before others. The book is not only instructive but pleasing and entertaining, not only to the student of history but to the general reader as well. It throws new light upon the great west, a region that is only, at last, coming to be appreciated and understood.

'A GIRDLE ROUND THE EARTH: HOME LETTERS FROM FOREIGN LANDS.' By D. N. Richardson. Published by A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago.

One never tires of circumnavigating this old globe of ours, provided he be in good company and has an experienced and able guide. In the trip above described, which has been reproduced for us in most attractive shape, both have been furnished and the beaten old path takes on a new attraction. Mr. Richardson has not only the eye of an artist and soul of a philosopher, who feels it his duty to learn all he can concerning the people among whom he is thrown, but also the pen of a trained literary man, and can charmingly describe that which falls under his observation. He was not compelled, after the manner of Puck, to girdle the earth in forty minutes, nor like Jules Verne's fanciful traveler, in eighty days, but had the full season of a year at his command. Leaving Chicago he rapidly passes through the new lands of the new west, gives us a most graphic description of life on board during the long days and nights in crossing the Pacific, lingers long and with interest in Japan and China, opening many new views in those lands in which we all have so great interest because so little known, carries us on to Java, Ceylon and thence to India, Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, Constantinople, Roumania, Austria, Italy, Rome, the Alps, Poland, Russia, Scandinavia, Paris, England and

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home. While many of the well-worn roads have been described, they are presented with a graphic freshness that makes them seem new, while scores and hundreds of incidents and experiences altogether new are presented. In these days when people are so deeply interested in learning how others live, that they may learn how to live themselves, such books have a peculiar value. We are transplanted almost bodily to the scenes that are described, so faithful are Mr. Richardson's description of manners and social life and custom. His book is bound to secure a hold upon the interest and attention of the people.

'BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AS A MAN OF LETTERS.' By John Bach McMaster of Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. In 'American Men of Letters Series,' edited by Charles Dudley Warner. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

This recent addition to a series already famous and valuable treats the sage of the Revolution in a light in which he has seldom been viewed—that of a literary man as disconnected from those varied achievements of philosophy, diplomacy and statesmanship by which he has been best known. The result adds not only to our admiration of this many sided man, but presents him in some positions and features altogether new, for modern research and analysis have changed somewhat the outlines of even this familiar form. It is surprising to learn how much Franklin really wrote amid the various cares and labors of life, and how much of that which he did write has preserved a usefulness and freshness running far beyond the age in which he wrote. Those who have been readers of Mr. McMaster will understand the care, fairness and yet courage with which his theme has been treated. He has sketched Franklin as he really was, and not as someone else may have conceived him to be. The series to which this volume belongs is one of the ablest and most entertaining of modern contributions to the history of literature, and abundantly justifies the great success it has already achieved.

'MEN, PLACES AND THINGS.' By William Mathews, LL.D., author of 'Words: Their Use and Abuse,' 'Oratory and Orators,' 'Literary Style, and Other Essays,' etc., etc. Published by S. C. Griggs & Company, Chicago.

The good work already performed by Professor Mathews, in the series of books this well-known publishing house has given to the world, has created for him a wide circle of readers who are sure to make a success of any publication he may send forth. In this volume of essays that find their subjects here, there and everywhere, he has not only made sure of holding that circle already won but of increasing it in no small degree. The range of subjects is wide, embracing descriptive papers upon Wirt, Bulwer, Dumas and Napoleon; a chapter on "The Weaknesses of Great Men," with others upon "The London Pulpit," "The House of Commons," "Diaries," "Worry," "The Extremes of Dress," "The Tricks of Types," "What Shall We Read?" and a large number of others needless to enumerate in this connection. The style is vivid, entertaining and characteristic of the author, abounding in anecdote; while the book is without a dull page from end to end. Many facts are embodied that will be new to the majority. Bright, refreshing and full of information. 'Men, Places and Things' is a fit companion to the books already sent from Professor Mathews' pen—which is certainly high praise in any sense of the word.

'ARCHÆOLOGY OF OHIO.' By M. C. Read, late of the geological survey of Ohio; trustee of Ohio Archæological society in charge at Philadelphia, 1876; and assistant commissioner at the Exposition at New Orleans in 1884-5, with an introduction by Judge C. C. Baldwin. Published by the Western Reserve Historical society, Cleveland, Ohio. From the press of the *Cleveland Leader*. (The book may be obtained of the Historical society. Price, $1.50.)

Professor Read has grouped in this book a vast variety of useful and curious information that labor, research and the patient study of many men have produced upon the fascinat-

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ing subject of which he treats. As Judge Baldwin aptly says in his introduction: "The state is remarkable for the number and extent of its earthworks, no spot of equal size on the globe having so many and so extensive monuments of earth." The fact that Professor Read has undertaken the preparation of such a book, and that the Western Reserve Historical society has placed upon it such stamp of approval as is implied in its publication, declares all that need be said in support of its exactness, truthfulness and general care in discussion. A large number of plates are presented, giving one as correct an idea of the relics secured from the past ages as could be gained from a personal examination of the articles themselves. It is a timely book, in this year of centennial celebrations, and presents the best and most complete statement of the subject that has yet been made. It will become standard authority, and no student of archæology can do without it.

'THE STORY OF ASSYRIA: From the Rise of the Empire to the Fall of Ninevah: (continued from the 'Story of Chaldea.') By Zenaide A. Ragozin, member of the Societe Ethnologique of Paris, corresponding member of the Athenee Oriental of Paris; member of the American Oriental society. (In The Story of the Nations series). Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Received from the Burrows Bros. Co., Cleveland.

No more valuable series of historical works has been given to the public than this Story of the Nations series that the Putnams are publishing, and which has been crowned with such ample success. Commencing with man's first knowledge of his race, the record of each empire as it arose, extended its power, ruled and fell, has been told by the foremost historical writers of the day—not in outline or with reference only to salient points, but thoughtfully, fully and with such degree of detail as the knowledge now extant will permit. Chaldea, Carthage, ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, Germany and all the great peoples of the world are to be found in this series. The history of Assyria is one of the most interesting of them all, and aided by the many cuts with which it is illustrated, becomes of absorbing interest. Modern investigation has done much in the way of enlightenment as to the life and labors of this ancient race, and the author amply shows that he has informed himself as to all that the age has discovered. To the student or reader who desires to compass the history of the world in moderate space, this series is recommended as furnishing all that is desired; and that, too, by the pens of men who have made life studies of the themes they discuss.

'LIFE OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.' By E. E. Brown, author of lives of Garfield, Grant, O. W. Holmes and others. Published by D. Lathrop Company, Boston.

This interesting sketch of the life of James Russell Lowell, the poet, is not as full as it may in time be, as the time for a full biography, we hope, may leave between us and it many years of active life for the man and poet. But Lowell has had his career in sight of very few of his countrymen. We have got to calling him our greatest American poet, one of our foremost American citizens, almost statesman —we have so little use for that word. And yet how few of us have that speaking acquaintance with either his life or his work that marks the popular writer or man. The knowledge we lack of him has prompted the desire for a Life while the life is yet with us. The author happily draws from Mr. Lowell himself and his friends not only his facts but largely the statement of them. The man appears in the book as he is in the active world. The book is all the more welcome because of what it lacks. Mr. Lowell is one of the few American poets who are appreciated by the generation in which they live, and will be honored by those who come after him. The style of the author is entertaining, and the book is readable as well as valuable in a biographical sense.

Pamphlets and other minor publications received:

'The Pioneer Period of Western New York: being largely Reminiscences of the Struggles

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to Lay the Foundations of an Empire in the Wilderness; and of the Burning of Buffalo; the Surrender of Fort Niagara; the Flight of the Inhabitants; with Many Incidents never before Published. With an Appendix containing a Condensed Record of Important Events and Dates.' By Chipman P. Turner (a native resident from near the beginning). Published by Bigelow Brothers, Buffalo.

'Utah and Statehood: Objections Considered; Simple Facts Plainly Told; with a Brief Synopsis of the State Constitution.' By a Resident of Utah. New York: printed for the author by Hart & Von Arx.

'The Founders of Ohio: Brief Sketches of the Forty-eight Pioneers, who, under Command of General Rufus Putnam, Landed at the Mouth of the Muskingum River on the Seventh of April, 1788, and Commenced the First White Settlement in the Northwest Territory.' Published by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati.

'A Brief Historical Sketch of Canadian Banking and Currency; the Laws Relating Thereto Since Confederation, and a Comparison with British and American Systems.' By W. J. Robertson, B. A., LL. B., examiner in political economy, Toronto university. (A valuable and able paper, read before the Historical and Political Science Association of the University of Toronto, on February 4, 1888.) Published by William Briggs, Toronto.

The four numbers of the Lomb Prize Essays, published by the American Public Health Association of Concord, New Hampshire, as follows:

No. 1—'Healthy Homes and Foods for the Working Classes.' By Victor C. Vaughn, professor in University of Michigan.

No. 2—'The Sanitary Conditions and Necessities of School-Houses and School-Life.' By D. F. Lincoln, M. D., of Boston.

No. 3—'Disinfection and Individual Prophylaxis Against Infectious Diseases.' By George M. Sternberg, M. D., major and surgeon, United States army.

No. 4—'The Preventable Causes of Disease, Injury and Death in American Manufactories and Workshops, and the Best Means and Appliances for Preventing and Avoiding Them.' By George H. Ireland, Springfield, Massachusetts.

'Privateersmen of Newport.' By W. P. Sheffield. (An address delivered before the Rhode Island Historical society, in Providence, on February 7, 1882.) With notes.

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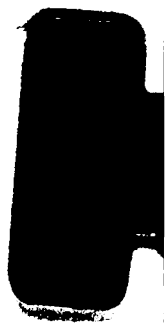

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